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Research Background

The African City

Rapid urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa is now taking place – the last major world region to go through this process whereby the majority of the population live in urban areas. This is initially through migration from rural areas, but rapidly becomes natural increase of urban populations, especially as it is linked to attitudes to family size and structure – i.e. the ‘demographic bulge’ associated with continued ‘traditions’ of high birth rates, yet falling death rates. In Sub-Saharan Africa this process is taking place in an arguably uniquely weak political and economic context. This is the legacy of exploitative European mercantile engagement (approx. 1500- 1900) and then colonial dominance (1900-1950 approx.), which led to slavery and arbitrary nation-state creation. It is also the result of subsequent rapid disengagement by dominant capitalist economies (through phases of decolonisation, neo-colonisation and virtual abandonment of global investment flows) yet continued global political subordination (e.g. through foreign aid). Today African governments and the private sectors are relatively weak and thus their action in urban change and transformation or development is very limited – compounded by anti-urban bias in ‘development’ policies.

This context is leading to new forms of urbanism emerging which challenge conventional values of what is ‘urban’. These forms are based on spatially mobile populations with many engaging in multiple economic activities based on social structures, as opposed to industrial based activity distinct from residential environments. The physical form of this urban-
ism is dominated by households’ use of space for living – which often incorporates economic production as well as social reproduction. Although these urban forms are in evidence in other Southern countries, there is much more limited capacity of government to record and service urban space in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, the relative poverty of the majority (and hence lack of profit opportunity for wider formal private sector urban action in this respect) means that the extent of what is typically called ‘informal’ urbanism is much more prevalent in both spatial and temporal senses. In other words it is widespread (including in what is often seen as ‘formal’ urban areas) and has already existed for decades – and its growth will mean it will most likely continue to exist for many more decades.

‘Home Space’ as a concept

The above overview creates the wider context for this study, which seeks to examine the nature of this new form of ‘urbanism as a way of life’ through investigating the nature and impact of ‘home space’. This concept, developed by the research team in a speculative sense, refers to the spaces within which the majority of African urban residents ‘dwell’ - ‘dwelling’ being both a place and a process. Creating ‘home spaces’ thus involves spatial and social practices, but conceptually ‘home’ is above all else a culturally defined concept. Collectively African home spaces create the majority of urban places and are inevitably enacted within political and economic contexts, which (as noted above) establish structural parameters for such agency. Understanding home space thus entails understanding the physical, social, economic, cultural and temporal aspects of urban change. In this, the research programme seeks to understand ‘Home Space in the African city’ as a way to challenge existing assumptions, and inductively seek new understanding which can be the basis for reflection for other more normative activity such as urban policy and development practice.

The research programme is composed of three main research component projects:

1. A contextual overview to provide an understanding of urbanisation and urban development trends in Sub-Saharan Africa, Mozambique and specifically Maputo – to identify the structural parameters for emerging urbanism based predominantly on home spaces, and provide a wider context for interpreting the findings of the empirical work;

2. A built environment dwelling and household socio-economic study in a representative section of the large peri-urban areas of Maputo city, partly drawing on previous studies in a longitudinal sense, and partly following the trends in urban expansion and morphology (using stratified random sampling based on some 100 sites, half being longitudinal) – to record what is understood as home space and its role in urban change; and

3. An in-depth ethnographic study of a smaller sample of circa 20 households vis-à-vis the wider family and social construction of home, identifying past, present and future perceptions – to understand what is embedded with and underpins the development of home space at the micro-level.

This publication is part of the second study mentioned above, and provides data used in the analysis of physical change in the peri-urban areas (‘bairros’) of Maputo, the case study city.
Contents

Executive Summary 13

The socio-economic research methodology ........................................ 13
Gender, age and education of interviewed ......................................... 14
Education ............................................................................................ 15
Household composition ....................................................................... 15
Marriage .............................................................................................. 16
Household size .................................................................................... 17
Renting ................................................................................................ 17
Place of origin ...................................................................................... 18
Economic assets ................................................................................. 18
Employment......................................................................................... 19
Urban Agriculture ................................................................................ 20
Savings and debts ............................................................................... 21
Dependants ......................................................................................... 23
Service provision ................................................................................ 24
Social infrastructure ............................................................................. 24
Social assets ........................................................................................ 25
Legal resources ................................................................................... 26
Land access ........................................................................................ 26
Aspirations and well-being................................................................. 28
Transformation and well-being ........................................................... 29

Introduction 31

Identification 37

Respondents gender, age, education and relation to Head of Household (HoH) ........................................ 37
Education ............................................................................................. 38
Summary: Data on interviewee .............................................................. 39

Household structure 41

Household type .................................................................................... 43
Head of household and gender ............................................................ 43
Number residing on plot ..................................................................... 45
Summary: Composition of Household ................................................ 50
Tenants on plot .................................................................................... 50
Summary: Tenants on plot and renting as an economic asset ............... 53
Marriage type ....................................................................................... 53
Marriage type correlated to economic status ...................................... 55
Summary: Marriage types ................................................................. 55

Place of origin 59

Is the birth province considered as the “home-land” ............................ 60
Summary: Place of origin ................................................................. 64

Economic assets 67

Economic Status .................................................................................. 67
Settlement pattern and planning category related to economic status 69
Economic status and planning typology .............................................. 69
Employment......................................................................................... 71
Machamba ........................................................................................... 73
How did head of household succeed employment? ............................ 75
Contributing to household Economy .................................................. 76
Savings and debts ............................................................................... 78
Economic status correlated to debt .................................................... 79
Summary: Economic assets and savings and debts ........................... 80

Human resources and assets 85

Dependants .......................................................................................... 85
Economic status and dependents ........................................................ 86
Children ............................................................................................... 86
Number of children and household and economic status ................... 86
Schooling.............................................................................................. 87
Correlation: Education and economic status ...................................... 87
Executive Summary

The socio-economic research methodology

The objective of the physical and socio-economic study is to investigate how people develop their ‘Home Space’ physically and relate this to social and economic factors including studying this over approximately 10 years (from a previous study in 2000) and 20 years (from a previous study in 1990).

The 1990 survey used a closed, more quantitative, questionnaire while the 2000 survey used an open-ended, more qualitative, semi-structured interview method – which the present study also has applied based on the measurement of poverty and wealth through a number of assets i.e. monetary, human, social, physical and legal assets. This widens the concept of poverty and wealth from a rather static measurement to a relative measurement.

An interview guide with 11 themes was developed deemed as important issues in the context of this research;

1. Gender, age and schooling level of the respondent.
2. Composition of households, marriage type and eventual tenants on plot.
3. Place of origin. If migrated to Maputo from where and when. How many were long term residents living on the plot since childhood.
4. Economic assets, employment, skills and source of income. Possession of agricultural plot and its role in household economy. Relation to financial institutions.
5. Human resources and assets. Each household was analysed in terms of dependents, number of children (below 15 years) and schooling.
6. Physical resources: Water & Sanitation and energy.
7. Social facilities (education, health and transport) and sense of security.
8. Social assets and social networks including family and kin in the neighbourhood and relation to religious institutions.
9. Legal assets and relation to the local administration. Participation in local affairs and level of political activity in terms of voting in elections.
10. Land access mechanism and security of tenure. When and how plot was acquired and type of documentation? Eventual conflicts over plot ownership or plot boundaries.

97 interviews were conducted in November/December 2009 and in February 2010. (Out of the total of 102 cases, 5 were uninhabited at the time of the investigation).

**Gender, age and education of interviewed**

Approximately 75% in the sample were male headed households and consequently 25% of the cases studied were female headed households.

The respondents were in 42% cases with men out of which 57% also were the head of household. 55% of the interviews were made with women and of these 24% were the head of household.

The overrepresentation of women interviewed in relation to how many households that de facto were female headed, is explained due to the fact that the fieldwork was executed during daytime, when women to a greater extent were at home.

The respondents had a mean age of 37 years reflecting quite a variation among the respondents as some were young while others were quite old as the men in their working age often were on duty at the time of the interviews.

Of the male headed households 44% were categorized as being very poor or poor while 23% were categorized as rich or very rich and about 33% were categorized as belonging to an estimated medium economic level.

Of the female headed households 55% were categorized as very poor and poor while another 20% are rich or very rich while 25% was categorized as of medium economic level.

In general this reflected a relative insignificant difference between the economic status of male and female headed households, but still with more poor female headed households. However the difference is not very significant suggesting that women in general as heads of households succeeded coping and implementing survival strategies as good as the male headed households.

**Education**

The level of schooling amongst the respondents showed huge variations with 8 cases that never attended school and 10 cases with a member of household in higher education.

Schooling level was thus relatively low with the majority having 4-6 years of primary education only. This finding corresponds to the national 2007 census in which education was also surveyed.

**Household composition**

The research applied the following definitions concerning households:

- Single person household (one person living on their own - very few in the sample)
- Single parent household (a head of household with children or other dependent family members) – only a few in the sample
- Nuclear household (spouses with or without dependents) well represented in the sample
- Nuclear household with some extensions (horizontal and vertical) – i.e. some minor additions of close family members who are dependent – e.g. an elderly parent or young nephews/nieces – quite common in the sample
- Extended household – i.e. a household with major ‘off-shoots’ of relatives who themselves have dependents – e.g. a brother/sister of the head of household (or sometimes their spouse), with their dependents was widely represented in the sample (although previously much
more prevalent as shown in the 1990 and 2000 surveys). Polygamous households were always considered as extended household in the few cases represented in the sample.

Nuclear families were the most common household structure with 55% of the cases followed by extended families (30%). Single parent families were mostly female headed. Polygamy was rare but still exists in a few cases.

Marriage

30% of the households have completed the traditional lobolo ceremony to become husband and wife, which is the type of marriage ceremony most common in Southern Mozambique.

Only 10% of the households in the sample were married in a church while another 8% had completed a civil ceremony. For many, ideally a church and/or a civil wedding ceremony take place as well as the lobolo marriage as it was clearly expressed throughout the interviews.

27% respondents indicated they had undertaken a family ‘presentation’ ceremony or a common-law marriage, which does not constitute a formally concluded wedding, but acts as a form of mutual recognition of the couple living together and eventual when the financial conditions are in place the lobolo and the formal marriage ceremony may take place.

22% were widows, separated or single and 3% lived in a polygamous relationship. Types of marriage and economic status showed big variations as in general the poorer segments were to a far lesser extent formally married that the more wealthy groups e.g. 40% in the very poor economic category were living as single parent families and the vast majority were women.

The many different types of weddings and ways of recognising a relationship between a man and a woman show how getting married can be a process never quite concluded. There were thus recorded various degrees of being married and often not a simple status of yes or no. For more in-depth information on marriage types, see the Ethnographic Report.

Household size

The research recorded an average of 6 people residing on plot in the home space sample. There was a significant difference between the numbers of residents on plot between the 5 economic status groups.

Within the rich groups the lowest number was found with some 5 while the highest number residing on plot was found in the medium income group with 7 residents per plot. The very poor and poor families had slightly smaller number residing on plot with 5 and 6 respectively.

This suggests that the better off segments were having smaller households (nuclear families) indicating the penetration of modern family lifestyles with family planning within this social strata.

On the other hand the medium economic group appeared to have the capacity to absorb additional family members as the data suggests these households being the largest with an average of 7 people living on plot.

Compared to the 1990 and 2000 studies households have shrunk relatively little in size as the 1990 household size on average was 4, 9 while the 2000 study reveals an increased number as it was recorded as 6,8. These figures cover the fact that in the previous studies households were not as yet capable of absorbing many relatives into their home spaces as living conditions was quite harsh by then. The consolidation taking place over the years and ongoing has widened the options for households to accept newcomers in terms of both social and physical conditions.

Renting

Renting activities is still relatively rare but when it happens it is mostly among the poor and medium income groups and takes place in locations relatively close to the central city. Some households expressed a desire to eventual rent out living spaces indicating that the issue of renting is emerging in the peri-urban areas of Maputo as an additional source of income for typically low and medium income people. As the pressure for accommodation in central locations is on the rise and as affordable land for the low-income population is becoming a more scarce resource the likelihood for more renting activities in peri-urban Maputo in the near future is obvious.
Place of origin

Most respondents were migrants into the city (59%), while 41% were originating from Maputo province or municipality. However as the current generation of migrants is ageing the majority of the population growth is now composed of people born in Maputo evidenced clearly in the Home Space sample. This finding corresponds to demographic research currently undertaken by Eduardo Mondlane University. Centre for African Studies on the issue of urban growth and migration indicating that urban population growth to a great extent now is increasingly generated within the Maputo population itself and to a lesser extent due to in-migration.

Most migrants came in search for work or as refugees during the war ending in 1992. The majority of the migrants were from the southern provinces closest to Maputo namely Gaza and Inhambane.

Most respondents considered Maputo as their home town albeit links to the place of birth still had some importance for some respondents. However links to the place of origin appears to no longer imply regular visits as transport was considered expensive by many respondents. In general the study proves that links to the rural hinterland were weakening and less strong than previously. This process was also affected by the war and the displacement of people from their homelands where no one remained and hence nothing to go back to after peace was re-established in 1992.

Approximately 8% were long term residents meaning always lived and in fact many were born on the plot. Long term residents were in general belonging to the medium or lower income groups. Some of these long term residents had originally larger plots which in most cases had been subdivided and sold or ceded within the family.

Economic assets

The study has defined 5 economic categories ranging from very poor and poor via medium to rich and very rich. The categories were defined according to the following assets:

**Very poor (23%)**: Families with hardly any assets and living in small and poorly constructed houses. Very few material goods i.e. furniture and toilet as simple pit latrine. Cooking outside on charcoal. No television. No regular source of income. 0-5 years of primary education.

**Poor (24%)**: Small house in a poor state of maintenance. Little furniture. Toilet as simple or improved pit latrine. Kitchen outside on charcoal. Sometimes with fridge and TV. Irregular income within the informal sector. 0-7 years of schooling.

**Medium (33%)**: Medium size house in a relative good state of maintenance. Toilet inside or in separate annex and/or additional pit latrine. Electricity connection. Kitchen inside and outside. Regular income (formal and/or informal). Sitting room with TV and fridge 0-12 years of schooling.

**Rich (15%)**: Big house fenced with high walls. Kitchen and toilet(s) inside house. Often additional toilet outside. Most rooms air-conditioned. Two or more household members in employment. Car ownership. Decorative garden. House servant(s). One or more in tertiary education.

**Very rich (5%)**: Big villa type house. High walls with security devices and security guards. All rooms air-conditioned. Two or more household members in employment. Car ownership. Decorative garden. House servant(s). One or more in tertiary education.

Employment

In 66% of the responding households at least one member was engaged in the informal sector, while the remaining 34% were in some kind of formal employment based on a contract or other form of written agreement.

Informal sector work covered a wide range of activities such as building construction, carpentry and blacksmith services, sale of household goods, food and drinks, the transport sector and security services.

A breakdown of informal sector engagement gives the following distribution:

- 26% worked as informal workers often on a day to day basis
- 31% were in formal employment (civil servants or in private businesses)
- 20% worked as informal vendors
- 3% worked in security, some formal some informal
- 20% had “other” type of informal activities i.e. domestic services, vegetable production in a green zone etc.

In the case of female income earners, informal work was mainly selling household goods, food, drinks and vegetables and domestic services. In
the case of male breadwinners, informal activities were predominately in the building and transport sector, selling second hand clothing, household goods and in security services.

Formal work mostly falls in the category of civil servants or private employment in industries, shops, transport, and construction and in the security sector. The latter industry was found both within the formal and informal sector and albeit it seemingly was a booming sector only few in this sample were working as security guards.

80% of the more wealthy households were in formal employment, while for the very poor and poor households some 82% were in informal employment.

74% of the female headed households were active in the informal sector, while the proportion for male headed households engaged in the informal sector was 56%. This finding suggests that women predominately were responsible for the private sphere caring for the family, as many women engaged with informal activities did so in direct connection to the house. The most frequent activities were of selling fruits and vegetables and other groceries either from a kiosk built on the plot facing the street or as a table top shop being removed everyday after business hours.

In the case of households with members working in South Africa it was difficult to review whether these were engaged within the formal or informal sector as many men previously working in the mines had lost their jobs over recent years. Furthermore respondents were in most cases not able to provide information on the nature of the work that relatives were engaged with in South Africa. However the xenophobia sweeping the Johannesburg region in 2008 has had a direct impact on the number of Mozambican migrants to South Africa.

Urban Agriculture

36% of the households interviewed were in possession of an agricultural plot in a designated green zone or another agricultural piece of land not being the housing plot.

Significantly many households in the lower income bracket were in possession of an agricultural plot and hence 14% of the very poor and 22% among the poor were engaged with agricultural production in a green zone. Within the medium economic group some 13% were in the possession of an agricultural plot while among the upper segments only very few were engaged with urban agriculture.

Out of the households with an agricultural plot in 75% of the cases the production was mostly for domestic consumption with few households selling their surplus from the housing plot. However some 25% of the households with an agricultural plot were regularly supplementing the household economy selling their agricultural produce at the market and hence agricultural plot engagement was an important economic activity for these households.

There were a larger number of male headed households in possession of an agricultural plot than female headed households. Furthermore few of the female headed households were supplementing the household income from selling crops and hence these households were primarily producing for self consumption.

Among the households in a possession of an agricultural plot, some 46% households further had a vegetable garden on their housing plot producing for self consumption only; however this production very was limited in scope.

30% among the very poor and 36% among the poor with an agricultural plot supplemented the household economy from agricultural engagement. However in many cases this monetary contribution was modest and mostly generated when selling the vegetables from table stands in front of plot. However some did supplement their income selling their products in the city and hence within the medium economic group 10% of the households holding an agricultural plot were engaged with commercial production contributing to household livelihoods. None within the rich groups had contribution from green zone activities to household neither food consumption nor monetary income.

Savings and debts

Some 20% of the sample households had small animal production on their plot. In most cases these were chickens/ducks and in a few cases pigs. This kind of food produced within the individual home spaces was in all cases for self consumption only.

32% were reported in a position to save some money while the remaining 68% were not saving regularly in any form and hence living on a day to day economy. This evidences that poverty in this sample was widespread.
However when correlating the households in the study without savings to their housing conditions some of these still had quite consolidated houses. Poverty is hence relative and not necessarily directly linked to monetary possessions or savings as many even poor were continuously investing in their homes.

Among the very poor some 18% had savings in saving groups with only very few holding bank accounts. Among the poor some 43% were active in local saving groups and a few had bank accounts too. Within the medium group a significant number (75%) had the ability to save some money quite an even spread over banks and savings groups. Almost all the better-off segments had savings in banks. 17% of the poor and 22% of the medium economic segment were reported investing in building materials stored on the plot indicating a strong desire to invest in house and plot development.

The figures on savings suggest that all the affluent households in the sample had bank accounts while the poor to a lesser extent appeared to be able to save money and most did not have a bank account. Savings groups were basically the mechanism through which the low-income people seek to invest when in possession of some extra money with women more active in savings groups than men. Furthermore house investments in the form of extending and improving their living spaces were recorded in all income groups.

Only 17% across the five economic groups were reported in debt. The debts were distributed between debts to banks and micro credit organisations as the most common while debts to friends and commercial middlemen were even distributed and in general very limited. Amongst the very poor and the poor only few had debts (18%) and none had debts to banking institutions. In the medium income bracket some 22% had debts either to a bank or a micro credit group while within the better-off economic categories most had loans in banks.

The figures on savings and debts suggest a general low level of debt with an indication that the higher income segments having significant more debts in formal financial institutions while the low-income people in general only to a limited extent had debts and if so be it was related to the informal sector of the economy. This finding is in line with research undertaken in Mozambique and other Southern African countries pointing to the issue of the vast majority of the urban population not being considered as financial feasible by the banking sector and hence none of the low-income households were benefitting from housing mortgage arrangements.

Dependants
Most of the surveyed household had dependents living with them with a mean value of 3.6 dependants per household. This did not vary much according to economic status.

70% of the households had adults living with them as dependents with a mean value of 2.3 per household while 87% had children living with them as dependents with a mean value of 2.2 children per household.

According to the 2007 census the number of depending children on average was 1.8 in Maputo Municipality including the Central City. This relative lower figure suggests that households in the central city generally have fewer children than households in the surrounding neighbourhoods and hence a quite lower dependency rate. In Copenhagen, Denmark the mean value is 0.3 children per household.

The relation between number of children per household and economic status indicated that the very poor households had 2.1 children per household, the poor households had 2.4, the medium economic group had 2.5, while rich households had 1.7 children and very rich households had 1.6 children per household living with them. This illustrates that the medium and low income households in general had a significant larger children dependent ratio per household. This finding confirms what numerous studies in developing countries have evidenced namely that family sizes diminish with improved family economy.

At the time of the interview 84% of the members of the interviewed household were in primary education, 12% in secondary, 2% in vocational training and 1% in university in the poor economic categories. For the medium economic category 50% were in primary school, 47% in secondary school and 2% in university. Among the better-off segments 38% were in primary school 39% in secondary, 14% in university and finally some 9% in other training.

Although other factors may have some influence on educational level, the economic status of the households obviously did have a clear correlation with schooling level. This is especially evident when regarding those studying at university, where all in this study came from medium, rich and very rich households.
Service provision

60% of the Home Space cases had running water on their plots of which 14% were by a public water provider. The remaining 26% were fetching water in the neighbourhood most often buying from individuals with a private water connection and hence making small business selling water. No plots were served with sewer and hence 33% had a simple pit latrine while improved pit latrines were installed in 28% of the sample and WC with septic tank were recorded in 26% of the cases.

75% in the study had electricity installed. However electricity connection did not necessarily imply regular electricity supply as quite a few of the very poor and poor often were without electricity due to difficulties in paying the affiliated costs.

As to fuel for cooking all households was using charcoal at times with the poor cooking with charcoal on a regular basis. All better-off households used a mixture between gas, electricity and occasionally charcoal for cooking.

The level of service provision recorded in the 2010 survey is a major change in relation to the previous 1900 and 2000 studies where many relied on open wells and most were without electricity. Furthermore the majority previously cooked on charcoal or firewood. It is however noteworthy that charcoal still is a major source of domestic fuel for reasons of tradition and price.

Social infrastructure

In terms of proximity to primary schools and secondary schools some 82% of the respondents claimed to live less than 15 minutes walking distance from a primary school and 61% lived in less than 15 minutes walking distance from a secondary school.

In terms of health institutions some 33% said they live less than 15 minutes walk from a health facility. Another 33% lived 15-30 minutes away from a clinic, and the rest 33% indicated living far from a health facility.

Market facilities and public transport were by most respondents considered as within easy reach. However many respondents complained that transport was difficult to access as crowding and traffic congestion was considered an obstacle.

A majority (60%) of respondents reported that they felt safe in their neighbourhoods, and that security was good corresponding to the 60% that lived in areas with streetlights. However some 40% were not happy with the security situation in their neighbourhood as theft were considered as widespread due partly to poor street lighting and limited police patrolling. In general worries were expressed throughout the interviews as to the security situation when in the public realm at night and the issue of house burglary also during daytime when nobody at home was touched upon by respondents as serious issue.

Security issues were not covered by the previous studies and hence no correlation is possible however it appeared to be a more recent phenomenon created along the urbanisation process with increased poverty and inequality among urban residents.

Social assets

63% of the respondents reported having family and kin nearby or in the neighbourhood. Engagement with civic organizations or CBOs was not common within the home space sample with only one case reported as active in civic organisations reflecting limited involvement and participation in local development affairs.

The family, neighbours, friends and church were mentioned as important actors when in need for assistance. However when asked who respondents turn to if in severe problems, 82% responded the family. There was a quite large proportion (26%) who indicated having no one to turn to when in difficulties.

71% of the households in the home space sample had at least one and often more members attached to a church aggregation and 24% of these were reported as being active in church attending services regularly. Church engagement however played a significant role for those engaged as a social asset as evidenced in the ethnographic study.
Legal resources

Most of the respondents knew the local municipal representative responsible for typically approximately 100 households, while 38% knew the neighbourhood secretary representing the municipal authorities covering typically an area with some 30000 inhabitants.

Everyone except one respondent voted in the last national elections indicating a strong faith in the political democracy. However at the same time 24% deliberately expressed that “the government does nothing” and “there is no point in waiting for the government” in terms of improving living conditions in the neighbourhood.

30% expected the government to provide improvements in water provision and orderly planned development i.e. plots with road access. 34% of the respondents believed that the government had an obligation to help in creating jobs and 41% of the respondents expected the government to provide “other” things e.g. paying school fees. These data demonstrates strong expectations to the government as the sole provider of public goods.

Land access

75% of the cases stated that they consider that the head of household holds the user rights to the plot. An additional 10% claim the user rights were shared between the head of household and part of the family. In the remaining cases (15%), the user rights belonged to another family member. This indicates that head of household was considered at the centre concerning all issues related to land and that the broader family played a secondary role.

32% of all the respondents moved to their plot between 2000 and 2010. Another 32% moved there between 1990 and 2000, and the rest 36% have lived on the plot since before 1990 (half of these declared they were there before 1980). 8% claimed having always lived on the plot. This demonstrates an enormous influx to the home space plots as approximately two third moved to their present plots over the recent two decades and hence after the 1990 study was carried out. In the case of longitudinal plots from the 1990 study some 50% of the residents were still living on the same plots albeit in most cases these have been subdivided. In the case of the 2000 longitudinal plots some 70% of the residents were still living on their plot.

The majority of the respondents claimed that there was nothing or dry land agriculture was practised on the land when they moved to where they now live. This means that all these settlers have constructed their houses from scratch. This suggests that a housing market had hardly been established as the majority had only purchased the land and not the house. The study reveals that this may be under transition as some households in the study actually bought their house and as the areas become increasingly inhabited housing market may eventually gradually emerge. However traditions on land and housing in Mozambique indicates that this process may be slow evidenced in the sample by many responding negatively when asked if their house at some stage eventually may be sold to potential buyers.

The study does however carry an indication of an emerging land market as highlighted already in the 2000 survey. The current study thus indicates that these first or second generation settlers increasingly were subdividing and selling their farmland or homesteads. In some instances this process resulted in quite small plots as the plot seller seemingly was eager to maximise the potential profit by dividing of the land in smaller pieces.

More than half (58%) of the respondents bought their plot, 18% was allocated by an authority and for 10% the land was ceded within the family. This somehow contradicts the formal land tenure system in Mozambique due to which all land belongs to the state and hence it is only the investment on the land that formally may be sold at a given market price.

75% of the respondents claimed to have some form of documentation for plot ownership. 36% indicated they have a declaration signed by the local municipal representative affirming their residency status for the area and the specific house. 22% indicated they have a declaration from the authorities testifying a buyer/seller agreement, and 20% claimed to have a formal usufruct land use document. Finally another 11% claimed to have an occupancy application in progress. This suggests a quite fluid situation concerning land right documentation and perceptions and the many interpretations to what this in reality implies.

Notwithstanding this there was a very high (75%) sense of security of tenure and very few conflicts related to land was reported in the sample. Only 10% of the sample reported having a low sense of security of tenure while 9% did not consider tenure security as an issue. Eventual problems with
land rights or boundary disputes were all solved locally without involving any higher legal institutions. These findings on land tenure are significant and quite unique in an African urban context where most low-income residents are either tenants or informal settlers with limited sense of security of tenure and hence hesitant to invest in their houses.

Only 5 cases reported having problems with their property rights or boundary disputes however three of these were already solved at the neighbourhood level without involving any higher legal institutions.

70% of respondents reported that they intend their children to inherit the plot and 3% that another family member will inherit, while 19% did not yet have specific plans for the plot in the future. For quite a number of the respondents this question appeared without any importance presumably indicating that land issues was considered family issues and marketing family land was not on the agenda at all.

36% of the responding households had an additional agricultural plot, while only a very limited number of households had another plot(s) for housing development.

However the fact that more than one third had land for agricultural plot and a few a housing site is remarkable indicating that land in peri-urban Maputo previously was easy accessible even for low-income people. As land now increasingly is being sold at the market at high prizes the poorer segments will eventually be squeezed out as the major landholders in peri-urban Maputo.

Aspirations and well-being

Concerning the future some 24% expressed a desire to add more rooms to their current house while 29% wanted to build a perimeter wall. Finally 22% wanted to finish the house and 20% had plans to improve the water and sanitation. This evidences a strong interest in consolidating the houses and gradually turning these into homes with all what this implies in terms of pride and investment.

In response to desired neighbourhood improvements 22% of the households mentioned water provision and 20% better security and finally 19% expressed concern to the poor roads and drainage. The remaining issues for betterment in the neighbourhood were concerned with clinics, better transport, waste management and community facilities.

11% of the respondents deliberately indicated that noting had been done to improve the infrastructure or other issues pertinent in the neighbourhood for betterment. This means that a significant number were not satisfied with government performance, however the majority of respondents still expressed expectations to the government in terms of providing infrastructure services.

Transformation and Consolidation

The survey carries evidence of a remarkable transformation and consolidation in relation to the previous studies in 1990 and 2000. All areas under study previously bearing rural characteristics are today rapidly developing with suburban features.

However approximately half of the home space households were still categorized as poor while the other half was considered in a stable economic situation while only few as better off. This depicts a major transition from the previous studies as most households then were quite poor.

Education was still unequally spread and only half of the respondents had completed a part of primary school with a quarter completed part of secondary school while 15% were in either university or other training. However 9% represented by the older segment of the respondents never went to school portraying enormous disparities in access to education.

The majority among the poorer segments were engaged with informal activities while most among the wealthy groups were employed in the formal sector revealing a significant transition from the previous studies where almost all households were engaged with informal economic activities. However un- and underemployment was recorded as very high although few respondents declared being unemployed as most were engaged with some kind of occasional work. Renting out living space as a mean to income generation was only recorded in a few cases and always with the landlord living on the plot. The previous studies did not have any renting activity.

Urban agricultural was only observed as an important economic activity for a limited number of households suggesting that urban agricultural engagement played a minor role in sustaining peri-urban households in 2010.
**Introduction**

This part of the study is concerned with the social and economic characteristics of the Home Space households.

The main objective of the physical and the socio-economic study is to investigate how people develop their ‘Home Space’ (i.e. their space for living) physically and relate this to social and economic factors – including studying this over approx. 10 years (from the 2000 survey) and 20 years (from the 1990 survey). To be able to do this longitudinal survey the new survey instrument needed to be consistent with the previous surveys as much as possible, but could expand on this. The 1990 survey used a closed, more quantitative, questionnaire but this proved difficult in many ways and thus the 2000 survey used an open-ended, more qualitative, semi-structured interview method – which was continued in the 2010 study. This method is based on the measurement of poverty/wealth through ‘assets’, which include monetary assets but importantly also include human, social, physical and legal assets. This widens the concept of poverty and wealth from a rather static measurement to a relative measurement, which allows a better reflection of the dynamic nature of household circumstances.

Before field work was initiated fieldworkers were trained in conducting semi-structured interviews (see appendix 1). In order to facilitate the interviews a set of guidelines was developed, aimed at assuring that data

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1. Some fieldwork surveys actually took place in Nov and Dec 2009, the rest in Feb 2010.
2. For more detail on the asset-based approach to measuring poverty/wealth see Jenkins 2000.
gathered would be trustworthy and have adequate quality. Through the training of the field workers it was stressed that the process envisaged was not one of a questionnaire but as guidance to organise the interview/conversation, making certain that all issues of relevance were covered and touched upon during the encounter. Field workers were four or fifth year students of anthropology from the Eduardo Mondlane University. Each team of field workers was composed of at two students and one senior anthropologist. As three teams were operating at the same time throughout and as only two senior anthropologists were available at the time of the investigation on e team was composed of students only, however closely supervised by the senior researchers.

The training of the field workers was conducted in workshops, with simulation of real life situations in order to create as close as possible the imagined interview contexts. All field workers were tested before entering the field concerning their capacity and understanding of working with households who could be suspicious and concerned with what is going on. Dealing with this sensitive issue and concern on the part of the visited households was an essential part of the training and careful instructions were given on how to handle such situations. Furthermore, the issue of expectations eventually created during the interview sessions - as to what benefits this research may bring in the short run - was discussed and instructions were given as to minimise unrealistic expectations for immediate beneficial project outputs in terms of e.g. infrastructure improvements. For ethical reasons the research process was designed and implemented with due respect to the involved households and hence the security of the interviewers was assured and anonymity was offered to all interviewees, stressing that no adverse reflection would be possible to any individual household. All documentation produced by the Home Space programme senior researchers, taking into account the need for longitudinal analysis, especially with the 2000 survey, but also the use of the data recorded as a lead in to the subsequent ethnographic surveys included in the research programme. The collected data serves as the backbone for both the present Socio-Economic Study Report and the Built Environment Study Report.

Interview Guide – 11 question areas:

1. First the analysis identified the interviewed member of the household concerning gender, age and schooling level. Confidential information concerning name, localisation and telephone contact was also recorded here for follow-up but was not part of the analysis to maintain anonymity.

2. A general overview and composition of the respondent households. How large were the households, what was the composition in terms of dependents is and how the household is structured in terms of gender. The issue of marriage type is further dealt with. Do the surveyed households have tenants or others living on the plots that are not considered members of the household?

3. Where do the respondents come from e.g. Maputo and if so where in Maputo. If they migrated to Maputo, from where and when. In the case of those originating from outside Maputo, what is the current relationship to their ‘home land’? How many are long term residents – e.g. living on the plot since childhood?

4. Aspects of the economic assets of the residing households are then identified. What is the main source of income(s) and which other survival strategies have the household embarked upon? Does the house possess a machamba, and is this generating income or food supply for domestic use only? The general economic status of the household is identified using five economic parameters being: 1) Very poor; 2) poor; 3) medium; 4) rich and 5) very rich, synthesising the various data in this section. Finally the relation to financial institutions (savings/debts) - formal or informal - is identified.

5. Human assets are then identified in terms of dependents within each household, nature of employment and what level of schooling do the household, nature of employment and what level of schooling do the

Below is a list of the eleven fields of information considered important for the Home Space research, developed and organised as main question areas. These were developed by the Home Space programme senior researchers.

3. Where do the respondents come from e.g. Maputo and if so where in Maputo. If they migrated to Maputo, from where and when. In the case of those originating from outside Maputo, what is the current relationship to their ‘home land’? How many are long term residents – e.g. living on the plot since childhood?

4. Aspects of the economic assets of the residing households are then identified. What is the main source of income(s) and which other survival strategies have the household embarked upon? Does the house possess a machamba, and is this generating income or food supply for domestic use only? The general economic status of the household is identified using five economic parameters being: 1) Very poor; 2) poor; 3) medium; 4) rich and 5) very rich, synthesising the various data in this section. Finally the relation to financial institutions (savings/debts) - formal or informal - is identified.

5. Human assets are then identified in terms of dependents within each household, nature of employment and what level of schooling do the

3 The research team opted to use the term ‘rich’ as opposed to other terms such as ‘wealthy’ as it better reflects social richness as well as economic status.
There are 97 cases with socio-economic data. The 5 cases without socio-economic data (case numbers 1, 36, 46, 47 and 52) were uninhabited for various reasons and consequently the research team never succeeded to obtain an interview with the plot holders.

Furthermore there is one of the 97 cases (case number 29) with socio-economic data although it was uninhabited, as the occupant had recently died and the plot now is under the responsibility of the adult daughter not resident on the plot at the time of the investigation but however willing to give an interview. The daughter, now the plot holder was building another house on the plot and according to the interview, intends to rent the plot with two small houses to a tenant. In another case (number 53) the plot owner is not yet living on the plot, but according to the interview taking place anyhow expected to build a house soon. This plot is currently inhabited only by a caretaker who however is not included in the data and the analysis.

6. Physical assets of each household in relation to the home space are identified in terms of infrastructure and housing. The former includes water provision and the mode of sanitation as well as the type of domestic energy utilised. Furthermore the issue of home based industries on the plot is dealt with, as is the physical definition of the plot and the built structures which it contains, including their status.

7. A second aspect of physical assets in relation to the home space is the provision of social equipment in terms of availability schools (primary / secondary) and health facilities is identified, as are the options for public transport in the neighbourhood and access to essential basic necessities such as shops, markets and bakeries etc. This category of asset also includes the household’s sense of security and the presence of police or other security services - in tandem with eventual street lighting.

8. Social assets identified include social networks within kin' family and the 'bairro' are identified. Other relations on the plot can include relations to tenants. Important social relations off the plot include organisations - mainly religious institutions.

9. Legal assets identified include any awareness and/or relation to the local administration and aspirations as to what the government should provide in the bairro – i.e. the sense of entitlement as a citizen. In this context, whether household members vote or not (but of course not for whom) was also identified.

10. The land issue is central to this study, as identified elsewhere, and hence the sense of security of tenure is specifically surveyed. This includes how the plot was acquired, who was involved in the process and what type of documentation does the current plot holder possess? Other information is, in case of eventual conflicts over plot ownership and/or plot definitions in terms of neighbours, who is intervening and helping out?

11. Finally, the sense of well-being in relation to the home space, and aspirations for the future in relation to this, are dealt related, including improvements to the house/plot in the past and plans for future improvements.

These 11 issues corresponds all issues dealt with in the semi-structured interviews conducted in November and December 2009 and in February 2010.

The total number of cases surveyed physically was 102, however in only 97 households was it possible to acquire socio-economic data through
Identification

Respondents gender, age, education and relation to Head of Household (HoH)

Approximately 75% in the sample were male headed households and consequently 25% of the cases studied had female headed households. Overall 40% of the respondents were identified as the head of household.

The respondents were in 42% of the 97 cases men, out of which 57% were also the head of household. In one case (84) the interviewee and head of household was a male tenant (living with three nephews to the landlord). 55% of the interviews were made with women and of these 24% were the head of household. In 3 cases (3%), the informants were both male and female, usually husband and wife.

In 58% of the cases the respondents were women

The higher representation of women interviewed, in relation to the number of surveyed households, is explained due to the fact that the fieldwork was implemented during daytime, when women are at home to a greater extent. Appointments during week-ends and/or evenings proved to be difficult and hence the research acknowledges this may create a possible slight bias, as male and female respondents may stress different information concerning the household – e.g. the extent they felt free to respond on some assets.

Those interviewed who were not heads of the household were normally the spouse/partner/wife, but in a few cases were a daughter or mother of...
the head of the household. Some interviews were undertaken with men who were the sons of the head of household, and in a few cases a nephew, father or cousin of the head of household.

The respondents were an average 37 years old

The respondents had a mean age of 37 years the youngest being 17 and the oldest 79 was years. This variation with a overrepresentation of relative young and relative old respondents is due the fact that men in their working age often were on duty at the time of the interviews. As the life expectancy rates in Mozambique is 48 years the average of the interviewed is considered quite levelled and covers a reasonable spread in terms of age structure of the respondents.

Education

The level of schooling amongst the respondents showed huge variations from 8 cases without attending school at all to 10 cases in higher education (across a universe of 92 responses). These data suggest that the households in the survey sample are in quite a dramatic social transition process.

9% of the respondents never attended school

Approximately 9% were illiterate and never went to school while 11% had up to 3 years of schooling while another 32% had up to 6 years of primary education. Further 20% had a maximum of 9 years of schooling, 13% were in secondary education with a maximum of 12 years and 10% were in university while 5% were in some kind of vocational training. These data suggests that the households in the sample were in quite a significant social transition process with some residents being illiterate while others were in university.

The limited number in vocational training suggests that this level of training was lacking behind as an option for young school leavers. In general the youth were often complaining on the difficulties getting enrolled into tertiary education.

Comparison in relation to the 1990 and 2000 study was not possible as data on education was not included in these studies.

Schooling level of interviewed

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<td>grade 3</td>
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<td>9, 10, 4, 27, 57, 68, 79, 90, 92, 105</td>
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<td>grade 5</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>grade 9</td>
<td>16, 30, 51, 9, 93, 98, 102</td>
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<tr>
<td>grade 10</td>
<td>7, 17, 20, 67, 73</td>
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<tr>
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<td>78, 84, 85</td>
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<tr>
<td>grade 12</td>
<td>41, 71, 95, 100</td>
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<tr>
<td>university</td>
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<tr>
<td>bachelor</td>
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<td>doctorate</td>
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<tr>
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<td>26, 38, 62, 70, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary: Data on interviewee

In 40% of the interviews the head of household was the respondent and in nearly all other cases the respondent was a spouse or other close relative (son, daughter, father, mother) to the HoH. Those interviewed had a mean age of 37 years (life expectancy in Mozambique is 48) and the majority interviewed were women as all interviews took place during normal working hours when men and others were on duty (whether in school or at work being formal or informal). Most respondents were considered as relatively poor or with a medium level of economic capacity reflecting in general the spread over economic status as 47% were classified as poor and 33% with a medium economic capacity. Schooling level of respondents was generally low with the majority having only 4-6 years of primary education reflecting the age and social structure of the respondents.
Household structure

The study considered the main household residing on plot at time of investigation. This main household may be different from the household member who had the major right to use the space as reported by interviewees. Hence the person with the major right to the land could be absent or live elsewhere and thus not belonging to the main resident household – and as such not be surveyed in detail. This definition of main resident household as survey target also excludes subordinate households even if resident – i.e. including those households renting if there is another ‘main household’ (i.e. with more rights) resident. This definition of who is the main resident household is due to the research interest in the way space is used by those who control it on a day-to-day basis. However the research is also concerned with how families (and not necessarily just households that are resident) invest – and this requires some understanding of who has different rights to the land. Finally, due to resource constraints it was not possible to interview all the households’ potentially resident – e.g. subordinate households whether renting or not – and hence the study focuses on the main household resident at the time of survey.

The key definition of household composition is those members ‘eating from the same pot’ – i.e. sharing basic subsistence. In principle most households are eating from the same pot but there are examples of residents residing on the same plot (and in some cases even in the same house) without eating from the same pot and hence not being seen as a member of the household. Such residents are not covered by this survey.

5 However if the main household resident was the tenant, they were interviewed.
but merely recorded as residents e.g. tenants. An alternative definition is
those who sleep on the plot, and the differences are analysed below.

The differences in household composition show how household struc-
tures can be fluid and often escape simple definitions. Thus the study
categorises a nuclear household, an extended household, and the types
of living together as a household in between these categories often in the
literature defined as “modern” and “traditional” household types.

Household definitions:

- Single person household (one person living on their own - very few
  in the sample)
- Single parent household (a head of household with children or other
dependent family members) – only a few represented in the sample
- Nuclear household (spouses with or without dependents) well repre-
sented in the sample
- Nuclear household with some extensions (horizontal and vertical) –
i.e. some minor additions of close family members who are depend-
ent – e.g. an elderly parent or young nephews/nieces – quite common
in the sample
- Extended household – i.e. a household with major ‘off-shoots’ of rela-
tives who themselves have dependents – e.g. a brother/sister of the
head of household (or sometimes their spouse), with their depend-
ents. Furthermore a few households living in polygamy (3 cases)
were also considered as extended households. As such this category
represented approximately one third of the cases in the sample. How-
ever previously this household structure was much more prevalent as
shown in the 1990 and 2000 surveys)
- Households may be female headed or male headed.

Generally the research applies the term household only and does not
refer to the family as a unit of analysis. Family and household concepts
are described more elaborately in the ethnographic work and in the glo-
sary. The fluidity of change within households was captured in the survey
through the ethnographic work as this was capable of investigating the
complexity of relations in more detail – and in fact fieldwork took place a
few months after the physical and socio-economic surveys by which time
households had changed. Household change is however nearly always
from the wider family.

Household type

The most common household structure is a nuclear family with mother,
father and children, counting 34% of the households. An additional 22%
were identified as nuclear families with some close extensions with other
dependent family members living with the nuclear household, like a sister,
cousin or nephew. Extended families counted almost a third of the cases
surveyed (30%) but not counting as an extended family where several
different generations and lateral extensions are living together as one
household. Single parent households counted 8% of the household di-
vided between 6% as female and 2% as male headed. There were a few
cases of polygamous households.

Head of household and gender

As noted above, approximately 75% in the sample were male headed
households and consequently 25% of the cases studied had female
headed households. Of the male headed households the nuclear family
was the most common family structure (43 %) in contrast to the female
headed households where the corresponding number was only 8%. Instead, the most common family structure amongst the female headed households was extended family (42%) as opposed to this corresponding to 26% of the male headed households.

Single mother households represent 17% while single father households represent 3%. The reasons for the relative preponderance of single mother households varies, however often women are left behind by the husband who has disappeared - often to South Africa to work, or left the household in favour of another relationship. Women head of households – usually with a number of dependents - choose different strategies to organise the household, often living with other parts of the family or having other family members present to help support.

25% of the Home Space sample were female headed

Thus the most common family structure among the female headed households was extended family followed by nuclear family with some extensions and single mother households. Very few female headed of households have a nuclear family composition in the Home Space sample.

Amongst the male headed households, the most common family structure was the nuclear family followed by extended family and thereafter nuclear family with some extensions.

34% of the sample was living as extended families

The single parent households were more common in the poorer households, and among the three polygamous families 1 was categorised as very poor (case 66) another one was poor (case 104) while the last one was a very rich curandeiro (case 58). However the study does not provide evidence of a strong relationship between family structure and economic status.

Number residing on plot

The study distinguishes between sleeping on plot and eating on plot as in some cases household members does not necessarily sleep and eat from the same pot everyday.

Sleeping on plot

When correlating number of main household residents sleeping on plot with the economic status of the household the following mean values emerge:

- Very poor households: 5.2 residents per plot,
- Poor households: 6.4 persons per plot,
- Households with medium level economic status: 7.2 persons per plot,
- Rich households: 4.9 persons per plot,
- Very rich households: 6 residents per plot

The mean value for main household members sleeping on the plot is 6.1. However, when calculating how many people are eating from the same pot within the same main household the number is 5.6 persons per plot and hence there is a difference between the number of household mem-

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6 Only 5 households is represented in the study within this economic category
bers sleeping and eating on plot. The main reason for this difference is that tenants have been recorded as sleeping on plot equally as the main household but not eating from the same pot. In total there are 7 plots with tenants corresponding to 38 persons. In the case of the remaining 13 persons sleeping but not eating on plot the reasons are various and difficult to verify as respondents were quite unclear in this respect. However it appears as it is essentially due to some household members having relations to a potential wife/husband and hence eating within these families quite regularly. In general however the study was interested in surveying the main household only and hence the issue concerned with potential differences in terms of who was only sleeping and eventual only eating within the same premises is of less importance as the major differences were recorded only in relation to tenants on site.

The majority of the surveyed households had approximately 7 people living on plot.

The figures indicate that poor households and those categorized as medium income are having the largest number of residents on plot at the time of the investigation. This suggests that very poor households do not have the capacity to absorb many dependents into their household whereas medium level economic status households have more economic resources and hence tend to have more residents on plot.

Some respondents (25%) mention there are more members of the households not staying on the plot at the time of the interview (36%). The reason for this is work elsewhere in Mozambique, studies or, as in most cases, in South Africa. One third of the households interviewed were having a member of the household not living on the plot currently – and therefore not counted as part of the main household resident for survey purposes. They do; however remain part of the perceived household in social and cultural terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household members not living on plot currently and economic status</th>
<th>households</th>
<th>universe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very rich</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This implies that it is typically the lower-income segments that had members of household not living on the plot during the time of surveys. However as the number among the more wealthy segments are quite low these figure are not necessarily representative.

The most common reason for not living on plot currently was for work in South Africa: 19 persons of 35 persons in total, i.e. 54.3%. Only 1 person was not living on plot currently because of study abroad and this person came from a very rich household.
### Number of residents on plots surveyed in year 1990 and 2010 respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number of residents on plot 1990</th>
<th>case 2010</th>
<th>Number of residents on plot 2010</th>
<th>household</th>
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<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V/2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
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</tr>
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<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV/4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>different</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 73 133 8 18

The survey revealed that more than half of the plots had a turn over in resident occupancy and further that the number of inhabitants increased significantly from 73 in 1990 to 133 in 2010 - much of this being through sub-division.

### Numbers of residents on plots surveyed in year 2000 and 2010 respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case 2000</th>
<th>Number of residents on plot 2000</th>
<th>case 2010</th>
<th>Number of residents on plot 2010</th>
<th>household</th>
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<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>38</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 157 143 16 7

The survey documents that most families from the 2000 study continues on the same plot as only seven were new families while 16 were the same.

In terms of number of inhabitants the number dropped slightly from 157 to merely 143. This may be explained as a consequence of a number of factors the most important being clearance of plot (case 1) and that the new seven households generally were smaller in size. This suggests that new settlers to a greater extent were composed as nuclear families.
Summary: Composition of Household

Nuclear family households are by far the most common household structure, however these often include some minor extensions of dependent family members (55%, of which 21% were slightly extended). Extended family households, however, represent 30% of all households surveyed and hence remain an important household structure. Nuclear families tend to be male headed. Single parent households are most frequently female headed and extended. Polygamy is rare but does exist in a few cases. There is no close correlation in the data between household structure and economic status however.

An average of 6 household members is residing on the plots in 2010. There is a significant difference between numbers resident on the plot across the 5 economic status groups with average 4.9 members (rich category) as the lowest number and 7.2 members (medium category). This suggests that the better off segments are having slightly smaller households (nuclear “modern” families) and that presumably the medium economic group have the capacity to absorb more family members.

Tenants on plot

Renting activities was a relative rare phenomenon with only 7 cases among the 97 sample. Most renting activities were observed within medium and poor groups and in home spaces located relatively close to the city centre presumably considered as attractive by accommodation seekers in terms of access to employment opportunities and services.

The study carries evidence that tenants in the sample all were nuclear families except one case which was composed of 4 single men renting one room. In another case 5 tenant households composed of a total of 13 persons were renting back yard rooms.

Absentee landlords were not observed in any of the home space sample cases and hence in all cases with renting activities the landlord co-inhabited the plot with the tenants however not sharing common facilities i.e. bath and toilets. Some households expressed a desire eventual to rent out living spaces indicating that the issue of renting is emerging in the peri-urban areas of Maputo as an additional source of income for typically low and medium income people.

In many African cities renting out living space is big business with quite wealthy landlords not living on the premises and often in possession of many rooms for rent in often quite dilapidated conditions e.g. Kibera in Nairobi. However this study does not carry any significant evidence of renting out living spaces in peri-urban has as a business.

Extent of tenancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>households</th>
<th>persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
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<td>84</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most tenants in the sample were nuclear families except one case (66) which was composed of 4 single men. In another case (2) 5 households composed of a total of 13 persons were backyard lodgers (renting a dependencia and the back of the main house where the landlord also lives however with separate entrance).

Tenancy was very limited in the sample and only observed in 8% of the cases.
Renting out living spaces was primarily taking place in the unplanned areas close to the city centre. Most renting activities were recorded as taking place in unplanned areas and in general quite close to the city centre. In case of the households located in the planned areas (official and unofficial) the reasons for renting out living space were economical as these landlords were considered as quite poor with large extended households.

**Economic status of landlord and number of tenants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>household</th>
<th>tenants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>very poor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>poor</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Renting out rooms as an additional source of income was within the sample mostly related to the poorer segments of the inhabitants. In all cases tenants and landlords co-inhabit the same plot, sharing to same extent the same available services. In one case (84) the interviewee was a tenant living with three young family members of the landlord.

**Summary: Tenants on plot and renting as an economic asset**

Renting activities was a relative rare phenomenon with only 7 cases among the 97 sample. Most renting activities were observed within the medium and poor groups and in home spaces located relatively close to the city centre presumably considered as attractive by accommodation seekers in terms of access to employment opportunities and services.

The study carries evidence that tenants in the sample all were nuclear families except one case which was composed of 4 single men renting one room. In another case 5 tenant households composed of a total of 13 persons were renting back yard rooms.

Absentee landlords were not observed in any of the home space sample cases and hence in all cases with renting activities the landlord co-inhabited the plot with the tenants however not sharing common facilities i.e. bath and toilets. Some households expressed a desire eventual to rent out living spaces indicating that the issue of renting is emerging in the peri-urban areas of Maputo as an additional source of income for typically low and medium income people.

In many African cities renting out living space is big business with quite wealthy landlords not living on the premises and often in possession of many rooms for rent in often quite dilapidated conditions e.g. Kibera in Nairobi. However this study does not carry any significant evidence of renting out living spaces in peri-urban has as a medium or large scale business.

**Marriage type**

30% of the households have completed the traditional lobolo ceremony to become husband and wife, which is the type of marriage ceremony most common in Southern Mozambique.

Only 10% of the households in the sample were married in a church while another 8% had completed a civil ceremony. For many, ideally a church and/or a civil wedding ceremony take place as well as the lobolo marriage as it was clearly expressed throughout the interviews.

27% had completed a family presentation.
27% respondents indicated they had undertaken a family ‘presentation’ ceremony or a common-law marriage, which does not constitute a formally concluded wedding, but acts as a form of mutual recognition of the couple living together and eventual when the financial conditions are in place the lobolo and the formal marriage ceremony may take place. 22% were widows, separated or single and 3% lived in a polygamous relationship.

Almost one third had completed the lobolo ceremony

The many different types of weddings and ways of recognising a relationship between a man and a woman show how getting married can be a process never quite concluded. There were thus recorded various degrees of being married and quite often not a simple status of yes or no as to whether being married.

10% of the Home Space sample was married in a church only

The poorer segments of the 2010 sample were in many cases not married formally albeit living together as a family with only a few having concluded partly the traditional marriage process. Some families had only completed the mutual family presentation ceremony. 40% in the very poor category were living as single parent families, the vast majority being women. Within the better-off families 80% had completed the full traditional marriage process with also civil registration and many were further married in their affiliated church.

Most poor household were not married formally albeit still living as a family

A full marriage process is a costly event and hence the poor had in many cases only partly completed this. Furthermore many among the poor and the very poor were living as single parent families whether being divorced, as widows or they were abandoned by their partner.

Among the segment with low economic status, common-law marriage was the most frequent mode of formalising a relationship. The relationships are not completely symmetrical, but there was noted a tendency from the full traditional marriage with church wedding and civil ceremony for the wealthier segments, common-law marriage and family presentation for the less wealthy while the poorest families often were not married, but still living together as a couple with their dependents.

For more in-depth information on marriage types, see the Ethnographic Report.

**Marriage type correlated to economic status**

Correlating with economic status, there is a strong difference between the marriage practices within the more poor and the more rich economic segments in the sample. In the very poor category, the highest proportions of families were divorced or single parent households representing as many as 40%.

**Marriage type according to economic status**

The relationships are not completely symmetrical, but there is a clear trend ranging from full lobolo, plus church wedding and civil ceremony for the wealthier segments, common-law marriage and family presentation for the less wealthy while the poorest families were often not married, or were separated (often not formerly) or widowed (or abandoned) now living as single parent households.

**Summary: Marriage types**

The poorer segments have in most cases only partly concluded the traditional marriage process, let alone the civil and/or church processes - the traditional processes seen as the priority for most. A marriage is a costly event and hence the poor have in many cases not concluded this. Among the more wealthy 80% had completed the full lobolo process, and
most were further married with a civil ceremony and had also completed a church wedding. Only 18% of the very poor were married with the full lobolo process. None in the very poor category were married in a church or had a civil wedding. Among the poor segment, common-law marriage was most frequent.
Place of origin

The responses have been divided in four categories:

- **Category A**: The place of origin is a province outside Maputo municipality and province representing 59% in the sample
- **Category B**: The place of origin is Maputo province 13%
- **Category C**: The place of origin is Maputo municipality 28%

Most Home Space sample residents did not originate from Maputo whether defined as the province or the municipality of Maputo. 59% were from outside Maputo when defined as province and municipality and out of these the majorities were migrants from the Southern part of Mozambique.

The most common place of origin outside Maputo is Gaza Province (32%) followed by Inhambane Province (12%), reflecting the geography of the country – as these provinces are those closest to Maputo.

For the 13 cases that come from Maputo Province 11 cases indicated where they originate from namely: 7 from Manhiça, 2 from Moamba and 2 from Marracuene.
Is the birth province considered as the “home-land”

Out of a universe of 96 answers, two thirds (67 %) responded positively and the remaining 33% responded negatively. However, since a quite large portion of the households surveyed come from Maputo (30%) this number must be taken with some caution.

When analysed due the categories listed above A, B and C:

Category A (informants coming from a province outside Maputo)
Provincial birthplace is considered as homeland: 48 % responded yes while 52 % responded no.

Category B (informants coming from Maputo province only)
Provincial birthplace is considered as homeland: 97 % responded yes while the remaining 3% responded no.

Category C (informants coming from Maputo Municipality)
Provincial birthplace is considered as homeland by all respondents as matter of principle.

Thus, while almost all informants from Maputo province consider their place of birth as their real home approximately half of the informants who come from other provinces considered their birth province as their real home and consequently the other half consider Maputo as their ‘home-land’.

Half of respondents migrating to Maputo consider their place of origin as their home-land and attempted to have regular contact

The households in the study generally come from Maputo municipality (28%), Maputo Province (13%) and the province of Gaza (32%), which is bordering on Maputo. There are also a number of families from Inhambane (12%), the province further to the north after Gaza along the coast. This leaves merely 15% of the households from the north of the country.

8% were a marriage between a person from Gaza and a person from Maputo, while 17% have either husband or wife from Maputo or Gaza provinces and the other spouse from further away.

Analysing the people who come from Gaza and Inhambane or where one of the partners come from Gaza or Inhambane, slightly more than half have responded that their place of birth is considered as their real home.

In the case of the ones originating from the centre of the country or from the north approximately 65% considers their place of birth as the home land indicating that still for people living in predominately rural or smaller towns these places represents their home land.

In general many expressed a desire to be buried in their home land. Whether this is wishful thinking and hence never will come into being or if this in reality shall be fulfilled is difficult to judge. However as transport is a significant expense often referred to by the respondents as the major obstacle for not visiting the home land as often as desired this may very well also be the case when passing away. In general funerals are important social events that require a substantial financial capacity in order for the families to respectfully honour a deceased family member.
When and why did the respondent move to Maputo if not place of birth?

Amongst the respondents whom migrated from the provinces to Maputo 9% moved too Maputo because they were transferred for work, another 9% moved to Maputo for further studies while 28% indicated that they moved to Maputo in search of work. 19% were reported leaving their home land due to the war. The remaining 35% have a variety of other reasons for moving to Maputo e.g.

19% of the respondents migrated to Maputo due to the war in the 1980’s

Amongst the people who come from Maputo 5% have lived on the plot since birth. 33% of the households moved to the plot surveyed before 1990 (15% pre-1980, 15% 1980-90), 24% between 1990 and 2000, and another 25% from 2000 to 2010 (the remaining 20% without information).

Most respondents origination from Maputo have lived on their current plot since before 2000

The correlation between when the households moved to the plot and distance to the city shows that in District 3, most plots were occupied in the 1980ies (32%). In districts 4 and 5, most plots were taken into use by the current households in the 1990s (31%), while the plots in the District of Marraquene have been settled on primarily since 2000 (57%). Marraquene District has been and continues to be in a process of unplanned and unofficially planned urbanisation over the previous decade as one of the major urban expansion areas of peri-urban of Maputo.

Most plots located in Marrucene District have been occupied after year 2000

In response to why the respondents moved to the plot where they live now predominantly the answer is “to have an own house and/or to be independent” (38%) or because of marriage/divorce (25%). 8% have always lived on their plot, while 7% wanted more space. 6% were relocated by the authorities. Of the relocated households, one was affected by the 2000 floods, one household was moved by the colonial authorities before independence and another family was affected by the removal of the residents from the Predio Cardoso in the centre of the city in the 1990ies.7

Other reasons to move to the plot range from “family conflicts”, “due to sell former plots to boers”, “taking care of family plot”, “criminality in Maxaquene” to “life in Maputo city considered hard and difficult and hence moved to Maraquene for better facilities”.

Very few of the sample cases have a plot somewhere else, and some were constructing houses there or renting out houses where they have lived before.

A number of respondents report wanting to move further away from the city to have more space. However, generally the respondents did not have plans of selling the plot where they were currently living and in most cases have been living for many years.

None of the Home Space respondents had plans to sell their house

As an overall conclusion on place of origin the study provides evidence that links to the rural hinterland were weakening and in quite a few cases

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7 The removal of residents from Predio Cardoso was due to a World Bank programme (PRU) aimed at the rehabilitation of some multi storey housing blocks in central Maputo. The programme was implemented from 1987 to 1995. The families that occupied the flats were either offered compensation or a new house located in Polana Canico A close to the University grounds in Sommerschield were some 160 house were built.
there were no links at all to the place of origin. The study documents that a new young generation is growing up as urban residents with no what-so-ever link to an imagined home land as many never have been to the places of their ancestors. Furthermore the growth of Maputo is not only due to in migration as popular belief argues but increasingly the Maputo residents themselves are generating growth in the urban population.

Summary: Place of origin

Most (72%) residents are still migrants, while 28% are from Maputo municipality. Most come in search for work or as refuges during the war. Most consider Maputo as their HOME albeit links to the place of birth still have some importance although in reality these links does not seem imply regular visits as transport is expensive.

Most respondents were migrants into the city (59%), while 41% were originating from Maputo province or municipality. However as the current generation of osing migrants is ageing the majority of the population growth is now composed of people born in Maputo evidenced clearly in the Home Space sample. This finding corresponds to demographic research currently undertaken by Eduardo Mondlane University, Centre for African Studies on the issue of urban growth and migration indicating that urban population growth to a great extent now is increasingly generated within the Maputo population itself and to a lesser extent due to in-migration.

Most migrants came in search for work or as refugees during the war ending in 1992. The majority of the migrants were from the southern provinces closest to Maputo namely Gaza and Inhambane.

Most respondents considered Maputo as their home town albeit links to the place of birth still had some importance for some respondents. However links to the place of origin appears to no longer imply regular visits as transport was considered expensive by many respondents. In general the study proves that links to the rural hinterland were weakening and less strong than previously. This process was also affected by the war and the displacement of people from their homelands where no one remained and hence nothing to go back to after peace was re-established in 1992.

Approximately 8% were long term residents meaning always lived and in fact many were born on the plot. Long term residents were in general belonging to the medium or lower income groups. Some of these long term residents had originally larger plots which in most cases had been subdivided and sold or ceded within the family.
Economic assets

Economic Status

The study has defined 5 economic categories of economic status, ranging from very poor and poor via medium to rich and very rich. This corresponds with five categories of analysis from the 2000 study, although the focus in this study was more on poverty than general economic status. The categories are defined as follows:

- **Very poor:** Families with hardly any assets and living in small poorly constructed and poorly maintained houses. Very few if any furniture, bathroom and toilet as simple pit latrines and no kitchen as such cooking outside on open fire at times on charcoal. Kitchen utensils very few and old. No television. No regular source of income. 0-5 years of primary education.

- **Poor:** Small or medium size house in a poor state of maintenance. Few furniture in a poor state. Bathroom and toilet as pit latrine sometimes as an improved pit latrine. Kitchen outside only over open fire or charcoal. Some kitchen utensils and also a fridge and at times TV set and radio. Some irregular income most often within the informal sector as street vendors or similar. Primary education up to 7 years of schooling.

- **Medium:** Medium size house in a fairly good state of maintenance. Flush toilet inside and additional pit latrine outside. Kitchen inside and also cooking facilities outside. Regular income within the formal sector being public or private. Sitting room fully equipped with armchairs,
Of the female headed households approximately 55% are categorized as very poor and poor while another 20% are rich or very rich while 25% is categorized as of medium economic level.

In general this reflects a relative difference between the economic status of male and female headed households with more female headed households experiencing poverty.

Settlement pattern and planning category related to economic status

The study recorded a higher concentration of very poor households in District 3 and further remarkably fewer households in categorized as rich or very rich was reported.

The rich and very rich cases identified in this study were to a great extent living in District 4 and in Marraquene District - specifically in the bairro Guava just outside the Maputo city boundary. The research further carries evidence that the medium economic category was the dominant category in all districts. The very poor were as indicated dominant in District 3 and an equal proportion of very poor and poor was found in District 4. The research hence indicates a diminishing proportion of poor households as the study moves away from the consolidated urban core. However the picture was blurred by the fact that all neighbourhoods were quite complex in social composition and were in a constant dynamic process of transformation. This process was in general characterized by wealthy segments moving in and the poor being marginalised and pushed out.

Economic status and planning typology

When disaggregating for planning typology the area with the highest proportion of plots amongst the very poor economic status category, were located in the planned official area (26%). If discounting the uninhabited plots, the number is even higher (29%). This is actually the largest category for this planning typology. The number for the reordered unofficial area was almost the same (25%). However, the distribution of the rest of the households means the largest group is the medium economic status group. For the unplanned area, the medium economic group was also the largest represented (37%). In the area unofficially planned, there were equally many households in the poor and the medium economic status groups (29%).
When crossing this information with the fact that the planned official area has the largest number of houses in a good state of maintenance (plastered, painted etc.) this may suggest that the socio-economic composition of the different areas in the study is very complex. Apart from a slight general tendency in the study of seeing slightly less very poor households when moving away from the city, the contrasts in terms of seemingly economic capacity in terms of housing standards within each area was more important than the differences between the neighbourhoods.

Whether this differentiation was a signal of a forthcoming gentrification is hard to judge from the current data and in reality more research into this specific topic would eventual cast light on whether this phenomenon shall shape part of the urban peri-urban landscape in Maputo over the coming decade.

**Employment**

60% of the respondents were engaged in the informal sector, while 40% were in formal employment whether in the public sector or in private enterprises.

The data does allow for some specification in terms of the spread within the formal and informal sector. However in general the validity of these data must be taken with some caution as these issues were not targeted specifically during fieldwork. Having said that it is still clear that the majority of the respondents engaged in the formal sector was government employees and most in the lower income bracket. Concerning the informal sector the majority (60%) was engaged with petty entrepreneurship (including transport and security). The remaining 40% of the 60% engaged in the informal sector were active as informal vendors with simple market stands or as street hawkers.

60% in the sample were engaged in the informal sector

The issue of formality concerning this quite significant sector in Mozambique is blurred as many de facto pays a fee at least occasionally to the municipal authorities. This does however not, in the opinion of this author, automatically justify labelling the sector as formal as the mentioned fee is quite insignificant and the efficiency in collecting this is very debatable.

40% in the sample were engaged in the formal sector
Informal and formal employment and Economic status:

1. **Very poor**
   - Informal: 18 = 81.8 %
   - Formal: 4 = 18.2 %

2. **Poor**
   - Informal: 17 = 80.9 %
   - Formal: 4 = 19.1 %

3. **Medium**
   - Informal: 14 = 50 %
   - Formal: 14 = 50 %

4. **Rich**
   - Informal: 5 = 38.5 %
   - Formal: 9 = 61.5 %

5. **Very Rich**
   - Informal: 1 = 20 %
   - Formal: 4 = 80 %

18% of the poorer households were in formal employment

There was recorded a very strong relation between economic status and employment. As many as 80% of the wealthy households in the survey were in formal employment, while for the very poor and poor households some 82% were identified in informal employment.

80% of the wealthy households were in formal employment

A quite significant higher number of female headed households (74%) were active in the informal sector, while the proportion of male headed households engaged in the informal sector was recorded as 56%.

74% of the female headed households was engaged in the informal sector

The respondents were classified according to the type of work they were engaged with and hence were divided into 5 groups as follows:

- 20% work as craftsmen as petty entrepreneurs (most informal)
- 40% as civil servants or in private formal employment
- 20% work as informal vendors
- 3% work in security most informally
- 17% have “other” type of activity in the informal sector

Most craftsmen were self employed or working as workers within small enterprises typically within the building sector. However some were also employed in the formal construction sector as quite a number of big projects over recent years have absorbed a significant number of workers in the building sector.

56% of the male headed households was engaged in the informal sector

The 40% of the respondents engaged in the formal sector whether public or private covers a wide range of type of work however with many working in low skilled jobs in the building sector or as servants, drivers etc.

The one fifth working as informal vendors was mostly women and the majority was found in the poor or very poor category.

The 3% employed in the security sector were all found in the lower income bracket and most were informally employed, however the security industry has been growing over recent years and mostly within the formal sector with regional and international security companies entering Maputo.

The 17% engaged with the so-called other activities were all in the informal sector and many worked as domestic servants and like-minded activities.

**Machamba**

36% of the households interviewed had a machamba in a designated green zone or another site not being the housing plot.

In most cases the produce was for domestic consumption (75%) while 25% had a surplus production offered at the market complementing the economy of the household. There were a larger number of male headed households which had a machamba than the female headed households.
None of the female headed households used their machamba for selling the crops apart from petty trade as table top shops in front of the plot. One household who had inherited a machamba plot was renting this to someone (case 90).

36% of the sample had an agricultural plot producing primarily for self-consumption

Among the households with a machamba almost half had further a small vegetable garden on their plot for self consumption only. These on plot vegetable gardens were in all cases producing very little and all seasonal crops only.

Approximately one third practised vegetable gardening on the plot only and in all cases this production was only for domestic consumption and petty trade at times in front of the house. However vegetable gardening on plot was producing very little.

Animal production (chicken, ducks and in very few cases pigs) on plot was recorded in 20% of the cases. This production was very limited in scale and basically for self consumption only.

Machamba possession was recorded with 14% among the very poor while some 22% of the poor had a machamba. The medium economic group was represented with some 13% while among the rich some 7% had a machamba and finally very few in the very rich category were recorded with agricultural land possession and production.

Machamba possession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very poor</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very rich</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How did head of household succeed employment?

1. Recommended by friends (26%)
2. Recommended by family (15%)
3. Self Employment (22%)
4. Actively searching (newspaper and submission of CV) (28%)
5. Other (9%)

Most people were securing jobs through networks and family ties. Self-employment is a complex category and difficult to identify the determinants on how such engagements came about. However it is beyond doubt that local networking plays a decisive role in succeeding setting up petty trade or other informal sector activities.

Competition in the informal sector was high and fights and control over good marketing spots (whether in the bairro or in the central city) were frequently reported and hence an important factor determining the surplus produced by the hawker, shoe repairer and likeminded. Furthermore all informal sale in the public domain, and not least street vending in the central city, is under constant risk of being harassed by the police as street vending, without being licensed, is an illegal activity in Maputo.

The information on respondents having been actively searching for jobs including submission of CV may be somehow biased. This was due to the fact that respondents de facto submitting CV in general were quite well reflected on the issue of employment qualifications and how to search for jobs while for the respondents in the operating in the informal sector the issue was often not fully understood. Hence the responses were often unclear and fluid and it was to understand how such working arrangements in reality came about. This was demonstrated by the relative high number of respondents in the informal segment not being capable of responding to this issue in a reflective and clear manner. Hence also the relative many respondents found in the “other” category as the respondent obviously found it hard to explain how working engagement was secured.

In relation to gender is was clear that most male respondents (40%) succeeded employment via friends and kin/family connections, while almost one third was via formal channels. One fifth was self employed while another 11% was succeeding employment via “other” entrances.

In case of the female respondents the responses were quite even distributed among connections to friends and kin/family and being self-employed all three categories with 27%.
1.7 persons per households were regularly contributing to household subsistence

Most household had contributed to the economy on a quite regular basis as very few were recorded as only succeeding contributing occasionally and these were all found within the poorer segments.

Two thirds of the informal vendors are female headed households, in fact all the households categorised as low or very low economic status and working as informal vendors, are female headed households.

Contribution to food consumption either from machamba, wage income or both machamba and wage income.

When correlating this to the economic status of the households the two poor categories were sustained with approximately 65% from work and hence some 25% from machamba and finally 10% as a combination of machamba and income. Within the medium segment some 10% was as machamba contribution, 70% from work and 20% as a combination. The two better off economic segments had no contribution form machamba as all household contribution to food consumption was recorded as income based.

Contributing to household Economy

The average of number of household members contributing to household subsistence was recorded as 1.7 persons with 1.5 persons in the very poor category as the lowest recorded number contributing to household economy and 1.9 in the medium segments as the highest. The better off segments (rich and very rich) were having 1.7 and 1.6 respectively persons sustaining the household economy.

There was no variation in the number of household members contributing to the economy when correlating to gender as this was recorded as 1.6 in female headed households and 1.7 persons in male headed households.

In relation to gender there were signs that men were more pro active in searching for formal jobs whereas women were depending to a greater extent on social networks in search for employment opportunities. This relates to another finding in this study namely that women were the prime actors in petty trade activities in the informal sector.

There were also a higher proportion of male headed households securing employment through submitting a CV (30%) while the corresponding figure for female headed households was 18% however the number responding is quite small as some respondents were unclear on this issue and hence the argument have less weight.

60% of the very poor and poor was securing employment via kin and friends.

Concerning the relation between employment searching and household economic status, this showed very clearly that the poor and very poor segments were depending on family and other social networks with as many as 60% while the medium economic group in one third of the cases were searching actively submitting CV and the like while the upper economic segments were recorded as much more active searching through formal channels recorded in 57% of the cases.

Almost 70% were bringing in money from work as their contribution to household food consumption. Some 13% were from selling machamba products and finally some 17% were as a combination from machamba production and work.

When correlating this to the economic status of the households the two poor categories were sustained with approximately 65% from work and hence some 25% from machamba and finally 10% as a combination of machamba and income. Within the medium segment some 10% was as machamba contribution, 70% from work and 20% as a combination. The two better off economic segments had no contribution form machamba as all household contribution to food consumption was recorded as income based.
70% were contributing in monetary terms to household food consumption while 30% was from machamba production.

Finally correlating to gender there is a difference in terms of income based contribution as more female headed (78%) than male headed (65%) members were contributing to household food consumption. This may be explained as a consequence of women primarily holding the responsibility of family reproduction and care and hence to the extent possible assure the daily meals. The males were to a greater extent recorded as responsible for expenses related to keeping plot and house in good order, school fees and other social obligations. However the picture is blurred and based on rather superficial data and hence more in-depth social research is needed to clarify such issues. See also Ethnographic Study for more details.

Savings and debts

The following analysis is based on correlation between economic status and savings and debt respectively.

The study operates in general with economic assets which goes beyond monetary income and consider a variety of activities as assets e.g. investment in building materials for later house improvements.

Economic status correlated to savings as building materials stored on plot and/or seemingly construction work in progress at the time of the investigation:

More than two third of the respondents were without an bank account

Very poor and poor households had limited savings as stored building materials (1% and 17% respectively) while the medium segment had saving corresponding 22% of the cases. The two stronger economic categories had savings in terms of building actives or materials stored on plot corresponding some 87% and 80% respectively which clearly indicates the dynamics of the peri-urban areas under study as the better off households representing some 15% of the total sample all were having some kind of building activities in progress.

The medium segment was also relatively active as one fifth of these had work in progress or materials stored on their plot. In the case of the poorer household these were obviously taking much longer time improving their houses albeit still some were investing.

Savings and debt was primarily in either banks or Xitique (community based savings groups) or both as was recorded quite often being the case.

Very few of the very poor had bank accounts however some were active in saving groups. Among the poor some 43% succeeded to save some money either in Xitique groups (half), in banks (other approximately half) or in a few cases as building materials stored on site.

In general however the survey clearly indicates that the savings that the two poor segments succeeded was mostly in Xitique savings groups. The ones in this group with bank account were primarily civil servants with an obligation to have an bank account in order to receive the monthly payment.

43% of the poor had savings either in banks, Xitique or as building materials on site

Within the medium segment savings were quite often both in banks and in saving groups corresponding some 75% of that economic segment group. The economically two stronger groups all had savings in banks and some also in Xitique savings groups typically the women in the household.

Many were active in Xitique (saving group) across all the five economic categories however most among the poor

Economic status correlated to debt

In 18% of the cases the very poor had some debt while the poor had very limited debt according to the sample. The medium segment had in 22% of the cases some debt while among the upper two economic categories some 15% had debt and among the very rich more than half had debt. This finding suggests that people within these much stronger economic segments were making use of the formal financial banking system both in terms of savings and lending.

Only few in the sample were in debt

In relation to which institution, organisation and/or individual the respondents had debt to there was a clear tendency amongst the poor having
debt to the informal sector of the economy while the medium segment and two upper segments of the economic stronger people the tendency is clear with all having some debt to either banks or saving groups at the time of the investigation.

Institutions and organisations lending money as reported by respondents in the survey:

- bank
- friend
- neighbour
- employer
- commercial enterprises
- micro credit

However in general the level of debts was considered to be quite low among all economic segments and the spread over the institutions lending money shows that most were in debt to banks and micro credit organisations and very few to commercial middlemen, employer or friends.

Summary: Economic assets and savings and debts

Approximately half (47%) of the household in the sample in the sample were categorised as poor while 20% were categorized as better off and one third were considered as having a medium level of economic capacity. This presumably reflects in general the level of poverty in Mozambican urban areas as also reported in the recent report: Poverty and Wellbeing in Mozambique: Third National Poverty Assessment, Ministry of Planning and Development, Mozambique, September 2010.

The majority of the home space cases were engaged in the informal economy and among the poorer segments this figure was a high as 80% in the Home Space sample. This is figure was exactly the opposite when correlating the rich category where 80% were recorded as operating in the formal sector.

Many poor households (approximately 25% of the ones in possession of a machamba) had a significant contribution from machamba production whereas the medium group had approximately 10% from machamba and the rich groups have no machamba production as a contribution to household food consumption.

The rich groups solely depended on income from employment. Machamba engagement was hence quite strongly related to economic status as only the poorer and medium groups were generating a monetary income from machamba engagement.

Concerning savings and debts most families within all the 5 economic categories responded quite poor and loose to the interview concerning savings and debts and hence the results are difficult to draw clear conclusions on. This was expected as issues related to household economy in general are sensitive and considered highly private and hence the output must be taken with some caution. However some tendencies may still be observed.

Out of a universe of the 93 households in the sample some 29 responded being in a position to save some money while the remaining vast majority (64) seemingly was not saving any financial resources and hence living on a day to day survival economy.

Out of a universe of 96 households some 17 reported having debt and hence the vast majority (79) did not have any debt. The debts were distributed between debts to banks and micro credit organisations as the most common while debts to friends and commercial middlemen were even distributed albeit only few were recorded having such kind of debts.

In terms of savings some 18 % of the very poor and 43% of the poor segment had savings and the majority was in saving groups. When analysing the medium group a significant number 75% had the ability to save recourses quite even spread over banks and Xitique. Concerning the rich group some 93% of the universe had savings in banks and finally among the very rich segment the entire universe had bank savings.

When correlating economic assets including investments in building materials for eventual house improvements the figures reflects the same tendency with the very poor having hardly any assets in terms of building materials stored on plot while the poor had 17% of the universe as some kind of safeguarded investment stored on the plot.

Among the medium segment some 22% had building materials stored on site while among the better and upper segments some 87% and 80% respectively had building stored on plot or, as it often was the case, these households were in a process with some kind of house improvements.
The economically two stronger defined groups had savings in banks and also often in saving groups.

In relation to which institution, organisation and/or individual the respondents had debt to there is a tendency amongst the poor having debt to the informal sector of the economy (saving groups) while the medium segment and two upper segments of the economically stronger households the tendency is clear with all having at the time debt to either banks or saving groups.

The figures on savings suggest that the affluent people in the sample had savings and bank accounts while the lower income brackets to a far lesser extent appears to be able to save money and most did not have a bank account. Savings groups were basically the medium these low-income people seek to when in possession of some money to save and the most active in this were women.

Concerning debts the very poor and the poor inhabitants in the sample only few had debts (18%) and these were either linked to a) commercial activities in the petty trade business; b) to micro finance involvement; c) to neighbour or to a former plot owner. None within this poor segment of the survey had debt to a bank. In the medium bracket 22% had debts either to a bank or a micro credit group. The better off two economic categories had debts to either banks and/or micro credit organisations.

The figures on debts suggest low level of debt in general with an indication that the higher income segments having debts in formal finance institutions while the poor and low-income people in general only to a limited extent were engaged with debts and if so be basically in micro credit organisations and hence on quite a modest scale.

Savings related to financial institutions indicates that the very poor and the poor mostly had savings in savings groups as Xilique. These households had limited savings (1% and 17% respectively), while the medium segment had saving in 22% of the cases. The stronger economic categories had savings corresponding 87% and 80% respectively. Within the medium segment savings were in both banks and savings groups (75%).
Human resources and assets

Dependents

Almost households in the study had dependants in the household, on average some 3 persons. This did not vary much according to economic status, even considering the study finding that economically stronger households was generally slightly larger. The average value of adults residing on each plot was 3.7. In 9 cases there was only one adult living on the plot.

70% of the households had adults living with them as dependents. The mean value of adult dependents is 1.6 per household. Calculated in relation to the households having adult dependents the mean value is 2.3 per household.

Of all the 97 inhabited plots 93 households had adult dependants. The mean value is 3.6 dependants per household.

Almost all households within the Home Space sample had dependants with an average of 3.6 dependants per household.
Economic status and dependents

There is not a clear correlation between economic status and dependants per household. The figures vary between 3 – 4 dependents per household within the different economic categories.

Children

Of the 97 respondents 87% had children (defined as age 0-15 years) living with them as dependents an average 2.2 per household.

Calculated in relation to the households with children the mean value was 2.5 children per household.

Of the 97 respondents, only 9 cases had one adult person residing on plot. The mean value is 3.6 dependant adults per inhabited plot.

On average households in the sample had 2.2 children

In general the picture these figures illuminates can be confirmed in the census data from the 2007 census. According to census the number of children under the age of 15 years has a mean value of 1.8 which is somehow slightly lower reflecting that households in the central city generally have less children living an urban modern life as nuclear families with fewer dependants.8

The spread in number of children per household according to economic status was 2.1 among the very poor and 1.6 among the rich.

Number of children and household and economic status

There was not a very clear correlation between number of children per household and economic status, the figures showing that of the very poor households the mean value was 2.1 children/household, for poor households 2.4 children, medium 2.5 children, rich households 1.7 children and very rich households 1.6 children.

Schooling

81% of the households had at least one person in education. Of these, 59% are in primary education, 34% in secondary school, while 5% were following a university course.

The total number of households where at least one household member was in education was 81 households. The distribution of schooling level is as follows: 1. Primary 59%, 2. Secondary 34%, 3. University 5% and 4. Other training 3%.

Correlation: Education and economic status

There was a clear correlation between economic status and schooling level. The schooling level has been categorized into four different levels: 1. Primary school, 2. Secondary school, 3. University and 4. Other training e.g. vocational education

12% from among the very poor went to secondary school

Of the very poor persons 85% went to primary school, 12% went to secondary school, 4 % went to some form of other training but none was in university.

Amongst the poor category 82% went to primary school, 16% to secondary school, 2% in university and none in other training.

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8 In Denmark the mean value is 0.3 children per household.
Of the medium households 50% of the persons went to primary school and the other half in secondary school were 2% in university and 1% in other training.

None from the very poor segment were in University

Amongst the rich 43% was in primary school, 38% in secondary school, 15% in university and 5% in other training.

Amongst the very rich 33% was in primary school, 40% in secondary school, 13% in university and 13% in some other training.

15% of the rich households had one member in university

Education levels were from no education to doctoral degree. 48% have completed a part of primary school. 25% have completed one or more classes of secondary school, and 11% have started a university course. 9% have no education and 4% have other form of vocational training.

4% among the Home Space cases had someone in vocational training

Although other factors may have an influence – e.g. number of children/household related to economic status – the economic status do have a clear correlation with schooling level. This is especially evident when regarding those studying at university, where the majority of these come from economically strong or very strong households (8 of 11 persons at university which equals to 73%).

- 02 - 09 No Education 09%
- 10 - 53 Primary School 48%
- 54 - 76 Secondary School 25%
- 77 - 89 University 14%
- 90 - 92 Other 04%
Water

60% of the Home Space cases had running water on their plots. 34% had no running water. (6% of the plots were vacant).

70% of the cases (whether as running water on the plot or not) buy their water from a private supplier. 14% have public water supply, while 17% did not give information who their water supplier was. Most of the plots with public water supply were in district 3 as part of an upgrading scheme targeting Polana Canico, installing water taps on all plots. Thus the proportion of cases with running water was highest in District 3. However, the installation was very recent when the interviews were conducted, and respondents were uncertain when and how much they would pay for their water supply. It was also unclear how regular water supply eventually would be as peri-urban residents were used to frequent cuts in the supply at times spanning over days.

Water provision was not considered as a problem by most residents in the sample.

Generally prices for water vary, but a concentration around 200-300 met per month was observed. In general respondent were not significantly complaining as the price of water but more to the availability and the frequency in getting water. There was no great variation observed between District 4 and Marraquene or the planned and unplanned categories with
The lack of drainage makes many roads impassable during heavy rainfall.

regards to how many cases had running water on the plots. Obviously what seemed to be the case was that private suppliers were rather busy responding to demand in most peri-urban areas most significantly further out in the new areas.

Sanitation

33% third had a simple pit latrine while improved pit latrines where used in 28% and WC with septic tank in 26%. Very few cases were recorded without any toilets facilities at all. Indoor bathrooms and WC served with septic tank was considered as a costly construction and hence was typically seen in more well-off families.

61% had pit latrine as sanitation while 39% had WC connected to on-site septic tank.

The toilet outside is normally situated at the bottom of the plot farthest away from the street and, importantly, as distant as possible from the kitchen on plot.

The Home Space study carries evidence that the location of toilets and bathrooms most commonly are in a separate building or a screened off location as far as possible from the main house. This configuration was seen in 74 % of the cases, while 13 % had their toilet and bathroom inside the main house and further 13% having toilet and bathroom both inside and outside.

None of the areas under study was served with sewer

Three quarters of the toilets outside were under open air i.e. relatively simple constructions, typically walls built of blocos or sometimes a caniço or chapa wall screening off the toilet and bathroom space.

Domestic energy

Proportion of houses with electricity was also higher nearest to the city centre, with 79% in our cases in District 3, against a general 67% in the study as a whole. In the unofficially reordered cases, 88% have electricity. In other areas, the proportion with electricity was between 60% and 67%. Pre-paid Credilec was by far the most widespread system for electricity supply in the study.

67% of the Home Space cases had electricity installed

Most of the cases that did not have electricity also did not have running water on their plots. However, there are a couple of exceptions due to the official scheme of installing water in Polana Caniço, meaning there were three cases with running water on plot but no electricity.

Wood as fuel: A reason for continued deforestation.

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9 32 % had simple pit latrine, 28 % had improved pit latrine, 26 % had WC with septic tank and 13 % had toilet both inside and outside.
Charcoal was used throughout the survey sample as the dominant fuel for cooking.

As to fuel for cooking all households was using charcoal at times with the poor cooking with charcoal on a regular basis and the medium economic segment also relative regularly. All better-of households used a mixture between gas, electricity and occasionally charcoal for cooking. Very few used electric cookers as this was considered very expensive by most respondents.
Social facilities and sense of security

Primary schools and secondary schools were generally considered as close to the families interviewed. 82% of respondents claimed to live in less than 15 min walking distance from a primary school and 61% lived the same distance from a secondary school.

In terms of health institutions in the bairros some 33% of the respondents reported living less than 15 min walk from a health facility. Another third claimed to live some 15-30 min away from a clinic, and finally one third lived “far” from health facility according to the data gathered during interviews.

Most respondents lived less than 15 minutes walking distance from a primary or a secondary school.

Shopping facilities and public transport were reported as considered by the respondents as quite well covered and hence only few cases in the areas furthest from Maputo city centre claimed to have to go “far” to catch public transport or shopping facilities either as markets or shops.
Sense of security

A majority of respondents report that they felt safe in their bairros, and that security was rather good (61%). However some 39% were not happy with the security situation. The number of people living in areas with streetlights corresponds quite well to these numbers as some 59% have streetlights of household in the entire sample.

Incidentes: 12 cases among the 97 respondents reported that there had been robberies in the house or somebody were assaulted in the neighbourhood. Computers and chickens were reported stolen.

61% of the respondents were satisfied with the security in their area.

About half the respondents never noticed police presence in their bairros (46%) while some 27% claim there was police presence "some times", while another 27% affirm that there generally is some police presence in the bairro.

In very few cases, the community had organised security groups but experience was poor as to performance and most did only operate over short period of time.

Accordin to 46% of the Home Space respondents there was never any police presence in their bairro.

When analysing what people mean when they said security is good, the main issue is police presence. There was recorded a much larger proportion of people who had a “good” general sense of security among the ones who lived in areas with regular police presence than in areas without police presence. The other main determining factor was street lights as quite a many of respondents living in areas covered with street lights considered security relatively good in their area.

When correlating with social assets in general or whether there is family or kin nearby, the numbers did not show a very significant pattern. The category which seems to have a clear correlation is whether there is a network available when the person is asking for help. Although numbers were few, there was a much larger proportion who has “bad” sense of security among the people who have “no one” or only the church to help when the family is in need. See next section on social networks.

Correlating economic status and a sense of security gave the following indicators: Among the people who were considered of rich or very rich economic status, 45% answered they had a good sense of security, while 20% have bad security. The remaining did not have an answer. In the category “poor” or “very poor”, there was a 20% vs 20% divide while 60% did not give sufficient information to be able to classify their sense of security.

45% of the wealthy respondents had a good sense of security in their neighbourhood.

Sense of security and planning category. The data reveals that there was a higher level of sense of security in the officially planned areas than in all other planning categories with some 43% claiming a good sense of security. In the unofficial areas the corresponding answer was found in 36% of the cases and in the unplanned areas only 13% areas were satisfied with the security situation in their area. Finally some 50% in the reordered areas were happy with the security situation reaching the highest score in the sample.

87% of the respondents in the unplanned areas were not satisfied with the security situation.

These figures clearly indicates the need for better infrastructure services in terms of street light and also better organised settlements as it was frequently reported that assaults and breaking into houses were far more easy in the dense informal settlements with the many narrow alleys and hiding spots as it was reported. Finally the issue of police presence which by many was considered key to better security but on the other hand quite a few respondents expressed doubts as to the efficiency of the police force when operating in the bairros.
Social assets

Relation to eventual tenants

As reported elsewhere in the Home Space research renting out living spaces was a relative rare phenomenon and was only recorded in approximately 7% of the cases. In all cases landlords were co-inhabiting with the tenants living on the plot, however with separated entrances and facilities in terms of water and sanitation. In total of there were 40 tenanting persons. On average some 4 tenants were renting spaces on each of plot. Most tenants were as single households with children and only in one case the landlord was renting living space to five individual households on his premises as backyard lodging.

All recorded renting activities were as co-habitation as the landlord and the tenants lived within the same premises albeit with separate facilities

There was recorded some correlation between number of tenants and the economical level of the household as none of the rich or very rich household was having tenants living on plot, while the medium, poor and very poor economic categories households all were represented with renters on their premises. None of the cases have absentee landlord. Renting was hence still in the Maputo peri-urban area covered by this sample seen as a petty activity supplementing the economy of relatively poor households. It is however clear that in other parts of Maputo renting is an issue for many and hence the planning and regulation of these areas
necessarily must consider how to best cater for this urban phenomenon which is quite normal in other Sub-Saharan African Cities.

In relation to planning categories most cases with renting activities were found in the unplanned areas suggesting that the unplanned areas relatively close to the city are attractive sites for potential renters close to employment opportunities and other urban amenities. All renting was practiced in co-habitation with the owner of the house and most respondents were reporting a relative good relationship with their tenants as most did not find this relationship very important and hence half said it was good and half found it quite indifferent.

Social networks
When analyzing the potential relationships to the people in the neighbourhood some 63% said they have family and kin living nearby.

Civic organizations or CBOs were not widespread as only one respondent report to be member of several NGOs including an agricultural organisation, ex-combatants and a women’s forum.

Very few in the sample were active in CBO’s or NGO’s

When real problems occurred, clearly the family was the to trust most according the interviews. When asking who they turn to in case of need, family, neighbours and friends were all important, however when asked who they turn to when in severe difficulties, 82% responds to the family. There was also a large proportion - 26% - who indicated there was no one to help if they were in severe problems. According the respondents friends, church and neighbours may help a bit as well, but for all respondents most important was the family.

26% responded to have no one to turn to if in severe difficulties

Summarising the social assets of the Maputo Home Space cases, about half fall in the category “medium”. The other half is roughly equally divided between “strong” and “poor”, with slightly more in the “strong” category (27%), and 21% in the “poor” category.

63% of the sample had family or kin living nearby

27% were classified as with strong social assets
52% were classified as with medium social assets
20% were classified as with poor social assets

Religion

90% of the households had one or more members attached to a Christian church.

24% were considered as active church goes, meaning they went often and/or were members of church committees or involved in community work through the church. Some households had positions within the clerical leadership. Three respondents were not members of any church. Two interviewees were curandeiro/a and hence according the informants could be member of a church however still with household members belonging to a church.

There were no Muslims recorded in the interviews among the 97 households in the study. However when analysing the physical study a two cases has signs of religious relics on their walls indicating some attachment to Islam. Moreover there were recorded several mosques in the area under study. For more in-depth information of the role of religion in everyday life in the sample see Ethnographic Study Report.

Legal assets and relations to government

Most respondents knew the chefe de quarteirão (93%), while 38% know the Secretário de Bairro. Everyone except one respondent voted in the last local elections, showing a very strong faith in the political system.

Almost everybody in the sample voted in the national election

When asked what type of assistance they have received from government many, expressed a significant disappointment indicating that “the government does nothing”, “there is no point waiting for the government”.

Most residents know the chefe de quarteirão while only 38 know the Secretário de Bairro
30% of respondents believed that government is responsible for providing improvements in infrastructure, including water provision and parcellamento as it was often expressed. 34% indicted that the government ought to help them getting jobs, while some 41% expected “other” assistance such as scholarships to allow their children go to school and get an education. Other things mentioned was help with improving the house, specifically after the damages of the ammunitions depot explosion in ammunition depot (paiol), security, pensions, schools and health clinics and generally helping the poor.

86% agreed that the government has brought some type of infrastructure improvements in their bairros.

Generally the responses as to the role of the government indicated a significant faith in the government and strong expectation to what government would an not least should do for the residents. On the other hand another quite substantial share of the residents were not satisfied as with government performance in the bairro and an often recorded response was “never had any help” or simply “no point waiting for the government”.

Land access mechanism and security of tenure

75% of the Maputo Home Space cases state that they consider that the head of household holds the use rights for the plot. An additional 10% claim the use rights are shared between the head of household and part of the family. In most of the remaining cases (15%), use rights belong to another family member; although in one case the respondent is a tenant on the plot.

Land access mechanism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total allocated by authority</th>
<th>Total bought</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total ceded w/in family</td>
<td>Total owned by relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total long term resident</td>
<td>Total rented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no answer</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than half of the respondents bought their plot of land (58%). 18% was allocated by an authority, and for 10% the land was ceded within the family. 7% claim the status of long term resident, “always lived on the land”, the remaining 7% claiming the land is owned by a relative and or they rented their plot.

Occupation of the plot

32% of all the respondents moved to their current plot between 2000 and 2010 – i.e. since the previous survey. Another 1/3 (32%) moved there between 1990 and 2000, and the rest (slightly more than a third - 36%) have lived on the plot since before 1990 (half of these declaring they were there before 1980). There were cases which report having always lived on the plot and inherited it from their families.

The large majority claim there was nothing, a field or “bush” on the plot when they moved to it. Some moved to the plot when there was a dependencia, and in very a small number of cases the house or part of it was already there as well. This suggests that a housing market has hardly been established as by time of the survey. However there is a quite clear indication of an emerging land market as highlighted in the 2000 survey as these mostly first or second generation settlers are increasingly subdividing and selling their farmland or homesteads.
Documentation

Three quarters (75%) of the respondents claim to have some form of documentation for their claim to the use rights of the plot although only 59 out of 97 (~60%) responded to the question of what type of document they have. However most residents were quite elaborate and clear in relation to their right to stay on their plot and very few expressed a sense of insecurity even if few were in a position to specifically indicate which kind of documentation they had. This was further related to the fact that most interviews were with women and in general issues related to land were considered as the responsibility of the men.

Most respondents reported having documentation on their land occupation

Out of these respondents, the highest number (36%) indicated they have a declaration signed by the ‘Secretário do Bairro’ or ‘Chefe de Quarteirão’ affirming their residency status for the area. 22% indicated they have a declaration from these authorities testifying to a ‘willing-buyer/willing-seller’ agreement, and 20% claim to have a formal usufruct land use document, DUAT. Another 11% of the sample claimed to have an occupancy declaration and DUAT application in progress. Three cases have other forms of documentation, one from the state rental institution APIE which however no longer has much importance as the vast majority of the rental housing stock has been sold since the liberalisation of the economy in the early 1990’s.

Sense of security of tenure and conflict resolution

There was generally a high sense of tenure security and very few conflicts related to land reported in the study. 75% reported they feel a high sense of security for their plot. Only 10% reporting having a low sense of security and 9% were indifferent.

75% report having a high sense of security of tenure

Only three of 102 cases reported concerning problems with their property rights or boundary disputes, 97% considering they have no problems of security with their plots. The few land disputes observed had been solved at the neighbourhood level without involving any higher legal institutions. Typically the local administration i.e. chefe de quartearo or secretario de bairro intervenes in such affairs.

Aspirations for the plot

69% of respondents reported that they intend their children to inherit the plot, 3% that another family member will inherit, while 19% do not yet have plans of what should happen to the plot in the future (3% were renting and 6% responded they did not have the power to take such a decision). Only 1 case had plans for selling part or the entire plot, while some were considering subdividing for sale, finally 6% would consider renting out part of or the entire plot.

39% of the respondents have a plot of land somewhere else, normally in Maputo, but also a few instances were reported of people having land further away from the city or in another part of the country. Two cases indicated having concrete plans of moving to their other plot in another part of Maputo or Marraquene.

Analysing whether there was a correlation between the few people who had a bad or indifferent sense of security of land tenure and other socio-economic aspects the picture was quite blurred and no clear correlations could be identified e.g. there was no apparent correlation between land tenure security and a general sense of security in the neighbourhood.

Other factors e.g. family nearby or whether there were people helping when need arises i.e. the level of social assets encountered in the neighbourhood were issues without clear evidence.
Furthermore economic status did not appear to be a significant factor in relation to whether residents sense of security of tenure. However there were recorded more households in the medium category than the complete sample with a high sense of security of tenure. The indifferent group was largely found among the poor and very poor.

**Well-being and aspirations for the future**

Peace and quiet in the neighbourhood were the predominant values and qualities mentioned when asked what the respondents like most about their home spaces and neighbourhoods. Noise and crime is what were referred to as what they dislike most. The answers to these question areas were however not very consistent as many respondents felt a bit uneasy responding.

![Residents most desired improvements](image)

30% responded with the term “calm” or quiet or “tranquil” as positive features of the neighbourhood in which they live while a few 4% responded positively on the physical organisation of the bairro with straight streets and open spaces.

15% responded “nothing” to what they do not like as this seems to be a difficult concept to relate to.

There appeared to be a common understanding among the Home Space residents that a calm neighbourhood is good and that the bairro in general including the neighbours had a high priority as a good living environment. However when asked to respond positively on security only 10% were satisfied with the security whereas in the overall survey some 39% were happy with the security in their area. This may be due to the fact that security in general was considered as a big issue in the bairros and hence respondents were often contradicting themselves when commenting on these issues. It is further interesting to not that very few responded positively on the need for physical order ("parcelamento") as in the general survey concerned with this issue appeared to have a high ranking among resident’s desire for a better living environment.

**What residents likes most about the house, plot and neighbourhood**

- calm and quiet 30%
- “the bairro as such” 10%
- neighbours 17%
- near schools, transport, city 11%
- breeze and spaciousness 10%
- physical organisation 5%
- security 10%
- always lived there 6%

**What residents most like to improve on their house/plot?**

- plaster the house, finishing’s 22%
- more rooms 24%
- water, sanitation 20%
- perimeter wall 29%
- nothing to improve 5%

Enclose the plot had a very high priority among all respondents for reasons of privacy and security. Apart from this finishing the house and add more rooms were recorded as priority house/plot improvements by the Home Space respondents.

**What have been improved in the neighbourhood?**

- water 22%
- electricity 19%
- street lights 19%
- waste collection 5%
- roads 12%
- better security 4%
- transport 4%
- schools or/and health posts 2%
- parcelling of plots 2%
- nothing 11%
Obviously the water provision had over recent years improved consider-
ably and hence quite a few respondents were positive in regard to the
issue. Electricity and street lights were further infrastructure improvement
receiving positive attention by the residents in the survey. However there
appeared to be little if any improvements in the security situation, the
transport available or the waste management according to the respond-
ents. Furthermore it was observed that 11% were of the opinion that no
improvement what-so-ever had been brought about over recent years.
Conclusion

During the three decades this research covers peri-urban Maputo has been in constant transformation. All areas under study bearing rural characteristics when studied in 1990 (and even so in some areas in the 2000 study) are today rapidly developing with clear suburban features.

However half of the home space households were still categorized as poor while the other half was considered in a stable economic situation with only few considered as better-off.

This depicts a major transition from the previous studies as most households then were quite poor. The study indicates that a new medium economic group was on the rise with capacity to invest in house building and education of their children. However many among the poor were still considered as quite marginalised and e.g. many did not have a bank account and were operating in the informal sector, whereas most among the wealthy group were employed in the formal sector.

The study revealed high rates of un- and underemployment, although few respondents declared being unemployed as most were engaged with some kind of occasional work.

Education was still unequally spread and only half of the respondents had completed a part of primary school with a quarter completed part of secondary school while very few were in either university or other training.
A quite significant number of the older respondents never went to school portraying enormous disparities in access to education.

Household sizes varied but in general households appeared to be shrinking in relation to previous studies and hence the largest number of dependants was found in the medium economic group with an average of 7 members per household.

Renting out living space as a mean to income generation was recorded in only a few cases and always with the landlord living on the plot. The study documents that renting is increasingly becoming the only option for poor and low-income residents. The previous studies did not record any renting activity.

The research did not observe urban agricultural as a significant and hence important economic activity among the Home Space peri-urban households in 2010, albeit a quarter was engaged with commercial vegetable production.

Infrastructure provision e.g. electricity and water had improved considerably since the previous research in 1990 and 2000. However accessibility in terms of roads and drainage were still a major problem in most areas under study most prevalent in the unplanned neighbourhoods. Educational and health facilities were well distributed in the study area and in general respondents were quite satisfied with the services provided.

Very few of the Home Space residents were active in civic organisations while family and kin in the neighbourhood seemed to play an important role in terms of social networks. Religious institutions were widespread throughout the sample area and most residents were attached to a religious congregation with one quarter reported being active on a regular basis.

Many respondents knew the local municipal representative often referred to as an intervening part when disputes over land or small businesses occurred. Almost all in the sample voted in the last national election.

The majority of today’s peri-urban residents were migrants from Southern Mozambique. Reasons for moving to Maputo were many with search for work as the dominant incentive while a fifth of the Home Space respondents migrated to Maputo due to the war in the 1980ies. Links to the place of origin played a role for half of the respondents, however many found it difficult to maintain these links as transport cost was considered a hindrance. The youth was however to great extent urban citizens with very limited, if any, contact to the rural areas or provincial towns where eventual their parents originated from.

Most of the Home Space residents considered that the land they occupied belonged to them and hence had a high level of security of tenure regardless of their general quite poor documentation confirming this user right. In some areas close to the city gentrification was in progress and residents were bought out and had left their houses. However in most parts of the sample area residents were continuously investing heavily in their homes in good faith.

The Home Space sample were undergoing a very dynamic transformation process and even during this research, remarkable building activities were recorded throughout the area and, importantly, regardless of the planning category, whether planned or unplanned. In conclusion the research shall point to some major social issues that have emerged during the study:

- How will the seemingly widening gap between poor and rich evolve;
- Where will the poor be able to settle with a commercial land market ostensibly pushing many into landlessness;
- Will the state be able to regulate an emerging housing rental market in favour of the poor and low-income population;
- How will the peri-urban areas evolve in terms of provision of infrastructure as the market driven urbanisation now at the forefront does not seem to invest in the public realm;
- Employment creation and qualification of the youth was throughout the study a concern to many with clear expectations to the state in tackling the unemployment issue;
- Transport was a daily burden to many pointing the deficiencies in the entire transportation system i.e. road capacity, congestion and costs.
- Social welfare in terms of quality education and health institutions accessible to all citizens at affordable costs were raised as an issue by many respondents.

The Home Space Socio-Economic Study has provided some insight into the reality of everyday life of ordinary Mozambican suburban citi-
zens. Many issues have been touched upon and many new issues have emerged in need for further research.

This research is only a beginning and more in-depth research aimed at providing thoroughly knowledge on how poor and low-income Mozambicans in urban areas are managing is exceedingly needed.
Glossary of key terms

The glossary defines / describes terms used in the research and has been an important part of the inter-disciplinarity of the research process. Key terms draw on physical (architecture / planning / housing), and social (sociology and anthropology) discourses – and their use has often generated discussion within the research team. The outcome of these discussions is embedded within the glossary. Other terms simply explain local words. In most cases the English and Portuguese terms are given (the latter in italics). The approximately 60 terms are organised alphabetically but sometimes by English and sometimes Portuguese versions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERMS/ CONCEPTS</th>
<th>Definition / description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bairro / neighbourhood</td>
<td>Bairro (Portuguese) is translated into English as neighbourhood but the term ‘bairro’ will be maintained in this study as its use in Maputo implies more than the physical definition of a certain urban area. A bairro in Maputo is both an important political - administrative geographic unit, which affects inhabitants in many ways and most residents have some sense of belonging to their bairro. However, the use of the term ‘os bairros’ (which could be translated as ‘the neighbourhoods’) – as shown in the ethnographic work of the Home Space study – is used to describe the urban areas which are ‘in between’ the central city (see also ‘CIDADE DE CIMENTO’ below) and the ‘rural’, which itself is a socially constructed term with many variations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bairro organizado / organised neighbourhood</td>
<td>This is a term used by respondents in the ethnographic survey to indicate a desirable neighbourhood in terms of space, plot size, road access and plot demarcation (usual rectangular). It may or may not be planned officially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bancas / stalls</td>
<td>Small stalls - often temporary - from which people sell products, often in markets, or along streets and roads, also outside of houses. Usually considered ‘informal’ commerce as it is generally not regulated - although a number of ‘informal’ markets are taxed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barracas / kiosks</td>
<td>These are small scale commerce / service buildings (normally built with cement blocks) - often built into the external walls of plots or houses with a opening to the road / street where sales take place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic employment</td>
<td>This was a term used in 1990 and 2000 studies to which this study refers, to indicate non-salaried, low skilled labour - often paid by ‘piece-work’ or the period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casa própria / ‘owned’ house</td>
<td>This term was used by respondents to distinguish from houses/plots which did not belong to the household / family and generally thus were rented (although could also have been ceded temporarily).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changana / Shangaan</td>
<td>Shangaan is an ethnic and linguistic identity which people in Southern Mozambique use mainly for those who originate in Gaza province. Other Southern Mozambican ethnic and linguistic identities include Ronga and Matuva. Junod’s early anthropological work with these peoples tended to put them together in an ethnic identity termed ‘Tsonga’, but this is not used in Mozambique. The word Shangaan came from one of invading ngoni leaders in the early 19th century whose had the name Shangana - also known as Marukus. The Ronga speakers distinguish themselves in Maputo city from Shangaan speakers, although the languages are closely related and are mixed in popular usage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIDADE DE CIMENTO / ‘Cement City’</td>
<td>The “Cement City” (which makes up District 1 of Maputo) refers to the central urban zone developed in the colonial era with permanent buildings, including high rise; and was relatively well provided with infrastructure and with a high concentration of social equipment and administrative work places. The name has historical connections due to the fact that indigenous Mozambicans were not permitted ownership of land or housing for many years in the ‘cement city’ area and thus resorted to non-durable construction in the peri-urban zone around this (see above), much of which was rented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional building material / material convencional</td>
<td>This generally refers to cement block construction and is a category used in surveys in Mozambique for some time (including the national censuses) - see also durable house construction above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curandeiro / Traditional healer</td>
<td>This refers to traditional healers whether focusing on herbal or psychological methods (e.g. divination).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependencia / annex</td>
<td>Many houses in the peri-urban areas have separate annexes – i.e. secondary house - on the plot, sometime quite complete. The most common model for these has been an annex at the back of the plot, with at least one wall aligned with the boundary, and modelled essentially on servants’ quarters from the colonial time. Previously such annexes were often built first while plotholders developed the rest of the plot, the main house (see below) perhaps never being realised. This study shows changes in this practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependentes / dependants</td>
<td>Household members who depend exclusively on others for their main sustenance, e.g. children, some youths and old people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desenrascar</td>
<td>This is an urban slang term in Mozambique perhaps best translated into English as ‘getting by’ through innovative survival mechanisms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duat</td>
<td>The Mozambican land title document - a useful title as land is nationalised in Mozambique. It stands for Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra - Right to Use and Benefit from Land. As documented in the reports it is very difficult to get as the bureaucracy is cumbersome and inefficient although there are now titling programmes with international assistance which aim to change this situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic assets / recursos económicos</td>
<td>This refers to any form of monetary income (including debt and savings,) or other incoming resources to a household (including agricultural or other production), which can be transferred into monetary assets for wider use. It is a key variable in qualitative assessment of poverty as a dynamic state. It is one of the 5 assets used in qualitative analysis in the 2000 survey on emerging urban residential land markets - see other forms of assets below.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Home Space - Socio-Economic Study

Extended household / agregado extendido
This refers to a household with members beyond the direct parents/children relationships - i.e. extended horizontally. The study also used a qualified version of this in relation to a nuclear family - see below.

Habitable room / divisão
As many people use rooms for various functions - over and above the function they may use to designate this - the definition used in the study is that of 'habitable room' to distinguish between rooms people use for general living (including sleeping) and those used predominantly (but not exclusively) for cooking and bathing/wc.

Home Space / Espaço do Lar
Home space is a concept developed for this study specifically to record the space within which peri-urban households dwell - including built and natural components of the environment of a case study 'site' - i.e. houses, annexes, trees, gardens etc. This reflects both the way people live inside and outside built spaces but on a 'plot', as well as wider notions of living space or 'home'. The objective in defining this term was to find a unit of analysis which permitted study of the act of dwelling as well as the physical space of the dwelling, and extrapolate from this to wider forms of urban development. The vast majority of Sub-Saharan African cities are made up of multiplexes of such 'home spaces'. In this way the study cuts across micro-level understanding of housing as a verb and as a noun and relates this to wider urban development.

Home / lar
Home reflects the embedded sense of belonging and personal / family / social identification to a certain space. It is often a positive concept but not always. Home can also be applied to other scales - home town, home region and home country. In this study, as explained under the definition of the concept 'Home Space', it is primarily used to mean where dwelling takes place at the local level and not the neighbourhood, city region etc. See also 'home land'.

House / habitação, residência
This is the built form within which dwelling takes place - and in the Sub-Saharan African setting often includes various constructions as well as outdoor space, generally environmentally modified for living and associated activities (e.g. gardens, income generating activities etc). The study distinguishes between the house construction and the home space, which is the more inclusive term with outdoor space annexes etc.

Household / agregado familiar
The study considers primarily the main household residing on plot at time of investigation defined as that household resident which has the major right to use the space where they live as reported by interviewees. Hence the person with major right to the land may be absent and thus not belonging to the household – and as such not surveyed in detail. This also excludes subordinate households even if resident – including those renting if there is another 'main household' (i.e. with more rights) resident. Composition of household: Members eating from the same pot. A household may be female headed or male headed. This is because we are interested mainly in the way space is used by those who control and manage it on a day-to-day basis. We are, however, also interested in how families (and not necessarily just households) invest - and this requires some understanding of who has different rights to the land.

Housing consolidation / consolidação habitationel
This refers to the process of physical improvement of the house structures and other modifications of the environment on the case study site / plot over time.

Human assets / recursos humanos
This refers to any form of labour and labour development which can provide income and thus develop other assets for a household. It is a key variable in qualitative assessment of poverty as a dynamic state - see other forms of assets referred to above and below. It includes an assessment of the potential labour force (of official working age), dependents, schooling levels, types of job and skills of labour in a household. It is one of the 5 assets used in qualitative analysis in the 2000 survey on emerging urban residential land markets.

Informality
This essentially refers to the condition/situation when activities and their output are not regulated by government (and therefore also not counted or measured) - which is the key distinction with the 'formal'. While generally used as a binary term and assumed to be fully descriptive, in fact the formal often has elements of informal within it. While the researchers are critical of the term as it often is used in a negative sense (in that it is assumed that the 'informal' is improper in some sense and needs to be 'formalised'), the term is used in this study to refer to the dominant understanding of where an activity / output is seen to be situated on a continuum between the poles of 'formal' and 'informal'. For instance, when applied to areas of the central city, especially vis-a-vis land rights, these can be termed 'formal' areas.

Informantes / respondents
Household members who took part in surveys providing information.

Legal assets / recursos jurídicos
This refers to any legal rights, such as residence / land rights etc, and also includes less formal but important social versions of these - such as links to government through bairro secretaries, as well as right to vote - in general what is the understanding of citizenship. It is one of the 5 assets used in qualitative analysis in the 2000 survey on emerging urban residential land markets.

Lobolo / bride price
Bride price represents a 'traditional' institution of marriage which involves a series of ceremonies centred on payments which can take place over time, but which take on wider social and cultural significance due to their importance as integral part of reciprocity in socio-economic relations and related solidarity networks.

Machamba
An agricultural area - whether large or small, 'formal' or 'informal'. In the South of Mozambique these are generally spread between two main zones - dryland agricultural areas which rely on seasonal rains (and often are on higher and less fertile soils) and areas with high water table which permits some form of irrigation and thus permanent agricultural use - and which generally have more fertile soils. In urban areas the dryland areas are often converted into housing, whereas the 'green zones' or permanent agricultural areas are strongly protected by the occupiers.

Main house / casa principal
In the study this refers to the principal house construction on a plot / case study - compared to other constructions (as many plots have a variety of house constructions and sub-households). The most important distinguishing feature between the main house and others is the location on the plot. Often the other house(s) /site are a type of annex - see dependencia.

Mukhero
This local term refers to the process of buying products in neighbouring South Africa or Swaziland and re-selling in the south of Mozambique - a well established economic activity. Someone who does this is called a Mukherist. Such activities are normally operating in the grey zone between the formal and informal.

Nuclear household / agregado familiar nuclear
This refers to a household with no members beyond the direct parents/children relationship - whether there are dependents or not. This is often an assumption of the 'model' family in development terms - modelled on European family structure (which is itself changing) - although not necessarily by wider society.
The study used this is a land use category based on the predominant concept in planning in Mozambique as being that which is led by the state and through this process is ‘official’ and should be registered in the official land cadastral of the municipality (or the equivalent in the neighbouring Province). On this basis, according to the planning legislation, a formal land title can be provided (see DUAT). However various areas officially planned in the past have not led to titling under the new land law and regulations and are to be subject to a ‘regularisation’ process.

This refers to any physical investments, such constructions and equipment, which are physical sites - also known as 'plots' - and not households or families. Thus if a household changes or moves the project is reordered. In no case however have definitive land titles been provided (see DUAT). However various areas officially planned according to the planning legislation, a formal land title can be provided (see DUAT). However various areas officially planned in the past have not led to titling under the new land law and regulations and are to be subject to a ‘regularisation’ process.

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| Suburbs / suburbios | Maputo has high density areas in both the fully developed centre (‘Cidade de Cimento’ - see above) and the surrounding informal areas historically termed “suburbios” in Portuguese. In Portuguese this term generally refers to incomplete urban areas, in English usually termed ‘peri-urban’ areas. In Maputo, these compose most of existing Urban Districts 2 and 3. The peri-urban area has expanded far beyond these areas in time and the term has a predominantly historical as well as social and cultural significance. The English term is used, however, for completely developed urban areas at relatively low density and with individual houses (usually semi-detached and detached) - and hence the terminological distinction used in the study texts. |
| Talaí / plot | This refers to the plot of land occupied by a household (whether formal or informal) but also is used to refer to the external space around the house constructions - see also quintal / yard. |
| Tchova | The local name for a hand cart - the cheapest way to transport goods in Maputo (from the verb to push in local language). |
| Temporary caretaker houses / casa do guarda | Various plots may have a temporary house for a guard - or a caretaker living in an unoccupied (and often unfinished) house - while awaiting development or during construction. This is usually built of non-durable materials. |
| Terra de origem / homeland | This is generally the area referred to by people as to where they or their ancestors were born (and usually were buried) and has strong social and cultural significance for identity |
| Troca / bargain | This refers to the process of bargaining or its product (a bargain) - closely associated with the activity of ‘desenrascar’ / survival (see above) - and while originally could have been a non-monetary transaction is increasingly at least partly monetary |
| Unofficially planned / planificado nao-official | In contrast to ‘official planning’ (see above ‘unofficial planning’) - where some form of ordered land sub-division has been implemented without necessarily any professional plan, and without any state sanction, representing a private and/or community initiative. Thus, while a clear physical order exists on the ground, no official planning by the city authorities has taken place and there is no recognised reference at the city council of the plan. This phenomenon is based on 2 main reasons: a) the limitation of state activity in sub-division and b) the aspiration by many for an ‘ordered’ urban environment (see ethnographic survey). It also seems to be related to a sense by local residents that such ordered areas are more likely to provide tenure security, although this remains to be seen. |
| Unplanned area / area nao-planificada | This is a widely used land use category also called ‘informally’ or ‘spontaneously’ occupied, ‘squatted’ etc. As defined for the study - which accepts the predominant concept of planning in Mozambique as being that which is led by the state and thus official - any area without any form of official or unofficial planning or re-ordered (see other definitions above) is considered unplanned - although it may have had community and social decision-making on land use development. The concept is closely associated with spatial ‘order’ - which tends to be perceived in rectilinear form. Such ‘unplanned’ areas may in fact have state involvement of various forms in their establishment but they are neither officially or unofficially planned or re-ordered (through some form of physical planning process). In principle, with the publication of the Planning Law and associated Urban Land Regulations, no land title can be allocated in such areas until this is ‘planned’ or ‘regularized’ through a plan. |
| Urban periphery / periferia | This term is used in the study to refer to the areas furthest from the city centre which are now undergoing transformation of land uses from predominantly rural typologies to urban typologies - also called the ‘urbanisation frontline’. See also peri-urban |