

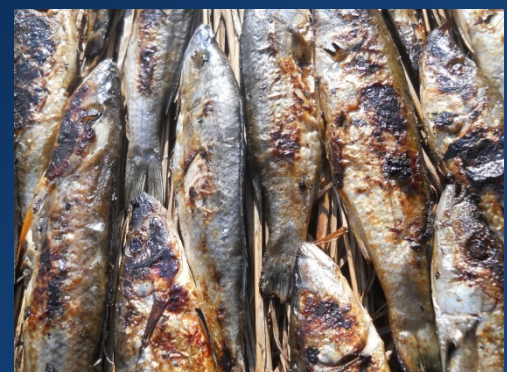
Reality Checks Mozambique

– Building better understanding of the dynamics of poverty and well-being –

Annual Report

Year Five, 2015

Quantitative Expressions of
Poverty and Well-Being 2011-2015



ORGUT

in cooperation with:

CMI CHR. MICHELSEN INSTITUTE **COWI**

The Reality Checks in Mozambique are carried out by ORGUT Consulting (Sweden) in association with COWI Lda (Mozambique) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (Norway) on behalf of the Embassy of Sweden in Maputo. The Reality Checks have been implemented between 2011- 2016, with fieldwork being carried out each year in the Districts of Cuamba, Majune and Lago in the Niassa Province.

This is the Annual Report for the 5th Reality Check, synthesising the main findings from the three sub-reports. The report is written by the team leader for the Reality Checks in Mozambique and sub-team leader for Lago Inge Tvedten, the Majune sub-team leader Minna Tuominen and the Cuamba sub-team leader Carmeliza Rosário.

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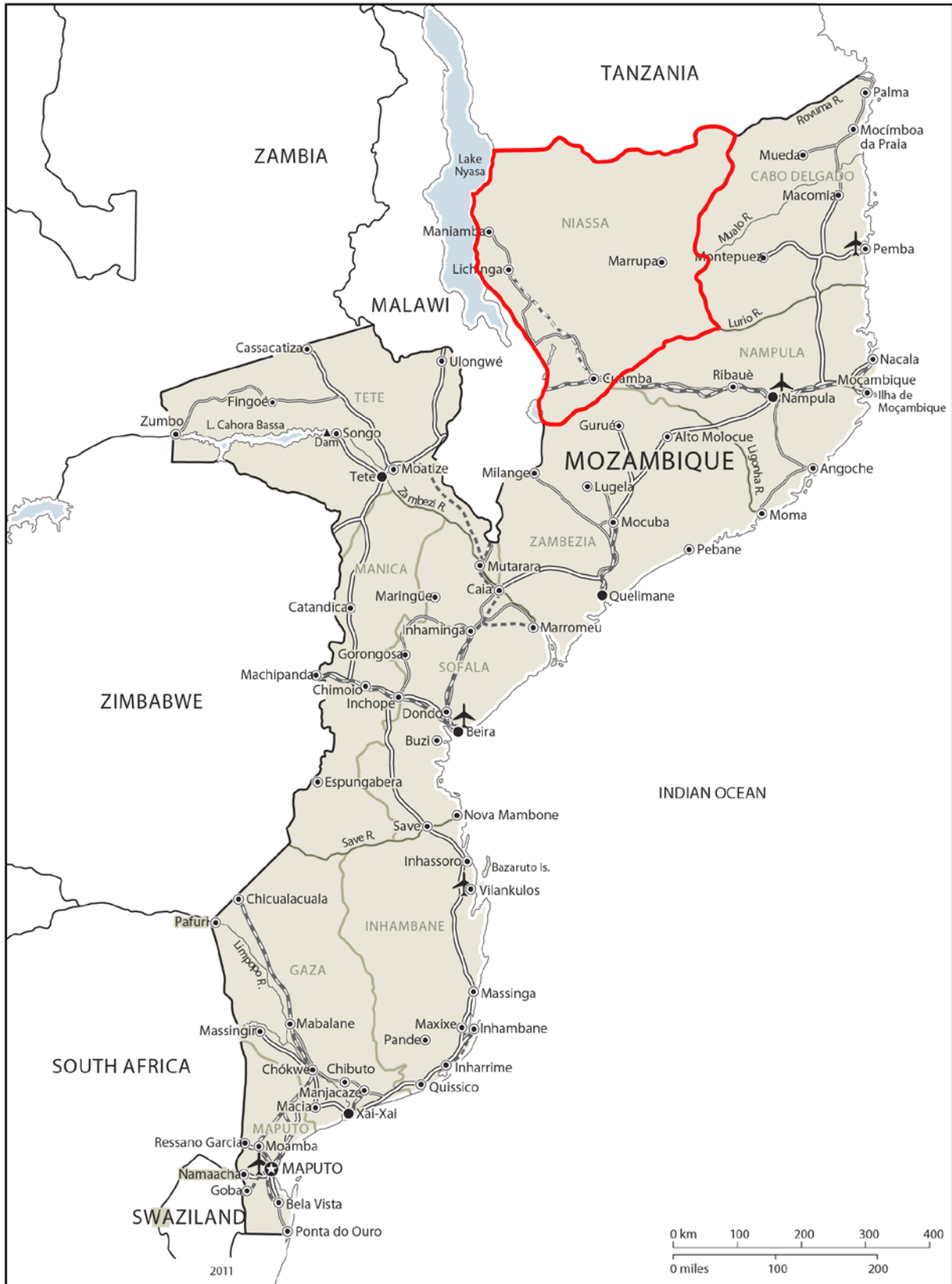
Cover Photos:

1. Hospital Rehabilitation information board – Cuamba (Photo: Ivone Uchoane)
2. Marching for peace – Majune (Photo: Minna Tuominen)
3. Fish is gold – Lago (Photo: Inge Tvedten)

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Map 1: Reality Checks Mozambique / Niassa



1. INTRODUCTION

Poverty monitoring and evaluation in Mozambique primarily take place within the framework of the implementation of Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy PARP/A (GdM 2005; 2011) and the country's Five Year Plan 2015-2019 (RdM 2015), and is informed by quantitative data derived from different types of national surveys and similar studies done by bilateral and multilateral aid organisations (see e.g. INE 2010, 2013, 2015; MPD 2010; World Bank 2007, 2015; UNICEF 2014).

However, by their quantitative nature such surveys do not capture all the dimensions of poverty that are relevant to the design of policies and programmes. While quantitative data yield valuable information about the mapping and profile of poverty over space and time, qualitative data are necessary in order to better understand the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor (ORGUT 2011a; Addison et al. 2009).

1.1 The Reality Checks

Against this background, the Swedish Embassy in Maputo and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) have decided that there is a need to assess the impact of development and poverty reduction policies 'from below', and to regularly consult local populations in order to understand local processes and relationships.

A series of five "Reality Checks in Mozambique" has taken place in the period 2011-2015, focussing on the dynamics of poverty and well-being with particular attention given to governance, agriculture/climate/employment/ and private sector/ entrepreneurship that are key sectors in Swedish development cooperation with Mozambique (MFA Sweden 2008, 2015). Each Reality Check has been published in the form of one Annual Report and three Sub-Reports from each of the three selected study-sites (see Orgut 2011a for more details).

More concretely, the "Reality Checks Mozambique" are expected to:

- i) Inform the public discussion among key development actors on poverty reduction, especially in the province of Niassa;
- ii) Contribute to a better understanding of qualitative poverty monitoring methods in Mozambique;
- iii) Provide Sweden with relevant qualitative data on developments and results from its engagement in Mozambique and support further implementation of its programme in Niassa.

The Reality Checks are expected to achieve these objectives by enhancing knowledge on:

- i) Poverty (non-tangible dimensions of poverty, such as vulnerability and powerlessness; poor people's own perceptions of poverty; causal processes underpinning poverty dynamics: coping/survival strategies adopted by women and men living in poverty);
- ii) Local power relations and relationships with state institutions (formal [i.e. political, administrative] institutions that enable or constrain people to carry out their strategies; informal [i.e. cultural, social, family or kin-based etc.] institutions that enable or constrain people to carry out their strategies), and;
- iii) Policies and services (access to, use of and demand for public services according to people living in poverty; quality of public services according to people living in poverty).

There is also an expectation that the Reality Checks shall, to the extent that it is relevant for the local population under study, pay special attention to “priority issues identified in the annual reviews of projects and programmes within Swedish priority sectors” (see Terms of Reference).

The series of studies was initiated by an Inception Report published in August 2011 (Orgut 2011a). Through that exercise, it was decided that the Reality Checks shall be based on fieldwork in three different Districts/Municipalities in the Province of Niassa that display variations in terms of geographical locations, access to public services and levels of poverty and well-being. The three areas selected were i) the District of Lago; ii) the Municipality of Cuamba; and iii) the District of Majune (see Map 2).

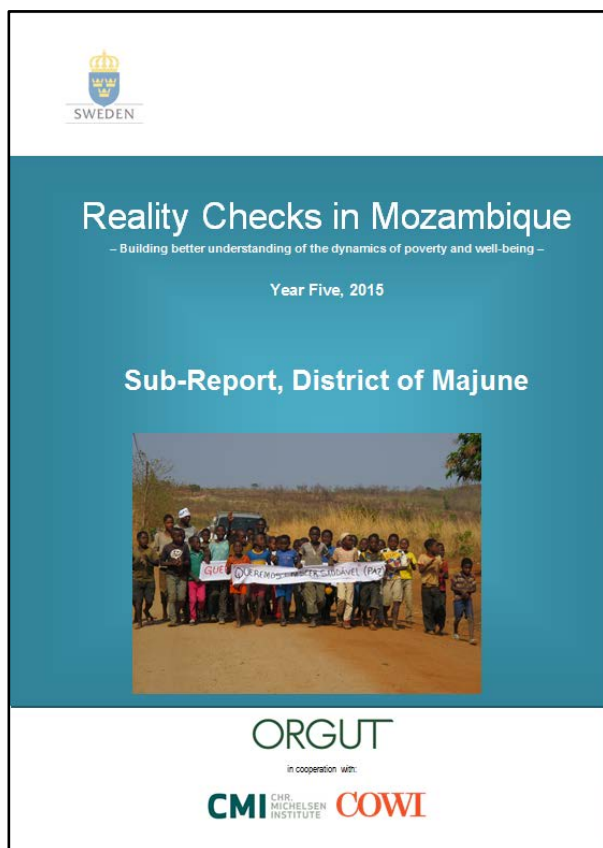


Map 2: *Reality Checks Mocambique / Niassa Project Sites*

Fieldwork for the 1st Reality Check Mozambique was carried out in September 2011, with Sub-Reports from the Districts of Lago (Orgut 2011b), the District of Majune (Orgut 2011c) and the Municipality of Cuamba (Orgut 2011d) as well as the 1st Annual Report synthesising main findings (Orgut 2011e). The 1st Reality Check served as a ‘baseline’ for subsequent reports, and included background information and data about Niassa and the three study sites.

The 2nd Reality Check was carried out in September 2012 (Orgut 2012a, b, c and d). In line with the Terms of Reference, the reports for the 2nd Reality Check had a thematic focus on governance. The 3rd Reality Check in Mozambique was carried out in June 2013 (Orgut 2013a, b, c and d), with a thematic focus on agriculture, climate and employment. And the 4th Reality Check was carried out in September 2014, with a thematic focus on private sector/entrepreneurship (Orgut 2014a, b, c, d).

Illustration 1: Cover of the Majune sub-report



This is the Annual Report for the 5th Reality Check, synthesising the main findings from the sub-reports on Cuamba, Lago and Majune. Fieldwork was carried out in October 2015. The focus in this report is on the quantitative expressions of poverty and well-being in the three study sites, as these appeared through the Reality Check Baseline (2011) and Endline (2015) surveys. The entire Reality Check series of studies, based on qualitative and quantitative data, will be summed up and analysed in a Final Report and an accompanying Reflection Report assessing methodology and process, lessons learnt and recommendations for possible future Reality Checks.

The Reality Checks produced so far have been presented and discussed in a number of different settings, including i) the Swedish Embassy in Maputo for national stakeholders; ii) in seminars in Lichinga for representatives of

government, civil society and the private sector in Niassa; iii) for Local Government in Cuamba, Lago and Majune; iv) in interviews on the national news broadcast “Noticias”; v) for the community radios in Majune, Lago and Cuamba; and vi) through expositions of photos, participatory exercises etc. in all three study sites (Orgut 2011f). Upon requests, we have also started to distribute reports to Secondary Schools in the districts where we work for use in social science classes.

1.2 Methodologies

Methodologically, the studies are based on a combination of quantitative information derived from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and District Authorities; a Baseline Survey carried out in 2011, and an Endline Survey done in 2015 in the three study sites for this project; key informant interviews in the provincial capital Lichinga and the selected Districts/Municipality; participant observation in the local communities selected for fieldwork; and a set of qualitative/participatory methodologies including immersion with households in different socio-economic positions. The

methodologies are described in detail in a separate report entitled “Reality Checks in Mozambique. Analytical Approach and Methodologies” (Orgut 2011f), but a brief summary is in place:

Quantitative data. For the mapping of poverty and well-being in Niassa, the team relates actively to existing quantitative data. These include the 2007 National Census (INE 2009b); the 2008/09 and 2014/15 National Household Expenditure Survey (INE 2010, 2015); and other more sector-specific studies (see List of Literature). In addition to national data-sets, we use quantitative data from locally based surveys with particular attention to data produced by provincial-, district and municipal governments that form the basis for their development plans – including the Provincial Economic and Social Development Plan (GdN 2007, 2011, 2013, 2015a) and the District Economic and Social Development Plans (PESODs) for Cuamba, Lago and Majune (see List of Literature).

We have secured adequate quantitative data to map poverty and well-being, and peoples’ relations to public services in the three study sites by carrying out a survey with a total of 360 households (120 in each site). The survey has been done twice with the same families, i.e. in the beginning (2011) and end (2015) of the project period, and represents rare panel-data. The Baseline and the follow-up survey seek to combine i) classical socio-economic data on the composition of households, income and expenditure, levels of education, health and access to public services; ii) questions relating to people’s *perceptions* of conditions in the household and their community and iii) the *social relationships* (with public institutions, aid projects, family, friends etc.) in which they are engaged (see Appendix 1)

Qualitative data. For the political/institutional dimensions of the Reality Checks, we mostly rely on i) semi-structured interviews with key development actors including provincial government, district/municipal government, Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation (IPCCs), traditional authorities and private sector representatives, and ii) case-studies of concrete programs and interventions particularly in the areas of governance, agriculture and the private sector/entrepreneurship. We also complement the classical anthropological methodology of ‘participant observation’ with a set of concrete participatory methodologies that are applied in focus groups, and expanded case studies at household level (Orgut 2011f). The groups are composed of men or women, young or old or a mixture of such groups, depending on the topic at hand.

As the main focus of the 5th Reality Check has been on the Endline Survey, only a few participatory methodologies were used in order to get a ‘qualitative update’ on the situation in the communities under study in 2015 (results are discussed in more detail in the accompanying sub-reports, and will be further elaborated upon in the Final Report). The methodologies used include i) *Community Mapping* (to map changes in institutions and individuals considered most important for the life of the community); ii) *Most Important Change* (to identify the main political, economic and social changes in the community the past year) iii) *Force-Field Analysis* (to capture perceptions of what conditions may inhibit or accelerate the type of change and development favoured by the community); iv) *Community problem matrix* (to identify and rank the most important problems that affect the community or larger groups of people in the community); v) *Venn diagram* (to determine accessibility to the most important resources [people and services] in the community) and vi) *Wealth ranking* (with the objective to capture the community’s own perception about different levels and categories of poverty and well-being).

Focus Households. The initial wealth ranking exercise done in 2011 (see Orgut 2011f) formed the basis for our identification of Focus Households with whom we have related closely through various forms of immersion during the course of the Reality Checks. The communities tend to distinguish between 2-4 levels of poverty or ‘poor people’ and 1-3 levels of well-being or ‘better-off’ people – each with their own dynamics and position in the communities. Altogether 22 Focus Households have been selected from these categories and have been interviewed in depth every year, with a focus on changes in their social relationships with the extended family, neighbours and friends, community organisations and state institutions as well as in their socio-economic position.

Research ethics were discussed in the Inception Report (Orgut 2011a). We seek to deal with this by being transparent about the objectives of the Reality Check study series, by carefully selecting and securing the anonymity of people we interview and relate to, and by systematically disseminating research results back to stakeholders in relevant institutions and the communities under study. This is further discussed in the Reality Check Final Report.

1.3 Socio-economic Indicators

We will end these introductory notes with a brief outline of the quantitative expressions of poverty and well-being in Niassa to put the study in context. Data from the 2008/09 National Household Survey (INE 2010) showed that the province stood out as having the clearest and most consistent improvements in consumption-based poverty – even though from a very low point of departure. Poverty in the province had been reduced from 70.6 percent in 1996/97, to 54.1 percent in 2002/03 and to 31.9 percent in 2008/09 – albeit disguising an unusually high discrepancy in poverty between male-headed households (28 percent) and female-headed households (FHH) (45 percent). The recently released 2014/15 National Household Survey (INE 2015) unfortunately does not stipulate a poverty rate, but other quantitative indicators imply continued positive developments in the province (INE 2015, see also MISAU 2013) (Table 1). An important aspect of the Reality Checks in Mozambique is to assess the realism, relevance and dynamics behind these figures, by applying qualitative and participatory methodologies involving the population itself.

Table 1: Key Socio-Economic Indicators – Mozambique and Niassa (percent)

INDICATOR	Mozambique		Niassa	
	2010	2014	2010	2014
Poverty Headcount	54.7	N/A	31.9	N/A
Gini Coefficient (0-1)	0.414	N/A	0.427	N/A
Proportion Female Headed Households	29.6	N/A	16.3	N/A
Illiteracy of household head	44.3	N/A	51.6	N/A
Primary School Attendance Rate	81	N/A	78	N/A
Chronic malnutrition under five years	43.7	N/A	45	N/A
HIV-AIDS Prevalence	11.5	N/A	3.7	N/A
Solid roof housing	24.8	N/A	8.1	N/A
Electric lighting in dwelling	13.2	N/A	5.8	N/A
Bicycle ownership	38.1	N/A	65.4	N/A

Sources: MISAU 2005, 2013; INE 2010, 2015.

In official quantitative terms (INE 2010), the three Districts selected for the Reality Check studies possess a set of social and economic characteristics that reveal their similarities as well as

differences. Also at this level, the data point in the direction of positive developments but with variations. As seen from Table 2, Cuamba is most populous followed by Lago and Majune. Cuamba generally comes out as the best-off and Majune as the poorest and most deprived district of the three. Otherwise they share characteristics of a high proportion of households defined as female-headed. The indicators of poverty and well-being are important and frequently used in government and donor statistical accounts. However, we shall see that they only partially reflect peoples' own perceptions of what it means to be 'poor' or 'well-off' and the data coming out of the Reality Check Baseline and Endline surveys.

Table 2: Social Indicators – Districts of Lago, Majune and Cuamba (Percent)

SOCIAL INDICATORS	Cuamba		Lago		Majune	
	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014
Population (No.)	184.773*	N/A	83.099	N/A	29.702	N/A
Proportion FHH	24.0	N/A	35.1	N/A	35.2	N/A
Prim. School Attend.	67.3	N/A	65.01	N/A	54.3	N/A
Solid Roof Housing	0.79	N/A	1.18	N/A	0.13	N/A
Electricity at Home	6.3	N/A	4.38	N/A	0.39	N/A
Radio ownership	55.0	N/A	67.5	N/A	45.0	N/A
Cell-phone	3.3	N/A	0.97	N/A	0.61	N/A
Bicycle	68.0	N/A	29.8	N/A	63.1	N/A

Source: INE 2009 *of this population, 79.779 lives in the Municipality of Cuamba.

Table 3: Economic Indicators – District of Lago, Majune and Cuamba 2010 and 2014

ECONOMIC INDICATOR	Cuamba		Lago		Majune	
	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014
Area under cultivation (Ha)	101.474	127.844	23.828	37.993	13.096	19.168
Agricultural prod. (1000 kgs)	144.529	198.419	72.740	93.721	21.769	35.271
Agricultural extensionists	8	13	0	6	4	5
Farming associations	14	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Forestation (new trees/ha)	156.092	6.250	6.050	N/A	5000	N/A
Fish production (1000 kgs)	N/A	N/A	4.780	10.742	N/A	N/A
Small-Scale Industries	N/A	181	N/A	66	N/A	N/A
Commercial establishments	47	455	N/A	311	N/A	N/A
Public water sources	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	86	41
Energy (number of clients)	149	N/A	1.156	N/A	223	263
Energy (clients cut off)	N/A	N/A	497	N/A	N/A	N/A
INAS (Number of beneficiaries)	2.722	4.457	682	1.867	858	959
District Dev. Fund (Projects)	159	223	117	123	136	229
District Dev. Fund (Total, Mt)	7.904.100	10.707020	7.062.844	9.163.910	7,517.000	5,178.200
Distr. Dev. Fund (Reimb.Mt)	151.500	444.950	300.000	546.895	562.500	168.835

Sources: GdN/DdLago, Majune and Cuamba 2011, 2015

The economic context in which people in the three districts develop their coping strategies and efforts for upward social mobility is reflected in Table 3. The data is taken from the District Economic and Social Development Plans (PESODs) and their reassessment (*Balanço*), that are the key policy-making instruments of the District Administrations. Also these data reveal differences between the three districts, both in their ability to collect this type of data, and in type

and level of economic activities. Some dissimilarities are the natural outcome of differences in population (such as total agricultural production), and others by geographical distinctions (such as fish production and number of tourists), but some also indicate how each District Administration fulfils its responsibilities for developing their District (number of extension workers, investments in forestry, energy-clients, number of social security beneficiaries, the use of the District Development Fund etc.). For developments/data for each district between 2011 and 2015, see the individual sub-reports.

2. NIASSA, CUAMBA, LAGO AND MAJUNE

The Permanent Secretary of the Niassa Province strikes a very optimistic tone regarding developments in Niassa in the past five years in an interview in October 2015, stating that

“The province has better infrastructure/roads which makes most people less dependent on going to the centres for basic commodities. This has been accompanied by better means of transport. All district centres now have energy/electricity from Cahora Bassa, which also includes some *localidades* (the lowest state tier). In the near future, the railway line will give more dynamics to the province and make goods cheaper. In terms of social services, there are more sanitary facilities (*latrinas*) in the communities. Education has improved including access to secondary schools – even though illiteracy will remain a big problem. Agriculture saw a reduction in production this year (i.e. 2014/15) due to heavy rains during a short time-span with flooding taking away crops already planted. Forestry has experienced problems mainly due to inadequate transport to the coast. This (i.e. inadequate transport) also makes goods in general very expensive in Niassa. Positive social developments are visible through improved housing, and many more use shoes.”

This optimism is only partially reflected in written sources of information. Updates on the Strategic Provincial Plan (PEP) of Niassa 2007-2017 (GdN 2007) produced in 2015 (GdN 2015a) singles out six focus areas argued to be “crucial for the success of PEP/17”. These are roads (particularly the triangle Lichinga-Cuamba-Marrupa); the railway (Cuamba-Lichinga); potable water (for urban and peri-urban areas); electricity (to the district centres in the Province); the mobile telephone network (for affordable prices); and financial institutions in the form of banks and micro-credit institutions. The self-assessment done by the Provincial Government (Ibid), illustrates the degree of fulfilment of original development goals as of April 2015 (Table 4).

Table 4: Degree of Fulfilment of Central Development Goals, Niassa Province (percent)

AREA/SECTOR	Goal as of 2017	Fulfilment as of 2015
Roads	100	24
Railway	100	0
Water	100	60
Electricity	100	92
Communication	100	100
Financial institutions	100	25

Source: GdN (2015a)

Judged from other written sources (such as the well informed provincial news bulletin FAISCA), Niassa is undergoing changes in a number of areas but with considerable differences between different parts of the province, and between the urban (including district capitals) and rural areas. Among the central news at the end of 2015 are that the private sector institution Malonda has opened a factory for processing of beans (*feijão manteiga*) in Lichinga (FAISCA No. 678); that three provincial ‘super-directorates’ in public works, higher education and natural resource management/environmental protection are in the process of being established in the province (FAISCA No. 677); that a number of District Administrators in Niassa have ended their terms with

many exchanging posts with colleagues in Nampula (FAISCA No. 678); that the Governor of Niassa challenges the provincial branch of the National Institute of Statistics to make more of its data (incl. the IOF 2014/15) available to the general public (FAISCA No. 675); that Chinese citizens have been captured and fined 25.000 USD for illegal extraction of wood in the Niassa National Reserve (FAISCA No. 675); and that the city of Lichinga turned 53 years at the end of 2015 with a population of 175.000 (FAISCA No. 674). Furthermore, the publication argues that Niassa should try to combat its relative isolation from the rest of Mozambique by entering stronger ties/relations with Malawi and Tanzania (FAISCA No. 677)

2.1. Most Important Changes in the Communities

Moving on to the situation in the three study sites Cuamba, Lago and Majune, we will as usual start with a brief update of changes since the last Reality Check (2014).

Cuamba. The backbone of the Niassa Province, the road from Lichinga to Cuamba, is not yet tarmacked in its entirety. However, the existing dirt road is better maintained than in 2011 and has been widened in anticipation of improvements planned. As we approached Cuamba city, the improvements to the railway line that connects to Lichinga became visible, with rehabilitation already advanced one third of its 300 kms. This is impressive, considering that in 2014 the works had not been initiated and heavy rains at the beginning of 2015 which complicated the work.

In Cuamba, the most frequently mentioned change was that the tarmac on the road between Nampula and Cuamba had reached Malema, 120 km from Cuamba. The remaining dirt road has also been well maintained. As a result, the bus operator Nagi Investimentos has started daily connections between Nampula and Cuamba. Unfortunately, locals attribute what they see as a new wave of violent criminality to this increased traffic.

The city is full of new constructions. New expansion areas are materialising; some created as a result of the resettlement of the population along the railway line and others planned by the municipality. The municipal garden has been rehabilitated and is in use. There are more illuminated roads at night and even though access to water is still an issue of concern, most agreed that there have been improvements in availability. More farmers own tractors, which they rent out to other producers to improve their yield.

Despite the outward signs of wealth and wellbeing, Cuamba was hit by two events the past year that may slow down the vibrant dynamics of the city. The heavy rains at the beginning of 2015 have affected crops and everyone we spoke to are preparing for famine. The precarious houses in the city's peripheral neighbourhoods were destroyed by rain and flood and the impoverished owners cannot afford – nor do they have the strength – to rebuild them. The Cancina Bridge, which

Illustration 3: *Cuamba*



Photo: Kajsa Johansson

was the pride of the municipality and took considerable investments to rehabilitate, was also destroyed by the rains. The population living on the city side of the bridge were resettled and the ones living on the other side of the bridge became isolated from the centre of town once again.

Perhaps the most significant change has been the passing away of the newly re-elected Mayor, Vicente Lourenço at the beginning of his new term. He was quite popular and during his previous tenure, public works had a considerable boost. The new mayor is more cautious. He wants to pay the existing debts before committing to new works which has resulted in the interruption of improvement of municipal roads. He has also asserted that municipal revenue is hardly enough to carry out what is needed. In addition, he is also concerned that despite the improvement in water infrastructure, the source does not have the capacity to serve an increasing population. Water scarcity will therefore most probably remain an issue for Cuamba in the years to come.

Lago. Along the road between Lichinga and the Lago district capital Metangula, there is a growing number of houses and informal markets. Many of the homesteads have long poles with *capulanas* tied to them, signalling that a child is going through rites of initiation and reminding us that Niassa is a province where tradition and religion are strong. In between there are also flags from the political parties Frelimo, Renamo and the Democratic Movement of Mozambique (MDM), which have become increasingly common and may be seen as a sign of larger political space for the opposition. We are also passing large forestry areas planted with eucalyptus. The Swedish company Chikwete's failure in 2014 and subsequent sale to the Norwegian company Green Resources is a sign that investing in Niassa is complicated. Chikwete seemed to have underestimated both the importance and complexity of relations with communities, and the costs of doing business in a province with a poor business environment and infrastructure.

Illustration 4: Lago



Photo: Kajsa Johansson

In Metangula, the most noticeable change is the increasing number of new and improved houses made of concrete (*blocos*) with zinc roofs. A few new shops opened during the year including stores selling non-food products such as electricity utensils and fishing gear; two new tourist-installations/restaurants are in the process of being constructed in the town centre; and a large warehouse is being built next to the main informal market. Moving on, the main road from the town centre to the *Vila* (the administrative centre) is being enlarged and tarmacked all the way to the residence of the District Administrator. The most significant change is the new (and first) bank in Lago/Metangula located in the *Vila*, which has made life easier for public and private sector employees who no longer have to go all the way to Lichinga to deposit or withdraw money.

The road from Metangula to the Meluluca Administrative Post (where the Reality Checks take place) is still bumpy and curved, but has seen clear improvements since last year with new bridges

and aqueducts. In the village of Ngolongue off the main road, housing the tourist establishment Mbuna Bay Lodge with ten guesthouses, a restaurant and 24 local employees, the owner has started constructions for a small enterprise producing dried mango for the international market (www.globalfarmersmarket.org). The bridge over the Meluluca River, which saw a terrible accident last year where 16 people died, has also been improved. Entering Meluluca itself, there is a clear increase in the number of houses as well as small shops/stalls (*barracas* and *bancas*) – of which many now have light from solar panels. There is also an increase in the number of fishing boats with motors, indicating that fisheries as the driver in the local economy are going well.

As we get to meet and talk to people, we discover that despite the progress reported above it has been/is a difficult year in Meluluca – demonstrating how vulnerable even ‘successful’ rural communities like Meluluca are. There was a tension in the community during our fieldwork we have not experienced previously. This turned out to be the result of a combination of natural/environmental conditions in the form of excessive rains that destroyed the crops and led to hunger among many families; endemic disease in the form of a cholera outbreak that killed 19 people in the villages; and a genuine fear that war will return to the area following uncertainties related to the results from the national election in November 2014 and more recent news from southern/central Mozambique of strife between the government/Frelimo and Renamo.

Majune. The road from Lichinga to Majune/Marrupa has been under rehabilitation since last year, but now it has been prolonged tens, if not hundreds of kilometres further out. The road to Majune used to be narrow, with potholes here and there, but it was nevertheless a drivable tar road. We were perplexed by the fact that the authorities decided to invest on improving this silent petty road westwards, while the most critical road in the province, the one connecting Lichinga to the southern municipality of Cuamba, is still covered by sand and gravels. Nobody is able to explain the rationale behind this decision.

The district administrator tells us that one of the major improvements in the district since last year is the opening of 12 new water posts and rehabilitation of 20 existing posts by the Japanese cooperation, JICA. This is an improvement the local population greatly appreciate, although the total number of operational water posts (41) is still far from sufficient to respond to the needs of the entire district. In 2015, the district government was still planning to extend the power line to Mecualo and Malila, our focus community. Furthermore, the government is also now constructing a new unit for oral medicine at the primary health centre of the district, and building a bridge over the Luxua River. There was also a major construction project going on to build an agrarian institute in Majune. This will offer an unprecedented opportunity for the local young people to reach 12th grade without having to move elsewhere. This investment may indeed have a longer-term impact, not only on agricultural production, but also on the overall school adherence.

Since last year, Malanga is connected to the national power grid and there are already a few entrepreneurs selling fresh drinks and frozen food items. In one of the oldest and largest commercial establishments in Malanga, we found a shiny new point of sales terminal (POS) sitting at the desk emitting meagre light in this otherwise dark and shabby shop. This the first POS in the district and it is already making a difference, as the local civil servants now can pay their expenses by card, without necessarily needing to travel all the way to Lichinga to withdraw their salaries. The owner of the shop also explained to us that the POS makes his own life safer as well, as he no

longer needs to carry large sums of cash between Majune and Lichinga. Some people have really understood how to benefit from the access to electricity and modern technology.

Indisputably, Majune is developing, slowly but surely. However, while watching a group of women walking in a steady pace towards their distant farm fields with short-handled hoes on top of their heads, we realized there are some things that remain the same, year after year, and that impede the development at a faster pace. Small-scale farming without any modern agriculture inputs is certainly one of such things.

Illustration 5: *Majune*



Photo: Minna Tuominen

3. QUANTITATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF POVERTY AND WELL BEING

Below, we will present key quantitative socio-economic data on developments in Cuamba, Lago and Majune between 2011 and 2015 – exemplified by case studies from the Focus Families that have been followed closely throughout the Reality Checks. The Baseline Survey was carried out in September 2011, while the Endline Survey was done in October 2015. The survey covers a total of 360 households. The sample has been selected using systematic random sampling (Orgut 2011f). Revisiting the selected households after five years, we managed to interview 83.9 percent of those interviewed in 2011. Of the households we did not find, around half had moved to another location and the remaining had been dissolved/could not be located. These households were then substituted by the nearest neighbouring household.

3.1 Household Composition

The household is the basic social and economic unit in the rural contexts of Lago and Majune, as well as in urban Cuamba that is heavily dependent on agriculture. The size, composition and flexibility of households are important for their well-being and social mobility. Of the three sites where our Endline Survey was conducted, Lago had the highest percentage of male headed households (85 percent), Majune the lowest with 73 percent, and Cuamba 76 percent (Table 5). The figure for Lago represents a decrease from 2011 (89 percent). In the two other sites the proportions remained practically unchanged since 2011.¹

Table 5: Sex of Household Heads 2011-2015 (percent)

SEX OF HHH	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
MHH	77	89	70	79	76	85	73	78
FHH	23	11	30	21	24	15	27	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: *Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015*

The main reasons for the increase of female-headed households in Lago between 2011 and 2015 are that husbands have died or the couple divorced. Majune had the highest percentage of widowed or divorced female heads of the three sites (72 percent of the female headed households), whereas Cuamba registered a decrease in widowed and divorced female heads – indicating that some of them had been able to remarry. Customary practices and social stigma in smaller places like Majune and Lago have a great impact in marital relations, while this is not equally relevant in urban areas like Cuamba. While most of the conjugal unions in Lago (66 percent) were based on traditional or religious ceremonies, very few were in Cuamba (28 percent and decreasing).

¹ All analyses were conducted on the full data set (with substitute households added in cases of attrition from the panel) and on the balanced panel. Results were qualitatively similar. We elect to present the results from the full data set."

At the same time, close to 6 percent of the households in the three study sites were headed by 'single mothers' in 2015. In Lago and Majune there were only smaller changes in this category, while in Cuamba there was a sharp increase from zero in 2011 to 14 percent in 2015. Being a single mother is still socially stigmatised, and households in this category tend to be among the poorest and most vulnerable.

Looking at types of unions, male-headed households were for the most part married or living in some form of conjugal union, many of them in polygamous relationships. In Lago 41 percent of all married men had more than one wife in 2015, in Majune 24 percent, and in Cuamba 10 percent. In Majune the percentage remained similar to that of 2011, while there has been an increase in Lago (from 39 percent) and Cuamba (from 3 percent). This seems to be based on the improvement in economic capacity in the areas, as investing in wives is important both culturally and economically.

Concerning the size of households (Table 6), the core composition is a husband, a wife and their children. In Cuamba and Majune, grandchildren or nieces/nephews were also part of the household in a few cases. In Lago this was more common, as one third of the households include nephews, nieces and grandchildren and stepchildren/orphans. This reflects the continued importance of the extended family and the responsibility of households to take care of less fortunate extended family members in more traditional communities.

The average size of the households has increased only slightly in Majune (6.3 in 2011 to 6.5 in 2015), but more so in Cuamba (4.5 to 6) and Lago (5.5 to 6.9), where households with 11 members or more had become increasingly common primarily through polygamy. Larger households can draw on human resources to assist in income generation and other activities – but will also have more mouths to feed. One person households tend to be among the poorest.

Table 6: *Number of Household Members 2011-2015 (percent)*

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
1	3	0	0	1	2	1	1	1
2-4	31	40	33	35	32	27	23	27
5-6	33	29	22	28	27	26	34	29
7-10	33	28	39	33	31	39	35	35
11-15	2	3	5	3	8	5	7	6
16 +	0	0	1	0	2	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100.0	100	100	100

Source: *Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015*

Focus Family Case: The changes in household composition can be exemplified by one of the poorest and one of the best-off households in Lago. When meeting the poor 'Osowedwa' household in 2011 it consisted of a poor single mother, two of her children and one niece. During the course of the subsequent five years, one daughter married, had a child and moved out and the niece went back to her mother – leaving the household head and her small daughter. By 2015, however, the daughter was divorced and moved back to her mother with her child and the niece decided to come back to her aunt again. For the household head this has implied more able hands – but also more mouths to feed. A well-off Opata household, on the other hand, has

grown from 17 to 33 members during the same period. From a situation with two wives and a total of 14 children, the household head had four wives and 22 children in 2015. The wives and their children live in different parts of Lago/Meluluca, and the household head stays with each one with regular intervals in accordance with tradition and religion. Opata also uses his large family as part of his economic strategy, preferring to engage family members in his many economic activities rather than outsiders he claims he cannot trust.

3.2 Socio-Cultural Characteristics, Education and Health

The majority of households in Lago (98 percent) and Majune (92 percent) were Muslim. In Cuamba, Catholic and other Christian faiths were more dominant (66 percent). At the same time the cult of the ancestors is still widely practiced in all three sites, with 89 percent in Lago and over 50 percent in Cuamba.

In Cuamba, 91 percent of the households speak Emakwa, in Lago 96 percent speak Nyanja and in Majune the Yao language is spoken by 66 percent with Emakwa being spoken by almost a quarter of the households. All figures were relatively stable between 2011 and 2015. Portuguese proficiency of household heads was higher in Cuamba (82 percent) than in Lago (68 percent) and in Majune (62 percent). In all sites women tended to be less fluent than men in Portuguese due to their social position and lower levels of education, which hampers their economic opportunities.

39 percent of household heads in Cuamba, 43 percent in Majune and 53 percent in Lago had education of five years or less. Usually 5 years of schooling implies functional illiteracy, meaning that people may be able to write their names and read simple statements but not read longer texts, make applications, read contracts etc. At the same time, in Majune and in Cuamba around one quarter of household heads reached secondary level or beyond, including vocational training. There was a slight improvement here between 2011 and 2015.

Female household heads generally had lower education levels than male headed ones. In Cuamba, 21 percent of female heads had no schooling, and over half only reached grade 5. Yet, the number of female heads in grade 7 and even secondary levels had doubled since 2011. In Lago, 61 percent of female heads had no education at all, while the remaining 39 percent have 5th grade or lower, and no woman heading a household had education beyond lower primary.

There were positive trends between 2011 and 2015 in terms of the highest level of education reached in households as a whole (Table 7). A decreasing proportion of households only had members with 5th grade or lower, and an increasing proportion had household members with secondary education and vocational training, particularly in Majune. Female-headed households were also part of these positive developments albeit at a lower scale, including household members in secondary education.

Table 7: Highest Level of Education in Household 2011-2015 (percent)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
None	2	6	13	7	3	5	14	8
Basic alphabet.	0	1	6	2	0	0	2	1
1 st to 5 th	34	53	28	38	27	37	28	31
6 th to 7 th	23	18	18	19	23	18	13	18
8 th to 10 th	29	18	26	24	19	28	26	24
11 th to 12 th)	10	3	8	7	23	9	5	12
Basic vocational	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
Medium vocational	1	0	2	1	2	1	7	3
University	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

The proportion of households with school-aged children who were out-of-school school was the lowest in Cuamba (15 percent), followed by Lago (31 percent) and then Majune (41 percent). In Cuamba and Majune the proportion of children out-of-school has been reduced since 2011, while in Lago it remained the same. Contrary to Cuamba and Lago, in Majune the percentage of boys 6-15 years out-of-school more than doubled. Most likely these boys have left school to get involved in income generating activities. The reduced level of children out-of-school in Cuamba is a reflexion of the improved school infrastructures in the last five years, and people in Cuamba are exposed to well-paid employment opportunities, creating an understanding that education may lead somewhere.

Table 8: Households with Ill Members the Past Month by Illness 2011-2015 (percent)

ILLNESS	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Malaria	72	80	77	77	84	87	63	79
Coughs	67	79	63	70	60	88	59	70
Diarrhoea	27	40	27	32	42	41	50	44
Accident	0	1	2	1	2	0	6	2
Toothache	15	6	21	14	14	21	28	21
Headache	2	0	0	1	9	0	5	5
Leg ache	1	1	0	1	1	1	7	3
Others	10	6	13	10	4	5	16	8

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

The health situation continued to be precarious in all three study sites, with no significant changes between 2011 and 2015. While access to and quality of health facilities had improved, household members still get ill with very frequent intervals (Table 8). The most common illnesses are malaria/fever, coughs and diarrhoea, with toothaches increasing, probably because of increased access to sugar and sweets. Disability also restricts opportunities for upwards social mobility. The

description of the poorest categories often includes a reference to disability, including old age and resulting physical vulnerabilities.

Child mortality (under 5 years) reported in the three sites was similar, 18 percent in Cumba and 17 percent in both Lago and Majune. In all cases, this represented a slight decrease from 2011 (explained by the inclusion of new households interviewed in the survey). Such high percentage of child mortalities reflects the limited work done on preventive measures, including the health hazard of living in poverty, limited access to potable water and limited use of mosquito nets.

Case: In Majune, primary school attendance is clearly related to the socio-economic category of the household. In 2015 none of the children in our poorest focus families go to school. Some years ago though, the eldest daughter of the very poor wakulaga n'nope I went to school, but against her mother's will. "In our family, nobody has ever starved for not going to school", the wakulaga n'nope I used to argue, trying to convince her daughter to drop out of the school and join her to the farm field. Eventually, after a few years, the mother got her will through. Nowadays, they all work on a machamba. In contrast, all the children of the wealthiest focus families in Majune go to school. The somewhat rich wakupatha panandi II has even sent his two eldest daughters to a primary school in Lichinga because he and his wife consider the school in Malila of poor quality. All our wealthiest focus families wish to see their children to reach university level, and some have already made it to that level. While all of these families run business ventures, none of them would like to see their children to give up their studies to take over the family business. With an academic degree the children may get a job in the public sector and earn a pension when they get old, wakupatha panandi II explained to us.

3.3 Income and Expenditures

Income from agriculture. Bearing in mind the contextual differences between the three study sites, the most common occupation of the household heads varies across these locations. In Cuamba and Majune the majority of the household heads identified themselves as farmers, although the proportion was considerably higher in the rural Majune (71 percent) as compared to Cuamba (54 percent) in 2015. It is important to recognize this strong dependence that the population in Cuamba still have on agriculture despite the more urbanized context. Farming is clearly a more common occupation among the female household heads as compared to the male ones.

In Lago, approximately half of the household heads (49 percent) considered farming as their main occupation, while 31 percent identified themselves as fishermen. In Lago, the proportion of households in which at least one member practice fishing was even larger (60 percent). This shows the importance of fisheries as a source of income as well as a 'buffer' at times of poor agricultural performance. In contrast, fishing was far less important in Majune and practically non-existent in Cuamba. In all three areas female household heads were excluded from the option of fishing due to a combination of cultural constraints and the initial investments necessary. There have been only minor changes in the data on the occupation of the household heads over the past

five years, indicating the limited flexibility in terms of changing main occupation including leaving agriculture (Table 9).

Table 9: Occupation of Household Head 2011-2015 (percent)

OCCUPATION	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Empl. public sector	8	1	13	7	10	0	19	10
Empl. private sector	9	1	6	5	9	1	3	4
Farmer	58	49	61	56	54	49	71	58
Fisher	0	26	3	10	0	31	2	11
Self-empl/employees	3	6	1	3	2	3	2	2
Selfempl/no employee	15	15	6	12	13	13	3	10
Student	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Occasional work	1	0	0	1	4	1	0	2
Pensioner	2	1	9	4	2	2	0	1
Unemployed	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	2
Domestic worker	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: *Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015*

Even at its best, small-scale agriculture offers only meagre income, and as many as 62 percent in Cuamba, 50 percent in Lago, and 41 percent in Majune did not sell any agricultural product at all in 2015. The agriculture year 2015 was particularly poor in Lago, where excessive rains led to overflowing rivers, damaged large areas of cultivation and left many hungry. Cuamba and Majune also saw an instable rain pattern, but not equally serious. Overall, in these latter two districts agriculture production and subsequent earnings from the sale of the crops succeeded better in 2015 than in 2011.

In 2015 in Lago, 29 percent of those who sold their agricultural products earned less than 500 Mt, and only one farmer (2 percent) earned more than 10,000 Mt. In 2015 in Cuamba, only 3 percent earned less than 500 Mt (against 14 percent in 2011) and approximately 9 percent of the households earned 10,000 Mt or more. In Majune the proportion of households that only made 500 Mt or less dropped from 37 percent in 2011 to 18 percent in 2015. Still in Majune in 2015, nearly 10 percent of the households earned more than 10,000 Mt (none in 2011).

Income from other sources. In all three districts, the share of households with income from other sources than agriculture increased from 2011 to 2015. In 2015, this was the situation of some 64 percent of the households in Cuamba, 78 percent in Lago and 73 percent in Majune. These involved around 30 different income sources, including formal employment, fisheries, artisanal activities, shops and marketing stalls, carpentry, brick layering, tailoring, occasional labour and traditional medicine. In all three study sites the proportion of households earning more than 2000 Mt increased between 2011 and 2015. Female-headed households still earned less than male-headed households, but there was an upward trend also for the former.

Table 10: Income from Other Sources than Agriculture 2011-2015 (percent)

INCOME	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Less than 50	27	23	21	24	2	3	3	3
50 – 500	14	20	24	19	22	8	20	16
501 – 1,000	15	17	15	16	17	12	6	12
1,001 – 1,500	8	7	9	8	6	5	8	6
1,501 – 2,000	3	8	5	5	11	6	9	9
2,001 – 5,000	24	11	23	19	31	27	25	28
5,001 – 10,000	8	9	3	6	7	17	14	13
10,001 – 15,000	2	2	1	1	2	6	4	4
15,001 – 20,000	0	2	0	1	1	5	3	3
20,001 or more	0	3	0	1	0	11	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

External support. Some households depend on external support from extended family members, National Institute for Social Issues (INAS), friends, etc. In Cuamba and Lago the proportion of households receiving external aid decreased from 2011 to 2015 (from 21 percent to 15 percent in Cuamba and from 30 percent to 17 percent in Lago), while in Majune it remained largely the same (14 percent). In general, female headed households were clearly more prone to receiving aid than male headed ones. This is understandable given the high level of vulnerability of the former; many of them were headed by elderly people who lived together with their grandchildren and had difficulties sustaining their households.

Interestingly, in all three study sites there were more families who reportedly provided financial assistance to people outside the household than those who received some. In 2015, this was the situation for 21 percent of households in Cuamba, 24 percent in Majune and as many as 43 percent in Lago. This is another indication of improved socio-economic conditions in the study communities. Male headed households were more likely to offer external assistance than female headed ones.

The house/dwelling is important for well-being and security as well as an investment in the future and for status – and is the largest investments most households make. Linked to this is the source/type of energy and water. Also here, there have been positive developments in the three sites. The proportion of dwellings with improved walls (*betão/tijolo queimado* rather than *tijolo burro*) has increased from 10.6 to 23.1 percent, and the proportion with improved roofs (*zinco/ferro* rather than grass) has increased from 8.9 to 18.6 percent. Developments related to energy (electricity/solar panels rather than wood) have seen some improvements, and water-sources for drinking (*fontenários* rather than wells, lakes and rivers) have seen strong improvements in Cuamba – however there is a negative trend in the two rural settings Lago and Majune where water-posts are frequently broken without being replaced.

Table 11: Changes in Quality of Dwellings 2011-2015(percent)²

DWELLING CHARACTERISTICS	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Improved walls (burnt clay/concrete)	19	8	4	11	28	20	21	23
Improved roofs (zinc/iron)	18	6	3	9	30	19	13	19
Improved water (water pump/tap)	12	44	31	30	66	31	7	34
Electricity (grid/solar panel)	25	0	0	8	33	5	13	17

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

Asset ownership. In general, ownership of basic assets (such as cups and plates) had been relatively stable over the five year period (Table 11). The most significant change, noted in all three districts, was the increase in ownership of cell phones, the proportion of which nearly doubled in all study locations. Buying and using a cell phone requires money, and a cell phone has become important for maintaining family-relations and for income – for example by keeping oneself informed about deaths and funerals of extended family members and changes in prices for agriculture products and fish at various markets.

TV is another asset, which by 2015 had become twice as common as it was in 2011. While cell phones and televisions have become more popular, radio had lost some of its importance as a vehicle of information which is bad news for the community radios that have played an important role particularly in Lago. While the proportion of households with a bicycle remained stable, the proportion of those with a motorbike – having taken over as the new status symbol – increased considerably. Yet, motorbikes still remained an item that only few families can afford. Bicycles and motorbikes are clearly most common in urbanized Cuamba. Overall, the tendency in the asset ownership is positive; most households are to some extent better equipped in 2015 than in 2011.

Table 12: Ownership of Assets 2011-2015 (percent)

ASSET	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Cups/plates	68	98	80	82	81	92	76	83
Cell phone	33	33	31	32	59	59	58	59
Television	18	2	3	7	32	6	7	15
Radio	55	68	45	56	50	51	54	52
Bicycle	61	35	51	49	66	25	61	50
Motorcycle	13	3	8	8	22	9	13	15
Water pump	1	3	3	2	1	2	4	2

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

² For a more accurate comparison, the data for 2015 only includes the data relative to the households who participated in the survey in 2011. No substituting households are included.

Protein consumption. Protein consumption is an important indicator of physiological well-being. In Cuamba and Lago the overall protein consumption dropped between 2011 and 2015, especially among female headed households, whereas in Majune protein intake remained largely the same between these years. That said, it should be noted that in Majune the overall level of protein consumption was significantly lower than in Cuamba or Lago. Fish was clearly the most common source of protein in all three study locations. Other proteins, such as meat, chicken or eggs were consumed far less often. The drop in consumption (measured as intake the week before the interview) was most likely related to the uncertainty and reluctance to spend money following the poor agricultural season noted above.

Table 13: *Consumption of Selected Foodstuffs Week Prior to Interview 2011-2015 (percent)*

FOODSTUFF	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Meat	36	18	6	26	2	6	7	5
Chickens	17	31	7	23	5	3	5	4
Fish	97	99	34	85	48	89	52	63
Eggs	17	28	3	18	4	6	3	4

Source: *Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015*

Experience of hunger months. It is common that small-scale farmers face periods of food shortage when people can only have one meal a day, or even less than that. The data indicates important differences between the study sites in the experience of food shortage.

In Lago, despite the poor agriculture year, hunger has become less widespread; the proportion of households that did not experience any hunger months the year prior to the interview increased from 70.0 to 74.2 percent. At the same time however, the proportion of households that experiences six or more such months also increased from 0 to 9.2 percent, indicating – yet again – that not all households are part of the positive socio-economic development that has taken place. Female-headed households were over-represented in the latter category.

Also in Majune, the proportion of households who had reportedly experienced one or more hunger months dropped from about 47 percent in 2011 to 9 percent in 2015. In both years there were very few households, if any, who reported six or more hunger months. In Cuamba, the proportion of households who reported one of more months of hunger increased by 18 percent since 2011. While female headed households were over-represented in this group, in 2015 there were also male headed households in Cuamba who had experienced food shortage for 6 months or more, a phenomenon that was not seen by the study team in 2011 and underlines the vulnerability of poor households also in urban areas.

Table 14: Number of Months Past Year with Only One Meal per Day 2011-2015 (percent)

MONTHS	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
0	74	71	53	66	57	74	66	66
1-2	22	28	43	31	9	14	3	9
3-5	3	2	4	3	3	2	4	3
6 or more	2	0	0	1	8	9	2	6
Don't know	0	0	0	0	24	1	26	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

Level of expenditure. There was an increase in the proportion of households with expenditures on basic foodstuffs and commodities in all the three study sites. In 2011, the vast majority of households only spent money with some regularity on food items, and many did not do even that. Other costs occurred more sporadically. In 2015 the overall situation was the same, but the proportion of households who spent money on food items was considerably higher, and the demand for other commodities was also emerging (especially in Cuamba but also in Lago and Majune), although still at a limited scale. Again the expenditure on food was likely to be related to the poor agricultural season many households experienced in 2015.

Table 15: Average Expenditure on basic products the day before interviews 2011-2015 – Cuamba, Lago and Majune

PRODUCT	2011						2015					
	HH with no spending (%)			Mean expenditure level (Mt)			HH with no spending (%)			Mean expenditure level (Mt)		
	Cu*	La*	Ma*	Cu*	La*	Ma*	Cu*	La*	Ma*	Cu*	La*	Ma*
Food products	63	46	51	175	167	158	28	13	8	96	66	165
Cleaning products	100	90	96	0	70	85	73	43	62	26	17	58
Clothes	100	100	100	0	0	0	98	97	98	377	226	478
Water	89	100	100	7	0	0	88	100	99	7	0	25
Electricity/solar	100	98	100	0	33	0	93	91	97	287	28	887
Education	100	100	100	0	0	0	98	94	100	3	26	0
Health	100	99	100	0	22	0	98	95	99	5	18	5
Transport	100	100	100	0	0	0	94	98	97	225	95	215
Communication	98	96	100	40	52	0	83	72	82	27	20	34
Other expenses	99	100	100	80	0.0	0	98.3	98	100	160	90	0.0
Total	n.a	n.a	n.a	302	344	243	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.212	586	1867

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015. * Cuamba, Lago, Majune

Focus Family Case: Income and expenditure have clearly improved over the years in Cuamba – especially for the Okhalano family, but also for a few of the poorer families. In 2011, Okhalano had a machamba and a barraca where he sold diverse merchandise bought in Nampula. He also had a truck that he leased to take construction material to Lichinga. Each year he plants the crops for the machamba according to what he thinks will give him the greater income. In 2015 – although his truck had broken down two years prior and rains had compromised the latest agricultural season output – he still had enough income to invest in a new guesthouse. Though many fear famine for this year, this household is confident they will not starve. All but two of the other focus families have improved their housing situation as well as expenditure capacity. The household head of the Ohawa vanchipali household moved in with her daughter and took her

grandchildren with her. The house where they live now has a new fence and well-kept roofing. Similarly, after recovering her vision, Mutiana ohawa vanchipali also improved her revenue. With this, she invested in improving her housing, buying assets such as plates and bed wear, and improving her diet. Only the single person household of Ulopwana ohawa vanhipali and the recently widowed household head of the Ohawa vakanene family have not managed to improve their income or expenditure capacity. Age and disability prevent them from doing productive work, and their subsistence depends entirely on the good will of family, neighbours and the state's social aid.

3.4 Migration and Household Dynamics

Migration. The tendency for migration varies considerably between and within the study sites. In the municipality of Cuamba it was common that people move from elsewhere to this urban hub; as many as 66 percent of the household heads in Cuamba were born in another place, many even from other provinces. In Lago and Majune the situation is quite the opposite. In these two districts the vast majority have never left their birthplace. In Lago 85 percent and in Majune 72 percent of the household heads were living in the same place where they were born.

In all three districts, the main reasons for the household heads to migrate from his/her birthplace included a job or a wish to find better living conditions (particularly in Cuamba), and the need to get closer to relatives/family members, also in a context of marriage. Furthermore, in the past, the war was a common motive that mobilized people to move from one place to another.

Despite the generally improved road network in the province, it is somewhat surprising that overall, people travelled less in 2015 as compared to 2011. This tendency was clearly noticeable in Cuamba and Lago. In these districts, the reduced frequency of travels was most likely due to the fact that more goods can be bought locally nowadays. Majune was the only district where the population had started travelling around slightly more often in 2015 than they did before. Contrary to the other two sites, the local market in Majune still offers very limited variety of goods and thanks to the improved road access to Mandimba and Lichinga, people were more motivated to travel.

Table 16: *Frequency of Travels outside Community (percent)*

PERIOD	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
At least once a week	18	54	18	30	8	38	23	23
Less than once a week/more than once a month	20	33	40	31	18	46	43	35
Less than once a month/more than once a year	48	5	20	24	44	11	15	23
Less than once a year	8	6	13	9	16	4	10	10
Never	6	2	8	5	15	1	9	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: *Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015*

Discussions with the Focus Families revealed that, under normal circumstances, the poorest families did not leave their communities for other reasons than cultivating a farm field that may be

as far as 10-15 kilometres away. In those cases, the families usually build a makeshift hut by the field where they stayed during the period requiring active work on the field. Apart from food production, only a serious health issue mobilize these people to leave for the district centre, where the closest health centre is located. For the rest of the time, the poorest households stay in their home village or neighbourhood.

In contrast, the wealthier families travel frequently. These travels are mostly motivated by commercial interests or by family reasons. Even among the wealthier families, it was most commonly the male members of the household who travel. Women stay mostly at home taking care of the household and the children.

Most commonly, the people who travel do so within the province of Niassa, often even within the same district. Poor road connections to the neighbouring provinces (Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambezia) continued limiting trips outside Niassa, and travels to neighbouring countries (by road or by boat from Lago) was still too expensive for the majority even though many people have relatives there.

The main motive for travelling was to visit family members, but also shopping and going to public offices. However, the importance of migration/travelling not only rests with these practicalities, but is also important for experiencing new contexts and getting new ideas. Our study shows that in all the three districts, the wealthiest households, particularly the household heads, have travelled extensively both in-country and abroad, and have adopted many novelties learned during these trips in their own business ventures.

Household dynamics. Household dynamics were very similar across the three study sites, and there were no indications of any major changes between 2011 and 2015; gender was the main factor determining the division of labour within the household in the three districts. Women and girls still largely maintain their traditional roles as caretakers of the house (cleaning the house, sweeping the yard, cooking, fetching water and getting firewood), both when being part of a conjugal union and as heads of households (Table 16). Men are seldom involved in the daily duties, but they may occasionally help out with collection of firewood. The qualitative data we have gathered over the years indicates that men have the main responsibility for repairing the house, the roof and the fence, and for building the granary.

Table 17: *Intra-Household Divisions/Responsibility for cleaning house 2011-2015 (percent)*

HOUSEHOLD MEMBER	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
HHH	22	8	11	13	16	13	9	13
Spouse of HHH	55	77	43	58	43	60	36	46
HHH / Spouse	6	1	3	3	1	4	9	5
Girls/women	8	14	33	18	15	22	29	22
Boys/men	2	1	1	1	3	0	0	1
All children	3	0	4	2	20	1	8	10
All household	5	0	4	3	2	0	8	3
Other	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: *Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015*

All the indicated farm works were commonly attributed to either the 'couple heading the household' or 'entire household'. Only, clearing of the land was most often considered as the duty of the household head. While children commonly participate in the farm works, they have no designated responsibilities other than chasing away animals, especially monkeys and small animals that approach the fields during day time. Fishing was still the responsibility of men, even though, especially in Lago, women took part in fish processing and marketing.

Decision making, especially when it comes to decisions related to money (e.g. how much of the produce should be sold), required normally the involvement of the household head. This clearly indicates that in a male headed household, women still have very little autonomy to decide even over the income they themselves have worked for. In male headed households, decisions that have smaller financial implications, such as whether or not to seek health services in case of a member of household falls ill, were often made in consultation with the wife of the head of household.

Interestingly, in all the three study sites the better-off households were often polygamous units, where women actually had a relatively strong position: They cultivate their own *machambas* or have small marketing stalls with the support of their husbands, but are relatively independent in terms of the way they use their resources within their sub-households. For most single women, polygamy is a better option than living as a single female head of household.

Case: In Cuamba, even among the poorest families there is some mobility. Both husband and wife from the Ohawa vakanene family and the single household Olupwana ohawa vanchipali come from outside Cuamba and have come to the town to improve their living conditions – which they managed before they became ill. Interestingly, Olupwana ohawa vanchipali is originally from Nampula, a bigger and more prosperous town than Cuamba. His case is not unique, as also better off households have members from Nampula. In fact, many of the stores have the main store in Nampula and the branches in Cuamba, but the owners reside in Cuamba and travel to and fro frequently. The head of the rich focus family, Okhalano hails from Massango. He was enlisted in the military and travelled the country in that capacity. After his demobilization he took up residence in Cuamba, but continues to be very mobile. He has live stock in Mecanhelas, family and machambas in Massango and transports his merchandise both to Lichinga and Nampula. Virtually all entrepreneurs in Cuamba are, either outsiders, including some foreigners, or have travelled and/or lived outside Cuamba.

In terms of household dynamics, although women in Cuamba fare better than in other parts of the province, gendered roles are still very much present. This is visible, for example in the focus family Ohawa ovelavela. The both the household head and her eldest daughter had her houses destroyed in the rains of early 2015. The mother had to rebuild hers by herself, because her sons were too young to lend a hand. Her daughter is having hers rebuilt by her new husband. The widow of the recently deceased head of the family Ohawa vakanene is also concerned that with her husband gone, coupled with her disability she will become poorer than before. The responsibility of mending the house and bringing income was his. Hers was to cook, and take care of other domestic chores. Because she is disabled, she could not even help with the agricultural production. In the Okhalano household similar divisions apply, as the first wife tends to the machambas and the eldest son to the barraca. The household head is responsible for selling the produce coming from the machamba, and he also decides on how to invest the revenues. While speaking with other members of the household they suggest that it is a joint investment effort, however the head is still the major decision maker.

3.5 Community Leadership and Public Services

One of the main objectives of the Reality Check study was to ascertain “local power relations and relations with state institutions that enable or constrain people from carrying out their strategies” (Swedish Embassy 2010/ToR). The Baseline and End-line Survey confirm the continued importance of traditional leaders (*régulos*, *rainhas*) in all three communities, but with a declining tendency between 2011 and 2015. The Neighbourhood or *Bairro* Secretaries and Heads of Quarters, that are local but effectively appointed by the State/Party maintained strong positions, while the state representatives proper (District Administrator and Head of Administrative Posts) saw a slight overall increase in importance albeit still allotted less significance than the two local.

Table 18: Leaders Considered Most Important for Solving Problems in the Community 2011 and 2015 (percent)*

COMMUNITY LEADER	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
District Administrator	3	3	29	13	11	0	9	7
Head Administrative Post	2	11	3	10	13	8	8	14
Traditional king/queen	52	42	85	76	48	33	60	66
Village leader	15	3	17	13	28	2	1	11
Neighbourhood secretary	69	33	64	69	71	22	42	57
Head of block	48	3	23	26	47	2	8	20
Police	13	0	16	9	27	22	52	46
Muslim leader	2	5	24	12	3	6	12	10
Traditional healer	1	0	8	3	3	1	4	3
Other	22	1	13	12	5	4	8	6

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015 * People were asked to list the three most important leaders in their community.

In urban Cuamba this development seemed to be connected to a combination of a stronger presence of public institutions and perceptions of urban areas and ‘modernity’ being at odds with traditional authority. In Lago, the work of the Head of the Administrative Post was only partly acknowledged – probably at the expense of the police that established itself in the community just prior to the 2015 survey and resides in the Administrative Post building. In Majune, the decline in the importance attached to the *rainha* (female traditional leader) seemed to be related to her increasing unpopularity as a person due to alleged misuse of power rather than the position in itself.

In all three cases, the public institutions considered most important were the ones closest to the community (police, Administrative Post) rather than higher-level institutions (District Administrator). The latter may have a stronger impact on people’s lives, but are not visible and therefore not seen as relevant to the same extent. This underlines the importance of having well-qualified public employees at the ‘outer end’ of the State apparatus, where it meets people. When people do refer to higher level government institutions, it was usually with reference to the government or ‘*boma*’ in more general terms and often without a clear distinction between the government and the Frelimo party.

Still, the majority of problems that households in the three communities confront were dealt with within the extended family and other community-based social relationships. In matrilineal Niassa

the maternal uncle or aunt (*apuwiamwene/arienembumba*) are particularly important, dealing with issues ranging from economic hardships to ceremonies related to marriage and funerals (incl. the distribution of inheritance). Other central family members are the *Mwene* (patriarchal family) and the *Nihimo* (the clan). Most people state that they seek advice/support from their extended family, friends or neighbours – even though we know from our qualitative research that the poorest have problems establishing social relations of support both with their extended family (with poverty tending to be endemic within families) and with external institutions (lack of contacts, lack of means). The limited importance of friends and neighbours as providers of support says something about the level of poverty. The majority has little to share, and they want to avoid the risk of lending to people who may not be in a position to pay back when they are themselves in need.

Table 19: Most Important People to Solve Family Problems 2011 and 2015 (percent)

Family Member *	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Mwene/Arieneulongo	7	3	13	8	20	15	13	16
Apuwiamwene	12	17	6	11	20	27	35	27
Nihimo/Mbumba	3	8	25	12	7	6	14	9
Other relatives	72	55	34	54	47	40	19	35
Friends/neighbours	3	1	2	2	3	0	5	3
Other	2	14	1	6	0	12	13	8
No one	2	2	19	7	3	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*See text above for explanation

Case: Arriving Lago/Meluluca for the first time in 2011, the people with the most profound influence in the community at large (and who had to approve the Reality Checks) were two traditional leaders (rainhas). The head of the Administrative Post as the representative of the State had limited influence as he was not from the community and had hardly any funds to invest in it. Other leaders – of mosques, fishing associations, businesses etc. – had an impact limited to their area of competence. Five years later, leadership and influence in the community has changed – largely based on access to resources. A new active head of the Administrative Post has attracted public investments and skilfully used the District Development Fund to build alliances and influence, business-leaders have increased their influence both directly and by serving as examples, and traditional leaders have seen some of their influence dwindle with enhanced external influence. In 2011, the rainhas had the authority to tell people drinking to stay away from the community at a secluded beach. In 2015, drunk youngsters in particular is a common sight in the community.

Concerning public/community institutions as such, most of them were more frequently used in 2015 than in 2011 (Table 20). Asked “Did you or any other member of your household use the following public service the last six months”, the primary/secondary school and the health post/health centre stand out as having the highest attendance rates of all public services. Public markets for buying and selling products saw the highest increase in attendance, verifying the growing circulation of money and trade in all three communities. The increase in the use of public transportation – in Lago in particular where the road to the district capital is relatively new – also point in this direction. Access to potable water was emphasised as perhaps the major problem in

all three communities in our qualitative work, and only urban Cuamba saw an increase in access and use between 2011 and 2015. Finally, the use of the services of police, the Registry and Notary saw no change or a decline. The limited use of police services (despite the importance attached to it as an institution, see above) underlines the relative tranquillity in these communities. The Registry and the Notary are located in the District/Provincial centres and hence are not easily accessible to many, except in Cuamba. Also, most people only need to be registered when they start school. To summarize people use the public institutions that are directly relevant for them, i.e. with a much more limited use of the arguably most influential public institutions such as the District Administration and Administrative Post.

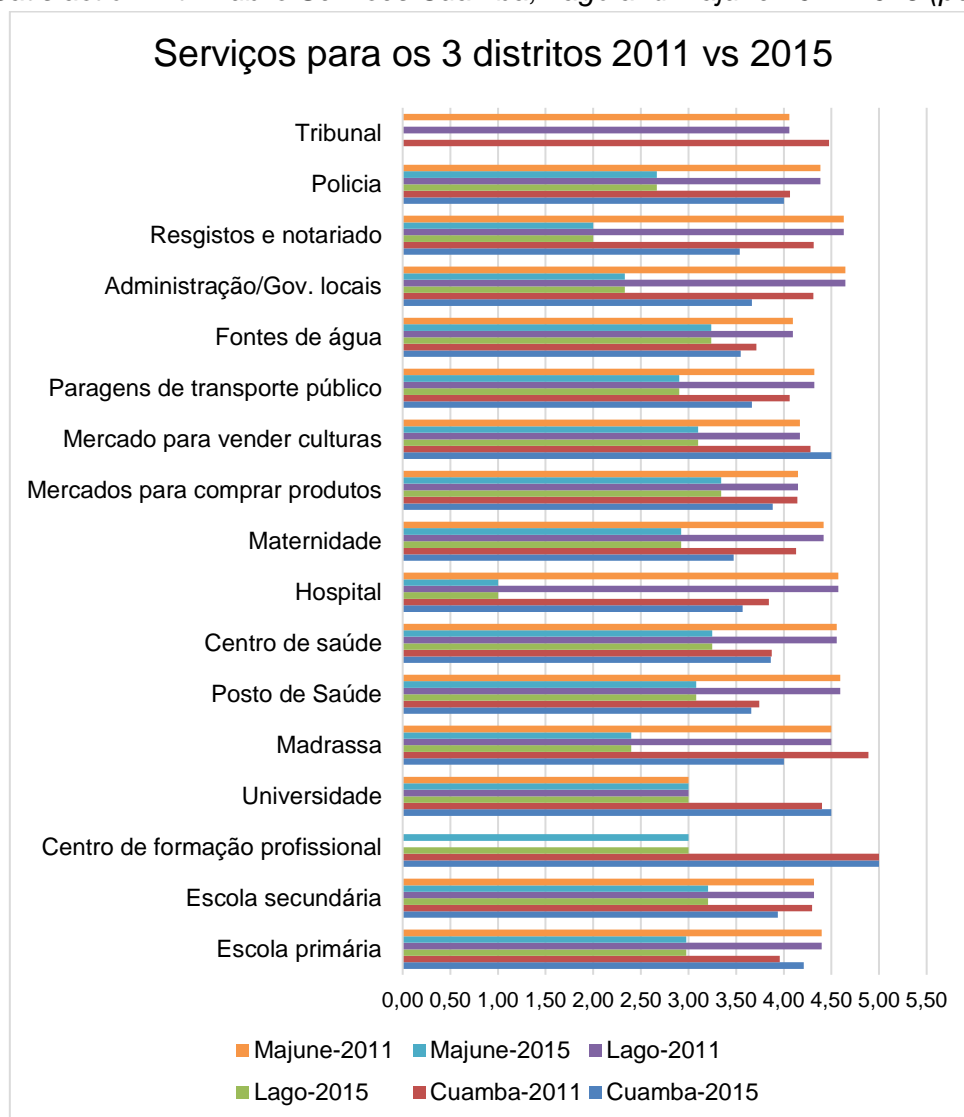
Table 20: Households Having Used Public Services the Past Six Months (percent)

PUBLIC SERVICE	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Primary school	59	67	76	67	72	76	71	73
Secondary school	19	5	24	16	28	24	34	29
Vocational Training	0	0	-	0	1	2	1	1
University	2	0	1	1	2	2	1	2
Madrassa	1	29	11	14	2	4	3	3
Health post	44	47	38	43	42	82	21	48
Health centre	57	2	76	45	49	3	59	37
Hospital	40	1	4	15	61	2	2	22
Maternity ward	15	13	33	20	17	11	23	17
Market - to buy products	89	95	81	88	91	95	98	95
Market - to sell products	19	25	64	36	33	42	26	34
Public transportation	27	58	41	42	33	86	26	48
Potable water sources	76	68	99	81	87	66	70	74
Local government	6	8	14	9	5	8	8	7
Registry and Notary	30	0	18	16	11	3	9	8
Police	4	0	11	5	5	3	6	5
Court	5	5	9	6	0	0	1	0

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

Finally, when it comes to the perceived quality of the public institutions, there is an overall decrease in levels of satisfaction between 2011 and 2015, despite the improved overall access/availability (Table 20). We think this at least partly reflects that the interviewees have higher expectations once institutions are in place and function. When asked to rate the public services on a scale from 1 to 5 – where 1 is very bad and 5 is very good – very few express *very* negative opinions (Level 1 and 2) and few had *very* positive attitudes (Level 5), which may reflect the interview situation where people were not very sure how the data are to be used and opt for ‘intermediate solutions’. The reduction in satisfaction was somewhat smaller in urban Cuamba than in rural Lago and Majune, which seemed to reflect superior accessibility and quality in urban population centres as such areas tend to attract more investments and better qualified personnel. This was particularly the case with health institutions, where people in Lago and Majune were very dissatisfied with the services, but people in Cuamba were also generally more satisfied (or less dissatisfied) with primary and secondary schools and universities.

Table 21: Satisfaction with Public Services Cuamba, Lago and Majune 2011-2015 (percent)



Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015 * Average score

3.6 Community Challenges

Even though Cuamba, Lago and to some extent also Majune have experienced positive socio-economic developments in the period 2011 to 2015, they remain disadvantaged communities with a number of challenges (Table 21). Many of these were related to public services that affect peoples' daily lives, most notably water and sanitation. Electricity was also high on the list of perceived community – reflecting a combination of its practical implications (security, ability to work/study at night) and a notion that having access to electricity is an intrinsic part of being 'modern' problems – even though most people readily acknowledge that they will not be able to afford connections. Roads/transport were not considered a big problem, reflecting the heavy investments that have been made in that sector. The limited emphasis given to lack of employment

and income, which would have made it possible to solve many of the other problems identified, was probably related to a notion that employment is 'beyond reach' for most people.

Table 22: Main Problems in the Community 2011-2015 (percent)

COMMUNITY PROBLEM	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Unemployment	4	2	12	6	3	5	9	7
Theft/robberies	2	1	5	3	5	1	0	2
Land conflicts	0	0	1	0	1	4	1	2
Water conflicts	14	1	2	6	37	5	17	23
Lack of energy	9	48	35	31	12	30	38	27
Lack of health inst.	25	21	17	21	18	25	2	15
Lack of water	39	12	22	24	14	8	25	17
Roads	0	5	0	2	5	12	0	7
Lack of food	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
Other	7	12	8	9	4	11	9	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

3.7 Perceptions of Change

Questions of people's assessment of the direction of change in their families or communities over time are informative – but also problematic. 'Positive' and 'negative' change are relative concepts, and there is a tendency to focus on recent changes rather than relate to the situation – in the current case – five years earlier. Nevertheless, there was a general sense of positive or no change in household well-being between 2011 and 2015 in all three communities. The background data showed that male-headed households generally saw more positive developments than female-headed households – reflecting a situation where the former usually are better off than the latter.

Table 23: Changes in Household Well-Being between 2006-2011 and 2011-2015

Direction of Change	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Improved	31	54	59	48	37	58	53	49
Maintained	33	45	27	35	39	38	38	38
Deteriorated	37	1	15	18	24	3	9	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

A larger proportion of households believed things had improved more in the community than for their own individual household. The socio-economic developments in the three communities have been uneven, and the unequal access to the development taking place may influence community cohesion in a negative way. While there are socio-cultural mechanisms to relate to this (such as witchcraft), there are also signs of increasing social unrest having expressions such as more robberies/theft (Cuamba) and more public drinking (Lago). People having accomplished upward social mobility may of course also function as role-models, but particularly in rural Lago and Majune such people have a tendency to move to other larger towns and cities where opportunities are better.

Table 24: Changes in Community Well-Being between 2011 and 2015

Direction of Change	2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Improved	48	74	63	62
Maintained	45	24	34	34
Deteriorated	7	2	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

In terms of future expectations/wishes for improvements for the household the importance attached to housing stood out in 2015 as it did in 2011 (Table 24). Housing is basically a household/individual responsibility, and we saw that there were a lot of improvements already going on in all three communities. High expectations were also attached to employment, improved agricultural production, material assets and health that all depend on a combination of government/donor interventions and private/household initiatives. Somewhat lower expectations were allotted to education, which – again - may relate to people losing the faith in education as a way out of poverty.

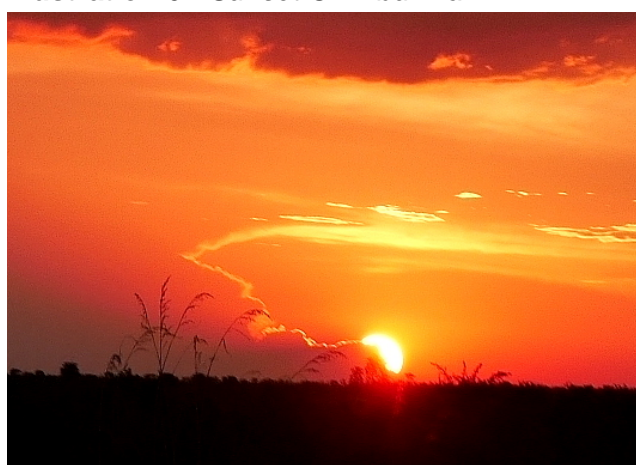
Illustration 6: Sunset Chimumila


Photo: Kajsa Johansson

Table 25: Preferred Area of Improvement in Household Coming Five Years

Preferred area improvement	2011				2015			
	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total	Cuamba	Lago	Majune	Total
Employment	30	8	24	21	17	12	18	16
Education	8	3	4	5	8	9	13	10
Health	2	1	4	2	7	13	3	8
Production	30	3	13	15	17	15	17	16
Dwelling	12	45	26	28	30	33	22	28
Material goods	18	9	29	28	10	16	26	17
Other	1	30	0	10	11	3	3	6
No change	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Reality Check Mozambique Surveys 2011-2015

The 2011 and 2015 Reality Check Surveys and qualitative exercises (such as the Force-Field analysis) showed that people primarily saw development as the responsibility of the government, with much less emphasis given to the private sector and donors. They also acknowledged that they have a responsibility to contribute themselves, usually by emphasising 'local knowledge' and their own labour.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The quantitative information on developments in Cuamba, Lago and Majune in the period 2011 to 2015 – that is the focus of this report – largely confirm the processes identified in the annual qualitative analyses that is the core of the Reality Checks. This way, it has fulfilled the objective of the Baseline and Endline survey outlined in the Reality Check Inception Report (ORGUT 2011a) and Approach and Methodology Report (ORGUT 2011f): Time-series comparisons to identify trends in specific dimensions of interest; cross-section comparisons between different individuals, households, groups and communities; estimates of the prevalence and distributions of specific deprivations within population areas; frequencies/correlations that raise questions about causality and co-variant changes; and (albeit yet to be seen) hard numbers to influence policy-makers. For a fuller set of data/ conclusions involving qualitative as well as quantitative data, we refer to the Final Report 2011-2015 (ORGUT, 2016).

- In terms of the political/administrative framework, public institutions at the levels of the district/municipality and administrative posts remained important during the period in question, but have generally not managed to improve quality and proximity of services to the population they are mandated to serve.

Traditional authorities saw a drop in position and influence, except for their customary roles in community conflict mediation, ceremonies etc., particularly compared to neighbourhood secretaries and other local representatives in the interface between tradition and the state.

Party affiliation has become increasingly important for political/economic – as well as social – relations at the local level. While there was more space for the opposition, there were also more open confrontations and people continue to fear returns to skirmishes between Frelimo and Renamo.

- Economically, agriculture/fisheries and small-scale trade/commerce remained the backbone of all three communities. Cuamba had the best options for commercial agriculture and formal employment; in Lago fisheries had been particularly important for developments; and subsistence agriculture and small-scale trade continued to dominate the economy of Majune.

While most households continued to be subsistence producers, there was a general increase both in the commercialisation of agriculture/fisheries and the proportion of households who pursued other economic activities. The basis/space for entrepreneurship/more innovative adaptations continued to be limited – except for the few in positions to surpass structural constraints.

- In terms of physical infrastructure, all three communities saw improvements in the period 2011-2015. Roads and bridges have been built and improved; the mobile phone network reached practically everybody; and electricity access had been improved in Cuamba and recently reached Majune, with solar panels becoming more common in Lago that is still not linked to the national grid.

Potable water, which was seen as the main problem in all three communities, remained a big challenge with the partial exception of Cuamba. The problem is a combination of an inadequate

number of water-pumps, frequent break-downs and the poor quality of traditional water sources (lakes, rivers, wells).

- Social infrastructure for education and health had improved in all three sites in terms of physical structures and accessibility. However, there were still considerable problems in terms of quality of teaching and medical services and both saw a drop in the quality assessments by the local population.

Primary education competed with the need for labour in poor households, and the dearth of people with education who actually get employment. In Majune in particular households had largely lost faith in education as a way out of poverty. In Cuamba, access to and the quality of secondary education had improved – as had attendance.

Poor health affects the lives of poor people directly, and people are frequently sick. Rural health facilities in particular suffer from poor quality of services, and people in the communities gave such institutions low evaluations. Again developments had been most favourable in urban Cuamba, where access and quality was highest.

- In general terms, all three communities saw positive developments in terms of poverty and well-being as measured by income and assets – including housing. The exception was the very poorest, who had not been able to benefit from the economic developments listed above and remained poor and marginalised.

There was room for upward social mobility as evidences by the increasing proportion of households with higher incomes, but this required a set of social relationships (with political as well as family actors) that the poorest usually do not have. Access to money for investments through the District Development Fund was particularly important in this respect.

For the poorest, their poverty compelled them to work ‘ad hoc’ on a day to day basis without being able to make investments (in land, fishing boats, commercial outlets etc.) for the future. Access to social security (primarily through INAS) was still difficult and rare particularly for households without relevant social relations – making the poorest depend on the extended family, neighbours and friends in times of crisis.

Female-headed households/single women were generally poorer and more vulnerable than male-headed households. They tended to own less land, had access to less labour and were effectively excluded from income earning options outside agriculture and commerce. There were examples of female-headed households/women who improved their situation during the period in question, but mainly in urban Cuamba where socio-cultural restrictions are less pronounced or with active support from husbands.

- In terms of pace and direction of change, the data show that change is fastest and most profound in urban Cuamba. This is related to the level of economic activities/investments as well as public sector interventions. Cities have more opportunities, but also more inequality, than rural areas. While some households have managed to exploit opportunities particularly in formal employment and the private sector, the majority of households in Cuamba still depend on agriculture for survival and food security.

Also Lago has seen profound change, showing how one intervention (a road connecting the community of Meluluca to the rest of the district/province) can have large implications – in this case by connecting the local fisheries to external markets. With this additional activities mainly in trade/commerce have developed, and the state has enhanced its presence through able representatives. But also in this case a substantial part of the local community has not been able to relate to the changing context and opportunities, partly due to socio-cultural constraints affecting particularly women.

Majune has seen many interventions in terms of improved physical (roads, bridges, electricity) and social (schools, hospitals) infrastructure, but in this case changes have been slower to appear. The main reason seems to be a combination of an initial high level of material poverty making it impossible/difficult to exploit the opportunities arising, and small transparent communities compelling many of the better-off to locate their businesses/economic activities outside the community to avoid social pressures for sharing.

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SWEDEN

<p>13. Qual é o nível de escolaridade mais alto atingido (mesmo se não concluiu) pelo CAF? _ </p>	<p>[1] Nenhum</p> <p>[2] Sabe escrever e ler o nome e alguns números / Alfabetização</p> <p>[3] Primária EP1 (1ª a 5ª classe)</p> <p>[4] Primária EP2 (6ª e 7ª classe)</p> <p>[5] Secundária (8ª a 10ª classe)</p> <p>[6] Pré-universitária (11ª e 12ª classe)</p> <p>[7] Formação profissional básica</p> <p>[8] Formação profissional médio</p> <p>[9] Universidade</p>
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COMPOSIÇÃO DO AGREGADO

Nesta secção gostaríamos de obter alguma informação sobre o seu agregado familiar. Entendemos agregado familiar como qualquer pessoa que come na mesma panela consigo ou ajuda a trazer comida para essa panela, mesmo se não vive aqui em casa mas que não pertença a outra panela.

<p>14. Quantas pessoas pertencem ao seu agregado familiar? _ _ (INCLUINDO O CAF E AS CRIANÇAS)</p>	
<p>15. Destas pessoas quantos são homens? _ _ ...E quantas são mulheres? _ _ </p>	
<p>16. Quantos membros existem no agregado familiar dentro das seguintes faixas etárias? (LER AS OPÇÕES)</p> <p>0 – 14 anos _ _ </p> <p>15 – 34 anos _ _ </p> <p>35 – 49 anos _ _ </p> <p>50 – 64 anos _ _ </p> <p>65 + anos _ _ </p>	

<p>17. Quantos membros fazem parte do agregado familiar com a seguinte relação de parentesco com o CAF?</p> <p>1. Esposas/os __ __ </p> <p>2. Filhos/as __ __ </p> <p>3. Enteados/as __ __ </p> <p>4. Sobrinhos/as __ __ </p> <p>5. Netos/as __ __ </p> <p>6. Outros parentes __ __ </p> <p> (especificar)</p> <p> __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ </p> <p> __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ </p> <p>7. Outros não parentes __ __ </p> <p> (especificar)</p> <p> __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ </p> <p> __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ </p>	
<p>18. Quantos destes membros não faziam parte do agregado há 5 anos atrás?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>(Se 00 passe para a questão 20)</p>	
<p>19. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada novo membro do agregado tem com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)?</p> <p> __ __ Chefe __ __ Esposa(o) __ __ </p> <p>Filhos/enteados</p> <p> __ __ Pais/sogros __ __ Irmãos __ __ Sobrinhos</p> <p> __ __ Netos __ __ Outros parentes __ __ Sem parentesco</p>	
<p>20. Quantos membros do agregado familiar NÃO residem normalmente na casa com a seguinte relação de parentesco com o CAF?</p> <p>1. Chefe do agregado __ __ </p> <p>2. Esposas/os __ __ </p> <p>3. Filhos/as __ __ </p> <p>4. Enteados/as __ __ </p> <p>5. Sobrinhos/as __ __ </p> <p>6. Netos/as __ __ </p> <p>7. Outros parentes __ __ </p>	

27. Alguém mais do agregado familiar sabe falar português? __	[1] Sim [2] Não
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EDUCAÇÃO

Nesta secção gostaríamos de fazer perguntas relacionadas com a educação no agregado familiar.

28. Qual é o nível de escolaridade mais elevado atingido (mesmo se não concluiu) por algum dos membros do agregado familiar? __	[1] Nenhum [2] Sabe escrever e ler o nome e alguns números / Alfabetização [3] Primária EP1 (1ª a 5ª classe) [4] Primária EP2 (6ª e 7ª classe) [5] Secundária (8ª a 10ª classe) [6] Pré-universitária (11ª e 12ª classe) [7] Formação profissional básica [8] Formação profissional médio [9] Universidade
29. Qual é o nível mais elevado que se pode atingir nas escolas perto (menos de meia hora a pé) da residência do agregado familiar? __	[1] Primário EP1 (5ª classe) [2] Primário EP2 (7ª classe) [3] Secundária (10ª classe) [4] Médio (12ª classe) [5] Universitário
30. Quantas crianças em idade escolar (entre 6 e 15 anos) existem na casa? __ __ Total __ __ Rapazes __ __ Raparigas (se 00, passe para questão 33)	
31. Destas crianças, quantas NÃO estão na escola?	

ACESSO A SERVIÇOS E INSTITUIÇÕES

Nesta secção gostaríamos de fazer perguntas sobre alguns serviços e de como as pessoas fazem para conseguir chegar a eles.

39. Nos últimos seis meses você ou alguém do seu agregado usou algum dos seguintes serviços ou instituições? (LER AS OPÇÕES) Assinale [X] no 9 se não usou o serviço porque não existe na zona e passe para o próximo serviço.		40. Quem do agregado foi o último a contactar os serviços/instituições que o agregado usou? [1] CAF [2] A(o) esposa(o) do CAF [3] Um dos filhos da casa [8] Outro membro do agregado (especifique) [9] Nunca usou o serviço/instituição	41. Quanto tempo demora da casa até chegar ao serviço/instituição? [1] Nenhum tempo [2] Menos de 5 minutos [3] 5 a 30 minutos [4] 30 minutos a 1 hora [5] Mais de 1 hora	42. Numa escala de 1 a 5 (onde 1 é muito mau e 5 muito bom) como classifica o serviço/instituição? Assinale [X] no 9 se não tem opinião e passe para o serviço/instituição seguinte
1. Escola primária	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]
2. Escola secundária	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]
3. Centro de formação profissional	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]
4. Universidade	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]
5. Madrassa	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]
6. Posto de saúde	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]
7. Centro de saúde	[1] Sim [2] Não [9]	__	__	[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]

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<p>39. Nos últimos seis meses você ou alguém do seu agregado usou algum dos seguintes serviços ou instituições? (LER AS OPÇÕES)</p> <p>Assinale [X] no 9 se não usou o serviço porque não existe na zona e passe para o próximo serviço.</p>		<p>40. Quem do agregado foi o último a contactar os serviços/instituições que o agregado usou?</p> <p>[1] CAF</p> <p>[2] A(o) esposa(o) do CAF</p> <p>[3] Um dos filhos da casa</p> <p>[8] Outro membro do agregado (especifique)</p> <p>[9] Nunca usou o serviço/instituição</p>	<p>41. Quanto tempo demora da casa até chegar ao serviço/instituição?</p> <p>[1] Nenhum tempo</p> <p>[2] Menos de 5 minutos</p> <p>[3] 5 a 30 minutos</p> <p>[4] 30 minutos a 1 hora</p> <p>[5] Mais de 1 hora</p>	<p>42. Numa escala de 1 a 5 (onde 1 é muito mau e 5 muito bom) como classifica o serviço/instituição?</p> <p>Assinale [X] no 9 se não tem opinião e passe para o serviço/instituição seguinte</p>
<p>8. Hospital</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>9. Maternidade</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>10. Mercado para comprar produtos</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>11. Mercado para vender culturas</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>12. Paragens de transporte público</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>13. Fontes de água</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>14. Administração/Gov. Locais</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>15. Registos e Notariado</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>16. Polícia</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>
<p>17. Tribunal (inclui tribunal comunitário)</p>	<p>[1] Sim [2] Não [9]</p>	<p> __ </p>	<p> __ </p>	<p>[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [9]</p>

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<p>9. Nduna/mambo <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>10. Chehe <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>11. Curandeiro <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>12. Outra (especificar) <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<p>45. De todos líderes que existem na zona, quais são os três mais importantes, em quem o agregado familiar confia para resolver os seus problemas?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>[01] Administrador do distrito</p> <p>[02] Chefe do Posto Administrativo</p> <p>[03] Régulo</p> <p>[04] Chefe do Povoado/aldeia</p> <p>[05] Secretário do bairro</p> <p>[06] Chefe do quarteirão</p> <p>[07] Polícia</p> <p>[08] Chehe</p> <p>[09] Curandeiro</p> <p>[98] Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>46. <u>Dentro da família alargada</u> a quem recorrem mais para resolver os assuntos dentro do agregado familiar?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>[1] Mwene/Arieneulongo</p> <p>[2] Apuwiamwene/Arienembumba</p> <p>[3] Representantes do Nihimo/Mbumba</p> <p>[4] Outros parentes (especifique)</p> <p>[5] Amigos e vizinhos</p> <p>[8] Outro (especifique)</p> <p>[9] Ninguém</p>
<p>47. Qual foi o último assunto/situação em que o agregado teve de recorrer a essa pessoa para resolver</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>[1] Falecimento</p> <p>[2] Adultério</p> <p>[3] Furtos</p> <p>[4] Casamento</p>

	[5] Cerimónias (especifique)
	[8] Outro (especifique)

RENDIMENTO DO AGREGADO FAMILIAR

Nesta secção gostaríamos de fazer perguntas sobre as actividades que o agregado familiar tem para conseguir garantir o seu sustento.

48.	O agregado familiar possui machamba? _ (se 2, passe para questão 54)	[1] Sim [2] Não
49.	O agregado familiar possui quantas machambas? _ _	
50.	A quantos campos de futebol equivale a machamba principal? _ _ , _ _ campo(s) de futebol/há	

<p>51. O agregado familiar plantou algum dos seguintes produtos na última campanha, nas suas machambas? (LER AS OPÇÕES)</p> <p>1. Feijão manteiga __ </p> <p>2. Outros feijões __ </p> <p>3. Repolho __ </p> <p>4. Alho __ </p> <p>5. Cebola __ </p> <p>6. Banana __ </p> <p>7. Cana-de-açúcar __ </p> <p>8. Couve __ </p> <p>9. Inhame __ </p> <p>10. Gergelim __ </p> <p>11. Ervilhas __ </p> <p>12. Milho __ </p> <p>13. Arroz __ </p> <p>14. Mapira __ </p> <p>15. Mandioca __ </p> <p>16. Amendoim __ </p> <p>17. Abóbora __ </p> <p>18. Tomate __ </p> <p>19. Batata __ </p> <p>20. Batata-doce __ </p> <p>21. Tabaco __ </p> <p>22. Algodão __ </p> <p>23. Outro (especificar) __ </p> <p> __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ </p> <p>24. Outro (especificar) __ </p> <p> __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ </p> <p>25. Outro (especificar) __ </p> <p> __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ __ _ </p>	<p>[1] Sim</p> <p>[2] Não</p>
<p>52. Vendeu algum produto produzido nas suas machambas na última campanha agrícola?</p> <p> __ (se 2, passe para questão 54)</p>	<p>[1] Sim</p> <p>[2] Não</p>

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<p>53. Quanto conseguiu arrecadar na venda dos produtos da machamba da última colheita?</p> <p> _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p>	
<p>54. O agregado familiar pratica a pesca?</p> <p> _ (se 2, passe para questão 57)</p>	<p>[1] Sim</p> <p>[2] Não</p>
<p>55. Costuma vender o peixe que pesca?</p> <p> _ (se 2, passe para questão 57)</p>	<p>[1] Sim</p> <p>[2] Não</p>
<p>56. Quanto costuma render a venda de peixe por dia?</p> <p> _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p>	
<p>57. Para além da agricultura, quais são as outras fontes de rendimentos que existem para o agregado familiar e quanto rende em média por mês?</p> <p> _ _ _ (preencher 99 <u>apenas</u> se não realiza nenhuma outra actividade)</p> <p>1. Emprego formal _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>2. Artesanato _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>3. Medicina tradicional _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>4. Produção de carvão/lenha _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>5. Fabrico/venda de bebidas _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>6. Loja _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>7. Banca _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>8. Venda ambulante _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>9. Venda de água _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>10. Arrendamento de casa/quarto _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>11. Construção _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>12. Pedreiro _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>13. Carpintaria _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>14. Serralharia _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>15. Electricista _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>16. Alfaiate _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>17. Pwati _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>18. Ganho-ganho _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>19. Nampotocos _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p> <p>20. Pesca _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ ,00 MT</p>	<p>[99] Nenhuma</p>

2. Produtos de limpeza	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
3. Roupa/vestuário	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
4. Água	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
5. Luz/Iluminação	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
6. Produtos escolares	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
7. Medicamentos/consultas	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
8. Transporte e combustível	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
9. Comunicação	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
10. Outras despesas (especifique)	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ ,00 MT
63. Consumiu algum dos seguintes produtos? (LER AS OPÇÕES)	DIA 1 (perguntar pelo consumo do dia anterior)
1. Carne	[1] Sim [2] Não
2. Galinha	[1] Sim [2] Não
3. Peixe	[1] Sim [2] Não
4. Arroz / farinha	[1] Sim [2] Não
5. Verduras/feijão	[1] Sim [2] Não
6. Pão	[1] Sim [2] Não
7. Leite	[1] Sim [2] Não
8. Ovos	[1] Sim [2] Não
9. Fruta	[1] Sim [2] Não
64. Nos últimos 12 meses quantos meses depois da colheita teve que começar a comprar produtos da machamba que normalmente cultiva? _ _ _ meses	[99] Não tem machamba
65. Quantos meses dos últimos 12 meses que os membros do seu agregado familiar consumiram uma refeição ou menos por dia? _ _ _ meses	[99] Não sabe / não se lembra

CARACTERÍSTICAS DA HABITAÇÃO

Nesta secção gostaríamos de fazer algumas perguntas sobre a casa e as condições como vive o agregado familiar.

	[5] Rio ou riacho [8] Outro (especificar)
71. Qual a principal fonte de energia... a. Para iluminar? _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ b. Para cozinhar? _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	[1] Petróleo [2] Gerador pessoal [3] Rede eléctrica pública [4] Bateria [5] Lenha [6] Lanterna [8] Outra (especifique)
72. Qual o tipo de saneamento que a casa possui? _	[1] Sanita com fossa séptica [2] Latrina melhorada com laje [3] Latrina tradicional melhorada com material local [4] Latrina não melhorada [5] Não tem latrina, vai ao vizinho [6] Vai ao mato

OUTROS BENS

Nesta secção gostaríamos de fazer perguntas sobre alguns bens que o agregado familiar possa possuir.

73. O agregado familiar possui algum dos seguintes bens? (LER AS OPÇÕES)	Possui (se avariado, considere que não possui)
1. Rádio/Aparelhagem	[1] Sim [2] Não
2. TV	[1] Sim [2] Não
3. Vídeo/DVD/leitor de CD	[1] Sim [2] Não
4. Telefone/Telemóvel	[1] Sim [2] Não

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73. O agregado familiar possui algum dos seguintes bens? (LER AS OPÇÕES)	Possui (se avariado, considere que não possui)
5. Relógio de pulso/Relógio	[1] Sim [2] Não
6. Cama (não apenas colchão ou esteira)	[1] Sim [2] Não
7. Esteira	[1] Sim [2] Não
8. Cadeiras/bancos	[1] Sim [2] Não
9. Mesa	[1] Sim [2] Não
10. Fogão eléctrico	[1] Sim [2] Não
11. Fogão a gás	[1] Sim [2] Não
12. Panela de ferro	[1] Sim [2] Não
13. Ferro de engomar	[1] Sim [2] Não
14. Geleira/congelador	[1] Sim [2] Não
15. Máquina de costura	[1] Sim [2] Não
16. Mala	[1] Sim [2] Não
17. Cesto/peneira	[1] Sim [2] Não
18. Manta	[1] Sim [2] Não
19. Cortinas	[1] Sim [2] Não
20. Charrua	[1] Sim [2] Não
21. Enxada	[1] Sim [2] Não
22. Catana/foice	[1] Sim [2] Não
23. Machado	[1] Sim [2] Não
24. Carroça de bois	[1] Sim [2] Não
25. Tractor	[1] Sim [2] Não
26. Bicicleta	[1] Sim [2] Não
27. Motorizada	[1] Sim [2] Não
28. Veículo motorizado (carro, camião, machimbombo, carrinha, etc.)	[1] Sim [2] Não
29. Bomba de água	[1] Sim [2] Não
30. Pratos e copos (de metal ou vidro)	[1] Sim [2] Não
31. Talheres	[1] Sim [2] Não

73. O agregado familiar possui algum dos seguintes bens? (LER AS OPÇÕES)	Possui (se avariado, considere que não possui)
32. Baldes/Bacias/Tigelas	[1] Sim [2] Não

74. O agregado familiar possui algum dos seguintes animais? (LER AS OPÇÕES)	<i>Não considerar gatos ou cães</i>
1. Galinha	[1] Sim [2] Não
2. Galinha-do-mato	[1] Sim [2] Não
3. Peru	[1] Sim [2] Não
4. Patos	[1] Sim [2] Não
5. Pombas	[1] Sim [2] Não
6. Porcos	[1] Sim [2] Não
7. Cabritos	[1] Sim [2] Não
8. Ovelhas	[1] Sim [2] Não
9. Bois/vacas	[1] Sim [2] Não
10. Burros	[1] Sim [2] Não
11. Coelhos	[1] Sim [2] Não
12. Outro _____ (especificar)	[1] Sim [2] Não

PADRÕES DE MIGRAÇÃO

Nesta secção gostaríamos de perguntar sobre as viagens que os membros do agregado familiar costumam fazer.

75. O chefe do agregado vivia neste local há 5 anos atrás? _	[1] Sim [2] Não
<i>(Se 01 passe para questão 76)</i>	
76. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes?	[1] No mesmo distrito

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		<p>[6] Todas crianças</p> <p>[7] Todo agregado</p> <p>[8] Alguém de fora do agregado familiar</p>
<p>89. Nas tarefas domésticas quem no agregado familiar é responsável por...</p> <p>a. Limpar a casa? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. Varrer o quintal? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. Cozinhar? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. Carretar a água para a casa? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>e. Trazer a lenha para casa? <input type="checkbox"/></p>		<p>[1] O CAF</p> <p>[2] A(o) esposa(o) do CAF</p> <p>[3] O casal em conjunto</p> <p>[4] As meninas/mulheres da casa</p> <p>[5] Os meninos/homens da casa</p> <p>[6] Todas crianças</p> <p>[7] Todo agregado familiar</p> <p>[8] Alguém de fora do agregado familiar</p>
<p>90. Na machamba, quem é responsável por...</p> <p>a. Limpar o terreno (cortar troncos e queimadas)? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. Sachar? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. Semear? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. Afugentar animais? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>e. Colher? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(Se 9, passe para questão 92)</p>		<p>[1] O CAF</p> <p>[2] A(o) esposa(o) do CAF</p> <p>[3] O casal em conjunto</p> <p>[4] As meninas/mulheres da casa</p> <p>[5] Os meninos/homens da casa</p> <p>[6] Todas crianças</p> <p>[7] Todo agregado familiar</p> <p>[8] Alguém de fora do agregado familiar</p> <p>[9] Não tem machamba</p>
<p>91. Quando os produtos da machamba são colhidos quem...</p> <p>a. Decide quanto se guarda e quanto se vende? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. Vai ao mercado vender os produtos? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. Negoceia com intermediários a venda do produto? <input type="checkbox"/></p>		<p>[1] O CAF</p> <p>[2] A(o) esposa(o) do CAF</p> <p>[3] O casal em conjunto</p> <p>[4] As meninas/mulheres da casa</p> <p>[5] Os meninos/homens da casa</p> <p>[6] Todas crianças</p> <p>[7] Todo agregado familiar</p> <p>[8] Alguém de fora do agregado familiar</p>
<p>92. Quando um membro recebe um rendimento, quem decide como esse</p>		<p>[1] O CAF</p>

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<p>rendimento deve ser gasto?</p> <p>a. Se for o chefe do agregado <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>b. Se for a(o) esposa(o) do chefe do agregado <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c. Se for um dos filhos homens <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d. Se for uma das filhas mulheres <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>e. Se for outro parente <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>[2] A(o) esposa(o) do CAF</p> <p>[3] O casal em conjunto</p> <p>[4] O próprio (se não for CAF ou esposa(o))</p> <p>[5] Todo agregado familiar</p> <p>[6] Alguém de fora do agregado familiar</p> <p>[9] Não há categoria/Não trazem rendimento</p>
<p>93. Aconteceu alguma vez decidirem não inscrever todos filhos na escola?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <i>(Se 2, passe para questão 94)</i></p>	<p>[1] Sim</p> <p>[2] Não</p>
<p>a. Se sim, qual dos filhos decidiram não colocar na escola?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> _____</p>	<p>[1] Uma das filhas mais novas</p> <p>[2] Uma das filhas mais velhas</p> <p>[3] Um dos filhos mais novos</p> <p>[4] Um dos filhos mais velhos</p> <p>[8] Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>b. Porque esse filho e não outro?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> _____</p>	<p>[1] Ajuda nos trabalhos domésticos</p> <p>[2] Ajuda nos trabalhos da machamba</p> <p>[3] Por ser novo de mais</p> <p>[4] Por ser homem</p> <p>[5] Por ser mulher</p> <p>[6] Doença</p> <p>[8] Outro (especifique)</p>

REDES SOCIAIS E RELAÇÕES COM A COMUNIDADE

Nesta secção gostaríamos de fazer perguntas sobre a maneira como os membros do agregado familiar se relacionam com o resto da comunidade.

<p>94. Qual é o principal problema na comunidade que na sua opinião precisa de ser melhorado?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> _____</p>	<p>[01] Falta de emprego</p> <p>[02] Roubos</p> <p>[03] Conflitos de terra</p>
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	[4] Conflitos de água [05] Falta de energia eléctrica [06] Falta de unidades sanitárias [07] Falta de água canalizada [08] Estradas [98] Outro (especifique)
95. Quem é que na sua opinião pode ajudar a melhorar esse problema? __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __	[1] Governo provincial [2] Administração do distrito [3] Chefe do posto [4] Policia [5] Régulo [6] Chefe da aldeia [7] Agentes de saúde [8] Outro (especifique)
96. Quantos membros do agregado familiar pertencem aos seguintes tipos de associação? a. Associação de camponeses __ __ b. Associação de jovens __ __ c. Associação de mulheres __ __ d. Associação cultural __ __ e. Associação financeira (e.g. grupo de <i>stique</i>) __ __ f. Associação política (e.g. partido) __ __ g. Associação dos pescadores __ __ h. Associação dos madeireiros __ __	

PERCEÇÕES DE BEM-ESTAR

Nesta secção gostaríamos de saber o que o agregado familiar pensa das suas condições de vida e como pensa que estas condições estarão daqui a cinco anos, quando voltarmos para ver as mudanças.

<p>97. Como pensa que a vida do seu agregado familiar mudou nos últimos cinco anos?</p> <p> _ </p>	<p>[1] Melhorou</p> <p>[2] Manteve-se na mesma</p> <p>[3] Piorou</p>
<p>98. Em que áreas é que a vida do agregado familiar <u>mais mudou (para melhor ou pior)</u> nos últimos cinco anos?</p> <p> _ </p> <p> _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>[1] Emprego</p> <p>[2] Educação</p> <p>[3] Saúde</p> <p>[4] Produção</p> <p>[5] Habitação</p> <p>[6] Estrada</p> <p>[7] Bens materiais</p> <p>[8] Outra (especifique)</p> <p>[9] Nada mudou</p>
<p>99. Em que área pensa que a vida do agregado familiar <u>mais vai mudar</u> nos próximos cinco anos?</p> <p> _ </p> <p> _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>[1] Emprego</p> <p>[2] Educação</p> <p>[3] Saúde</p> <p>[4] Produção</p> <p>[5] Habitação</p> <p>[6] Estrada</p> <p>[7] Bens materiais</p> <p>[8] Outra (especifique)</p> <p>[9] Nenhuma</p>



SWEDEN
