Youth Vulnerabilities to Economic Shocks:

A Case Study
of the Social Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on Youth
in Four Neighbourhoods in Maputo City, Mozambique

May, 2011

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and the
Civil Society Learning and Capacity-Building Centre (CESC), with contributions from
the Foundation for Community Development (FDC)

* Disclaimer: The views presented in this paper are those of the authors and do
not necessarily represent the views of ODI.

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Mozambique lies on the east coast of Southern Africa, and comprises the following provinces: Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Tete, Zambézia, Manica, Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo Province, and Maputo City, the capital.

**Surface area:** 799.380 km²  
**Climate:** Subtropical  
**Capital:** Maputo  
**Official language:** Portuguese  
**Currency:** Metical (Mt)
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ACRONYMS

AF (FH)   Family Household
CESC   Civil Society Learning and Capacity-Building Centre
CNJ   National Youth Council
FDC   Community Development Foundation
UNFPA   United Nations Fund for Population Activities
FAIJ   Youth Initiatives Support Fund
IAF   Family Households Survey
IFTRAB   Labour Force Integrated Survey
INE   National Statistics Institute
INEFP   National Employment and Vocational Training Institute
INFOR   Formal Sector Survey
INSIDA   National Survey of Prevalence and Behaviour Risks
IOF   Family Income Surveys
MEPT   Movement for Education For All
MICS   Survey on Multiple Indicators
OJM   Mozambican Youth Organisation
CSO   Civil Society Organisations
ODI   Overseas Development Institute
SAJ (RSHP)   Reproductive Sexual Health Programme
UNICEF   United Nations Children’s Fund
1 Introduction

This report presents the findings of the perceptions study, ‘The Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on Youth – A Case Study in Four Neighbourhoods of Maputo City’. It builds on primary data gathered in four neighbourhoods of Maputo City and secondary data from various sources relevant to the study, collected from September 2010 to February 2011.

The study aims at assessing urban and peri-urban youth’s perspectives on their vulnerability to shocks and risks, their development, and social and economic capabilities, well-being and future opportunities. The study focuses on the potential social and economic impacts on youth of the recent global crisis and covers the following dimensions: 1) employment and economic activities, 2) poverty, famine and livelihood strategies, 3) education, 4) health, 5) social and emotional well-being, and 6) gender differences in experiences of vulnerability.

The study falls within the framework of a broader survey undertaken in three countries, Vietnam, Ghana and Mozambique, and aims at filling a knowledge gap in relation to the understanding of youth vulnerability to crisis by assessing the impacts of the recent economic crisis on their lives. Furthermore, the study seeks to establish how economic recovery impacts on poor youth, and how they confront vulnerability in search of a future, socio-economic stability. The outcomes of the study are expected to be useful in providing information for the formulation of national and international policies for the protection and development of youth.

The study was coordinated by the UK’s Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and implemented in Mozambique by the Civil Society Learning and Capacity-Building Centre (CESC), with contributions from Community Development Foundation (FDC).

This report comprises nine chapters. The introduction is followed by chapter two which provides the framework of the study. Chapter three discusses the conceptual framework and main methodological aspects; chapter four presents the main findings of the primary data collected from youth and key informants; chapter five provides a description of policies and programmes that are intended to benefit youth; chapter six assesses the quantitative indicators collected from existing studies; chapter seven opens a discussion on the vulnerability of youth, increasing social capital, the expansion of response by various actors, information challenges and issues for future research. Chapter eight presents the bibliography employed and chapter nine contains the annexes.
2 Rationale for the study
The past three years have been shaped by the spread of the current economic crisis in the United States and Western Europe to most of the developing world. Although the effects were uneven, few countries managed to escape the immediate and in-cascade effects of diminished exports, reduced remittances, lowered opportunities and cuts in budget support. The effects of the financial crisis on employment, public sector revenues and services have combined with increased prices for food and fuel to impose severe impacts on the poor, pushing millions into conditions of extreme poverty.

The short period that has elapsed since the beginning of the crisis in 2008 has made it hard to identify its social impact with precision. Existing monitoring systems are ill-equipped to register changes that occur in such a narrow frame of time and the media have been slow to record and disseminate the phenomenon as experienced by the population. For these and other reasons, there is little concrete evidence of the actual effects of the economic crisis on the youth at either an international or regional level. However, there is substantive evidence of previous crises related to the effects of recession and increased prices on the education, health and employment of young people, and particularly as they affect crime and the social well-being of youth (Marcus and Gavrilovic, 2010).

In spite of the tardy recognition of the crisis in Mozambique, the government announced in 2009 that its negative impacts were already being registered in some sectors of the economy. Foreseeable effects were visible in the external sector, with a fall of exports reflecting the fall of demand and prices. The tourism, transport, communications and mining sectors recorded significant slowdowns in growth, and further de-acceleration was expected in real GDP growth.

The impact of the crisis at the level of the family and the individual became most visible in urban areas. Increased prices for fuel and food, combined with devaluation of the local currency, the Metical, in the past two years have worsened the living standards of most citizens. As a result, since February 2008, protests have erupted in the country’s main cities. On 5 February 2008 and 1-2 September 2010, young people in several Maputo City neighbourhoods staged violent protests against increases in the prices of transport and foodstuffs, such as bread.

Young people form a substantial proportion of the urban population. In Mozambique, about 25% of the population in urban areas is aged 15-24. Given their vulnerability to various risks, including economic, there is a strong likelihood that young people will be the group most affected by the global crisis. Meanwhile, little has been documented on the social impact of the economic crisis on youth, either in Mozambique or abroad. The present study is therefore expected to contribute to a better understanding of youth’s vulnerability to economic shock in general, and particularly how are it is being experienced.
3 Conceptual framework and methodological aspects

3.1 Conceptual framework

3.1.1 Concept of vulnerability
For the purposes of this study vulnerability is understood to be the condition in which individuals, families or communities have only a limited capacity to face situations of risk or control the forces that affect the opportunities provided by the state, the free market or society. That condition may be temporary or it may last throughout their entire lives. Three elements are essential for confirmation of a condition of vulnerability: 1) material or symbolic resources (assets), 2) the opportunity structure offered by market, 3) state, society and strategies for the use of assets (Goldenstein et Al. 2007). The concept of vulnerability takes into account the dynamic of the generation of opportunities, which vary with historical context and existing social disparities (age, sex, local contexts, etc.) and the economic structural characteristics of countries or regions.

3.1.2 Vulnerability matrix
For this study the overall analytical table presented below was developed.

This table was drawn up within the framework of the broader study and emphasises youth vulnerability to economic crisis – vulnerability deriving from poverty and social exclusion in general, and other characteristics linked to the condition of youth with regard to age, gender, socio-cultural and economic circumstances, and the strategies that youth adopts to manage crisis and accomplish personal and family goals.

With so many people in the ‘youth’ category, some, if not many, live in extreme poverty or are on the threshold of falling into extreme poverty. The above table emphasises some media-related factors, such as public and civil-society responses, which also contribute to the acceleration or de-acceleration of the effects of crisis.

Many changes that influence opportunities, well-being and youth choices occur in parallel to, or regardless of, the effects of crises (e.g., women having less children, the growth in the number of students at secondary school, greater selfishness and autonomy among young people, realignment of job opportunities, and the effects of climate change). Changes related to the economic crisis must therefore be understood within the broader context of trends (Marcus and Gavriloic, 2010).
Economic Crisis – Food, Energy and Finance

Dimensions of Macro-Environment
- Remittances
- Trade/prices (commodities)
- Aid & FDI flows
- Indebtedness
  - Fiscal Space
  - Exchange rates

Meso-level crisis effects
- Reduced access to credit
- Declining investment in public services
- Rising food, energy and other prices of key household goods
- Poorer working conditions: rising un/under employment, & declining wages

Affecting youth through:
Household economies and responses: Management of assets, consumption of goods and services, household labour allocation, household composition, reproduction (including nurture and care), protection (physical, emotional and promotion of wellbeing)

Mediating Factors
- Generic factors:
  - Vulnerability of overall economy and specific sectors
  - Household socio-economic status (including household composition, social exclusion)
  - Environmental vulnerability
- Youth-specific factors:
  - Age, position in household and stage in life course
  - Broader social position of youth
  - Gender

Political Economy
- Public policy responses & CSO provision
  - Generic: Support to specific sectors, employment stimulation, cash transfers, nutritional support to vulnerable groups
  - Youth-specific: health and nutrition, education, employment, citizenship

Impacts on youth
- Education & Training
- Health
- Emotional and Social Wellbeing
- Security
- Access to decent work

Access to quality of services
Effects on social capital & cohesion

- Aids & FDI flows
- Indebtedness
- Trade/prices (commodities)
- Fiscal Space
- Exchange rates
3.2 Methodology
The methodology used to gather empirical data is qualitative, combining secondary data (both quantitative and qualitative) to support interpretation.

At the level of secondary data, studies and statistical data regarding the matrix of vulnerability (annex 1) were collected and, when possible, were supplemented by qualitative empirical studies on the same issues. Other secondary data gathered included official and unofficial documents on the impact of the financial crisis in Mozambique.

For the gathering of primary data, the survey focused on peri-urban areas of Maputo City and four study areas were identified, namely the neighbourhoods of Mafalala, Hulene, Polana Caniço and George Dimitrov (Benfica). The neighbourhoods were chosen on the following criteria: 1) population density; 2) diversity in terms of characteristics of area (urban, peri-urban and rural within Maputo City, but with interaction with urban centres); 3) diversity in governance structures, 4) history of popular uprisings and/or lynching; 5) availability of government and non-government protection programmes; and 6) crime levels.

The data-gathering methodology combined four tools, as shown in the table below. The period of data collection in the field was eight months and the sample was defined according to the table below. In general, interviews surpassed what had been estimated, and 284 people participated in the survey overall, of whom 43% were women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Estimated</th>
<th>Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per neighbourhood</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key informant interview</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal groups</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad interviews</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life history</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total interviews (8 months)

163 121 284
Guidelines for each type of tool were prepared and pre-tested in advance. The selection of interviewees in each neighbourhood followed the criteria below:

**Focal groups** (between 5 and 10 participants in each group)

- 2 Women/2 men/2 mixed (6 groups in total)
- Women’s group: members of youth group (1)
- Men’s group: members of youth group (1)
- Mixed: Group of 15 to 19 year-olds outside school (1)
- Mixed: Group of 15 to 19 year-olds at school (1)
- Women’s group: 21 to 24/25 year-olds (1)
- Men’s group: 21 to 24/25 year-olds (1)

**Life history (4 interviews in total)**

- Married young woman or one who had a child at an early age
- Young man who migrated (to or from the community)
- Street/informal worker (woman or man)
- Youth with disabilities (woman or man)

**Broad interviews (10 interviews in total)**

- In difficult condition (poor/marginalised)
- Half women/half men
- Of the 10 interviews:
  - 2 between 15-18
  - 4 between 19-21
  - 4 between 22-25

**Key informants (8 interviews in total)**

**Community**

- 2 government officials (Provincial Co-ordinator of the National Youth Council (CNJ), and district representative of the CNJ).
- 1 non-governmental organisation (NGO) or community-based organisation (CBO).

**National level**

- 1 national government official (Ministry of Youth and Sports, UNFPA, UNICEF, CNJ, social action department from Labour Ministry, Ministry of Education).
- 4 additional interviews to be carried out in phase II, depending on relevance.

Field data collection and processing was undertaken by five young researchers (19-25-year-old university students and new graduates). One objective of the methodological component was to engage youth (young researchers) who could chat with their interviewee peers without having previous experience in research methodologies. The quality of collected data and the experience of ‘working with youth for youth’ are documented in a separate report.
3.3 Limitations of the study

The main limitation of the study relates to the difficulty of directly linking the experiences of informants to the global financial crisis that has hit Mozambique. Though it could be concluded that there are other factors that affect the interpretation of collected data, the changes that occurred in the life of youth from the beginning of 2008 to early 2011 were used as an approximate measure of the impact of the crisis. Changes, as a result of increases in prices and services, mass redundancies and the reduction in job opportunities, were particularly considered.

This remains a perception study, using a non-representative sample of youth from Maputo City, but it is sufficient to generate trends on the vulnerability of youth to shock and risk.

4 Main findings

4.1 Features of surveyed neighbourhoods

The characters of the neighbourhoods in terms of background, socio-economic make-up and dynamics were critical if the study were to understand the responses found, and the similarities and differences between neighbourhoods.

The four neighbourhoods are located in Urban Districts 2,3,4 and 5, all lying in the periphery of the concrete-built area of Maputo City (Kampfumo District). Mafalala and Polana Caniço ‘B’ are closer and share boundaries with Alto-Maé and Coop neighbourhoods, respectively. Meanwhile, George Dimitrov and Hulene are more distant from the centre of Maputo City.

The neighbourhoods are some of the most populated in Maputo, both in global terms and in terms of youth numbers, who represent 14% of the population of Maputo. About 25% of Maputo City population is in the age range of 15-24 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Residing Population</th>
<th>Population 15-24 years</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City Province</td>
<td>1,094,315</td>
<td>532,429</td>
<td>561,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mafalala</td>
<td>20,722</td>
<td>10,230</td>
<td>10,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polana Caniço 'B'</td>
<td>46,788</td>
<td>22,975</td>
<td>23,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hulene 'B'</td>
<td>45,371</td>
<td>21,713</td>
<td>23,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Dimitrov</td>
<td>40,993</td>
<td>19,716</td>
<td>21,277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All study neighbourhoods comprise a mixture of populations from different areas of the country and some from the Great Lakes Region. Yet, each has a background that makes them stand out. Mafalala is one of Maputo’s oldest neighbourhoods and was built during the colonial period through immigration, first from the Comoros Islands, then Emakua sailors from Nampula province and later arrivals from Gaza and Inhambane provinces, with the Ronga as the native group. Polana Caniço neighbourhood comprises populations from Maputo, the south of the country and Zambezia. Polana Caniço has experienced many different stages, largely influenced by the adverse events (civil wars and natural disasters) that marked the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s. Taking into consideration the evolving settlement, the neighbourhood has experienced four distinct stages: 1) the emergence of the neighbourhood; 2) resettlement of populations moving from the core of the city; 3) immigration due to civil war; and 4) establishment of an elite area in the neighbourhood’s ‘A’ zone.

The four neighbourhoods share similar challenges linked to poor sanitation, poor access to clean water and types of dwelling. Despite relatively high rates of access, the majority of residents dwellers get their water from alternative, non-state suppliers over whom monitoring and quality control are unreliable. In 2007, private operators supplied 32% of households in Maputo City not connected to the public water supply (Matsinhe et al., 2008).

Data from the 2007 INE census show that about 50% of Maputo City youth, aged 15-24 years, attended school. The study neighbourhoods follow the same trend. However, there is a large group who have worked previously (24%), and another that apparently does nothing (18%). Despite the similarity between neighbourhoods, it is worth noting that Mafalala has a higher rate of youth with previous work experience (31%), while youth in Hulene ‘B’ and Polana Caniço ‘B’ show higher rates of unemployment.

Although the study sample was not representative of all youth, most interviewees lived with their parents, with the majority working in the informal sector and others attending school.

While the informal market predominates in all neighbourhoods and there is a tendency for the periphery to serve the city centre, each study neighbourhood has its own dynamic which influences young people’s opportunities and choices. In Hulene, the rubbish heap plays a crucial role in employment generation with critical consequences for youth and their families. Polana Caniço neighbourhood has two of Maputo City’s...
largest markets, the Compone and Chiquelene markets. Mafalala also hosts an important informal market and has been promoted as a historic location, from which dignitaries and celebrities in culture, sports and politics all emerged. Mafalala youth, due to their proximity to the city centre, enjoy considerable interaction with the latter. Many interviewees and youth mentioned private security (in firms, homes and discos) and construction as significant job options. At the heart of George Dimitrov neighbourhood is another informal market, located on National Road 1, through which most inter-provincial buses and goods transit.

4.2 Employment and economic activities

The lack of formal, long-term and secure employment is the main concern of young people. Yet this is not specific for the past two-three years: in general, interviewees said there was always a shortage of job opportunities for all, but for youth in particular. The main factors contributing to lack of employment for the young are: 1) demand, which is higher than the offer; 2) most youth do not have the necessary qualifications and/or work experience; 3) youth are not concerned with school; and 4) the need to have a ‘fixer’, because of the high level of nepotism in formal institutions or the requirement to pay bribes.

In the four neighbourhoods, informants said that opportunities are diminishing year-on-year and the resulting social tension is apparent, particularly in recent years. In the last three years the price of transport and food also increased. For young people, the government has not created jobs for the large numbers leaving school each year and some institutions have halted recruitment, throwing youth into unemployment. No mention was made of gender differences in the missing of job opportunities.

In most neighbourhoods, interviewees felt there was distinct discrimination against them. The following statement was recorded in a mixed focal group at school:

‘There is lack of employment due to discrimination against Polana Caniço dwellers. Even if the youth are qualified, employers do not admit them when they become aware that they come from this neighbourhood.’ Male youth (19 yrs), Polana Caniço.

Youth make a distinction between formal and informal employment, and in Mafalala and Polana Caniço most aspire to formal employment since it offers the security of a guaranteed salary at the end of the month. In Hulene and George Dimitrov, others say they prefer the informal setting because they receive money upfront and can better manage their overheads.

Most informants, regardless of neighbourhood, age and occupation, say that the problem of lack of employment affects young people more than adults since the latter have more experience and can be more aggressive in searching for a job because they have ‘responsibility toward life’.
Some informants said it was easier for women to get a job than men, because they were more pro-active than men and did not mind what they did, be it cleaning or secretarial work. Others indicated that young men and women both faced difficulties in finding formal employment and were mostly in the informal sector (for example, selling in informal markets, collecting waste in the rubbish heap, etc.).

The few youth interviewed, who indicated that they had formal employment in the public sector, had kept their jobs, but with no substantial increases in salary. In real terms, salaries have been substantially eroded by the depreciation of the metical and dramatic increases in the price of food and services, notably transport.

Most job opportunities for youth are in the informal sector, in trading in goods and services. However, the young researchers noted that a large number of youth simply do nothing and have no interest in doing anything; this number has grown in recent years.

‘There are many youth now who are CD\(^1\), who do nothing, do not work or go to school, and sit on the walls the whole day…’ Woman with child, broad interview, Hulene.

According to some informants, however, job opportunities have increased with the large number of infrastructure projects underway in Maputo City. ‘Now there is much more sources for work because the Chinese offer jobs in construction work…’ Young man, broad interview, Mafalala.

For informants, the range of opportunities is linked to gender, but they disagree on who has more or less. For men, the range of available activities includes construction work, small business (carpentry, mechanics, blacksmith, collecting fares in chapas, etc.), selling scrap iron from the rubbish heap for recycling, etc. For women, the most common activities mentioned were selling in market stalls or on the streets, sewing, hairdressing and domestic work. In some cases, women engage in prostitution, often with the consent of their families.

‘Many girls are now engaged in prostitution, with the full knowledge of their parents, who remain silent because the money they bring home helps the household…’ Mixed focal group, Hulene.

Some interviewees in the four neighbourhoods, who work in the informal sector peddling non-essential goods, said they had lost market share in the past two years and needed to diversify the goods they were selling. Youths working as masons had to participate in other activities, such as house painting. One domestic worker had started a sweets business to top up her income.

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\(^1\) CD – *Come e Dorme* (Eat and Sleep) – a term of derision for the unemployed.
Change of job and/or abandonment was raised by some domestic workers who had given up work because they considered it insufficient compensation at a time when the cost of goods and services had steeply gone up.

Most informants reported that their salary/income had suffered in the previous three years as a result of increases in the price of food, transport and other goods. Salaries were not adjusted in line and this had impacted on purchasing power. On the other hand, a group of scrap collectors from private homes and the rubbish tip said their incomes had improved as a result of increased prices for iron.

The perception of most youth is that people earn in conformity with their capacity for work and their experience, and there are no significant differences between men and women.

Most young interviewees work in the informal sector, without a contract, or with one that is precarious at best. Since there is no government monitoring, abuses are widespread and range from disrespecting working hours to the termination of work without warning. According to one interviewee in Hulene:

‘Most youth work without a contract ... because most of their activities only last for 90 days at the maximum ... For example, quite often they are bullied and forced to work hours with no overtime pay and their contracts can be terminated at any time without prior warning.’

According to some informants, conditions have worsened in recent years in terms of working between 12-15 hours a day with no overtime pay, and some said that they worked under testing conditions of hygiene and safety.

Cases of sexual harassment of women at the workplace, particularly in kiosks and/or restaurants, were also reported.

The informants said there was more immigration than migration. A large number of young people from other provinces and from the Great Lakes Region (Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, etc.) came to settle in their neighbourhoods in recent years. The latter have grown in numbers recently and are active in trade. There is a widespread perception that immigrants from the Great Lakes are more successful and have taken business from the locals.

‘That is why container stalls belonging to the Burundese were burned down on 1 and 2 September.’ Male youth, George Dimitrov.

A large number of young people have migrated to South Africa in search of work in the mines, plantations or as self-employed. Girls often engage in prostitution there. Many
have the perception that the numbers of migrants has reduced in view of the wave of xenophobia sweeping the country.

Migration between neighbourhoods was also reported because of the increased prices of house and room rents. ‘When someone can no longer afford to pay rent, they move and search for a cheaper house’ said a young woman from Polana Caniço.

This trend has pushed the poorest to marginalised areas with less resources and services, and less access to transport.

Young women reported that they spent more time with household activities than their peers. This has impacts on the time they spend at school, at work and resting. Life stress forces most women to reduce the time they devote to household work. Since household activities and the search of income are often done under stress, they have opted not to give priority to school. Many girls said they had dropped out in the previous three years due to the difficulty of juggling household activities, school and the related costs.

Respondents reported cases of discrimination against some minority groups, such as orphaned children, immigrants, disabled persons, delinquents, and people with HIV/AIDS or tuberculosis. Discrimination ranges from abuse and exclusion from job opportunities to isolation in daily life. ‘There are ladies in this market who bring children from provinces, aged between 9-14 years, to work in their stalls, paying them nothing but Mt200,00 only, and the children have to work the whole day’, a young woman from George Dimitrov neighbourhood said.

Discrimination has been notorious in recent years due to the number of AIDS orphans and immigrants from the Great Lakes Region.

4.3 Poverty, hunger and livelihood strategies

In all four neighbourhoods informants reported difficulties in meeting food requirements throughout their lives. They have been forced to make adjustments to individual and household budgets because the prices of food, transport and basic services, such as water and electricity, have gone up in the past 24 months. Many said they needed to cut back on basic foodstuffs (rice, maize flour, tomato, onions, oil,) and to basic services (mainly water). Some had to reduce their expenditure on school and others, who need transport to reach their workplace, said they had reduced the number of motor journeys by walking in some instances.

‘Now I have to walk to work and I have reduced the quantities of tomato, maize flour and oil because my salary is no longer enough...’ Young female domestic worker with one child, broad interview, Hulene.
‘In recent years we had no important opportunity ... now for us to survive my sister aged 16 does hairdressing, my brother aged 12 does odd jobs, but that is only enough for bread and a bit more ... we depend on family help and support...’. Young orphan, elder sister who minds two brothers, life story, Polana Caniço.

Because of increased prices for food and transport, many families have had to cut water and electricity connections. ‘Youth from such households then steal water and electricity, cutting our water pipes...’, said one 18-year-old youth from Mafalala.

As a strategy to increase income, young people have increased the number of activities and/or diversified income sources. In Mafalala, they play ntxuva and football, organised in teams, and gamble as a source of income. Worthy of mention is the considerable presence of women at such games.

Overall, interviewed youth in study neighbourhoods have no access to financial credit, either because it does not exist, they are not aware of it or because there are criteria to meet which they do not understand. Such credit lines tend to benefit the relatives of credit managers.

There is a widespread perception that access to credit does not benefit the most needy and it is politicised. A youth from George Dimitrov said: ‘Only card-holder youth are able to get access to credit’, referring to the political influence and privilege that membership of the ruling party confers.

There was an inconclusive mix of opinions in regard to changes in the ownership of goods in the past few years. Some feel that young people and their families had nothing to lose because most households have a very limited number of possessions. Some indicate that there are people who have sold their radios, television sets and mobile phones to settle debts.

Youth with children, who work or attend school, leave their children with their mothers, neighbours or, in some cases, manage to find a child minder. In the latter case, often they are girls under 12, and payment is made with food and ‘symbolic’ money. Private kindergartens are the only alternative, and often cost more than they can afford.

4.4 Education
Another critical challenge for the study communities is access to education. The respondents mentioned lack of, or difficult, access to secondary education due to shortage of places and, in some cases, because one has to pay.

In addition to the charges students must pay, the cost of transport has been increasing in recent years. Some girls engage in sexual relationships with chapa drivers to ensure their transportation, or other benefits, to enable them to attend school.
The informants understand that the drop-out rate is high, particularly in recent years. There is a perception that young people demonstrate a lack of interest in attending school, partly because of the cost of fees, but also because they prefer to earn ‘easy money’ through odd jobs or prostitution. Early pregnancy and the wish to make a home are important reasons behind girls’ leaving school. There are also reports of teachers sexually harassing female students for better grades as another motive for dropping out.

There is a widespread perception that the quality of education has deteriorated and that school is no longer a springboard to a job. ‘The quality of education has worsened. Teachers are no longer keen, and they go and teach when they want. Many people complete standard 8 but cannot read and write.’ Male student, Polana Caniço.

However, a sizeable number of young people in the four neighbourhoods were interested in finding support for their studies. Some were already attending school and working, but the increased cost of living means they can no longer afford their studies.

4.5 Health
Health was not often mentioned by informants, but when directly questioned, they raised the issues of sub-standard treatment, lengthy queues and the scarcity of drugs in public pharmacies. Illegal charges are levied in hospitals to ensure more rapid treatment by nurses. Some interviewees said they treated themselves when ill, or sought out a traditional healer because they did not trust public health services and private clinics are too expensive. These views are not specific to recent years but informants said that, given the scarcity of money, health is not a priority.

4.6 Emotional and social well-being
Informants in all neighbourhoods, except Mafalala, indicated that use of narcotics and crime had increased in the past two-three years. Although they did not associate the trend with the economic crisis directly, they felt the situation endangered the security of the community. The establishment of a police precinct in Mafalala, along with community policing, may have contributed to the reduction of crime and drugs.

A focal group participant from Polana Caniço said: ‘From 19:00 hours you cannot walk along the streets of the neighbourhood. If you are not robbed, you may be raped or killed’.

‘At home, criminals broke in and stabbed my 16 year-old sister and she had to be rushed to hospital’. Young female orphan minding three siblings, life story, Polana Caniço.
In Mafalala, youth say that the security situation has improved in recent years. The crime rate was higher in the past than now, and despite the lack of jobs for young people, ‘there is always something to do’.

5 Policies and programmes directed to, or that benefit, youth

The study identified a set of government policies, as well as NGO and CSO programmes directed to, or that benefit, youth, as shown in annex 1.

5.1 National Youth Policy

The 2006 National Youth Policy recognised the challenges faced by youth in their daily life and promotes, among other aspects, the following:

- Increasing the level of youth participation in economic, social, cultural and sports development;
- Promotion of juvenile associations;
- Youth participation in government decision-making bodies.

Various programmes and policies were created to achieve these objectives, most of which are indicated in table 5.7. The most important challenges facing the youth policy are funding, implementation and monitoring. In the field, it is readily understood that youth programmes scarcely affect their target group. Informants were unanimous that:

- There is poor dissemination of policies and programmes for youth;
- Young people have little interest in joining in without some form of remuneration;
- When youth do display an interest, obstacles arise that make access to programmes difficult;
- Often programmes require documentation, which pushes up the price of participation.

5.2 Anti-crisis and Urban Poverty Reduction policies

As of mid-2010, no specific policies had been created to mitigate the effects of the crisis on citizens in Maputo City. Initially, the government said the crisis would not affect Mozambique and that everything was under control at the macro-economic level (Bank of Mozambique, 2008). However, continuing increases in the prices of goods and
services in the past two years, combined with the devaluation of the currency, triggered popular protests. After the last such protest in September 2010, the government attributed the current situation to the international crisis. Still in September, it introduced subsidies on electricity, water and some basic goods to mitigate the immediate effects of the crisis on households. The sustainability of these measures in the medium and long term is questionable.

Also in 2010, the government endorsed a four-year Strategic Programme for Urban Poverty Reduction. Targeted at the municipalities, the policy focuses on three main areas:

1) Job creation. In this component, self-employment will be encouraged through vocational training, the promotion of producers’ associations and increased access to funding; and the promotion of small and medium-size enterprises, industries and labour-intensive services. 2) Facilitate short-term hiring so that employees can supplement their incomes with short-term employment and promote business environment in general. 3) Social protection. Expand the impact and coverage of basic social protection to vulnerable people, the aged, disabled, chronically sick, and groups in a transitional condition of vulnerability, including through social action in schools and health facilities.

In line with this policy, the government introduced a special budget provision in 2011. Geographic criteria were identified for resource allocation to the country’s municipalities. Individual criteria for access to state resources were also defined and prioritised for the poor, aged 18-60 years, who are economically active but without access to loans or grants from formal institutions. This group includes young people, female heads of households, entrepreneurs and disabled people who are fit to work. Eligibility criteria were also identified for associations, micro-enterprises and individuals, and the type of economic activities envisaged. Policy implementation is expected to begin in 2011.

5.3 Effectiveness of youth programmes
While policies, strategies and programmes directed at youth are now in place, accessing them has proved difficult. The few youth organisations that exist are closely linked to political parties. The youth coalition associated with the ruling party has benefited most from government’s efforts, but excludes the large number of young people not affiliated with it. As a result, most youth do not feel part of the new programmes and do not accrue benefits.
5.4 The role of juvenile CSOs and other NGOs in the support of mechanisms directed to youth

NGOs are involved in various activities in all four study neighbourhoods.

- Vocational and technical training programmes;
- Environmental programmes, from cleaning campaigns to education about environment;
- Socio-educational programmes;
- Incentives to sports;
- Entertainment and leisure;
- Promotion of health practices.

Access to these activities is generally easier than to government programmes. However, they involve a limited number of youth and are far from meeting the need due to resource scarcity.

6 Analysis of quantitative indicator trends

The analysis of this chapter provides information from Mozambique that often does not reflect the survey assessment period, 2008-10. Most data are limited in relation to trend analysis through the time scale, and in breakdown by age group and neighbourhood. Therefore, comparisons between years, as well as by ages, are made only where information exists.

6.1 Employment and economic activities

**Table 6.1: Economically active population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total = 91.8%</th>
<th>Urban = 84.3%</th>
<th>Rural = 95.8%</th>
<th>Maputo city = 80.6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Source: IFTRAB 2004*

At 92%, Mozambique’s economically active population (EAP) is more predominant in rural than urban areas. The EAP is understood as the population, aged 15 and over, which had employment during the period under consideration, or was available to work.
6.1.1 Impact on youth employment

The Labour Force Survey (IFTRAB) defines a person as having a job if that person is aged 15 or over and fulfil one of the following criteria:

- Has worked at least one hour in last seven days prior to the survey, with a view to producing goods;
- Or produces services, subject to payment in cash, or has helped a relative in the production of goods and services without remuneration;
- Did not work, but held a job during the period under consideration (holidays, illness, birth leave, strikes).

Table 6.2: Unemployment rates in population aged 15-24 years and totals, by urban areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th></th>
<th>URBAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IFTRAB data from 2004 shows that unemployment rates among youth aged 16-24 are very high compared to the overall average. The study further shows that unemployment rates are higher in urban areas (31%) than in the countryside (12.9%).

Table 6.3: Registered unemployed in 2005 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESIGNATION</th>
<th>NATIONAL</th>
<th>MAP. C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered unemployed</td>
<td>14 956</td>
<td>20 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>12 054</td>
<td>16 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2 902</td>
<td>4 194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual data from the Ministry of Labour show that the total number of registered unemployed grew substantially from 2005-08. The same pattern occurred in Maputo City.

Recent data by the National Institute of Education and Vocational Training (INEFP, 2009) indicate that unemployment rates increase annually as 300,000 school leavers join the employment market. According to INEFP, many youth absorbed by the labour market work under difficult conditions. Most do not have formal contracts and end up in the informal sector where they are vulnerable to the violation of their rights.
6.1.2 Impacts on the informal sector of employment

‘Informal activity’, according to the Survey into the Formal Sector (INFOR, 2004,) is defined when the unit in which a person works:
- Is not licensed, or
- Is only licensed with the municipality
- Has no registration document
- Holds a municipal license/provisional, or has no work contract

| Table 6.4: Distribution by percentage of the population in the informal sector |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Type of activity | Informal | Formal | Unemployed |  |
| Urban | 50.4 | 18.5 | 31.1 |  |
| Rural | 86.9 | 2.8 | 10.2 |  |
| Total | 75.2 | 7.9 | 17.0 |  |

In 2004, 75% of the Mozambican population was engaged in the informal sector, with more in rural areas (87%) than urban areas (50%).

According to data on the informal sector, 24% of the total are aged from 15-24, and 26% from 25-34 years old. In Maputo City, the data follows the same trend.

Graphic 6.1 Informal workers in Maputo City with 7+ years by age category
6.1.3 Child labour

According to INFOR, about 6% of people engaged in the informal sector are children of 7-14 years.

6.2 Poverty, famine and livelihood strategies

6.2.1 Insufficient income for food

Table 6.5 Selected indicators of poverty and well-being

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>2002/03</th>
<th>2008/09</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumption poverty index (%)</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inequality (Gini)</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of goods (0-8)</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net primary literacy rate (%)</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net secondary literacy rate (%)</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to health post (&lt;45 mins walk)</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>65.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe malnutrition (%)</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MPD/DNEAP, 2010

Table 6.6 Poverty index throughout the period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1996-97</th>
<th>2002-03</th>
<th>2008-09</th>
<th>Difference points % 1996-97 a</th>
<th>2002-03</th>
<th>2008-09</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>-15.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>-10.5</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>-16.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>-11.0</td>
<td>-9.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>-28.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>-8.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niassa</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>-18.5</td>
<td>-20.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Delgado</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>-25.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>-16.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambézia</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>-23.5</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>-22.5</td>
<td>-18.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>-19.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofala</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>-51.8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhambane</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>-1.9</td>
<td>-22.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>-4.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo Province</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>-16.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to latest Family Income Surveys (IOF), despite improvements in the expansion and access to basic services, the poverty index measured by consumption has not improved in the last five years, with accompanying rises in chronic malnutrition. A future analysis by age group is critical to understand better the differences between them.

Comparison of the poverty index assessments of 2002-3 and 2008-09 suggests that conditions in urban areas have improved, while remaining unchanged in rural areas. Maputo City witnessed a reduction in the number of people living below the poverty line.

Meanwhile, a 2009 assessment by the Community Development Foundation (FDC) that used IOF data from 2003 shows relevant differences of poverty between urban districts in terms of their proximity to Maputo City centre, and levels of reliance on money to meet family needs. Figure below shows: 1) a city centre (Nkapfumo district) with relatively low rates of poverty, 2) a first ring immediately around the city centre with the highest rates of poverty, 3) and a second ring, with intermediate rates of poverty, between the city centre and neighbouring areas.

**Figure 6.2 Poverty rates in Maputo City, 2003**

Furthermore, according to IOF 2009, most households in Maputo City had the perception that their economic condition had worsened in the previous year, or much worsened. Over 53% said it had worsened and 84% said it had drastically worsened, worsened or remained the same.

The data also suggest that a large number of households from the first quintile of expenses, compared to other quintiles, had a perception that their economic condition had worsened.
Table 6.7: Family household perception compared with the previous year (IOF, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected features</th>
<th>Much worse now</th>
<th>worse now</th>
<th>remains the same</th>
<th>little better now</th>
<th>much better now</th>
<th>don’t know</th>
<th>no information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo C.</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintile1</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintile2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintile3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintile4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintile5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5, however, shows that the number of goods has increased on average from 1.25 to 1.7 goods.

Both IAF 1996-97 and IAF 2002-3 demonstrate that women-headed families are poorer than those headed by men. The two reports show male-headed families rapidly reducing their poverty, compared to women-headed families.

Table 6.8: Poverty rates by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1996-97</th>
<th>2002-03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headed by man</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headed by woman</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3 Education

6.3.1 Education budget

- Mozambique is an extremely aid-dependent country. In 2009, external funding represented 55% of total government resources.
- In absolute terms, the total has increased every year despite the current crisis. From 2010-11, it increased from Mt117,977.2m to Mt132,403.2m.
- However, the education budget has declined from 16.7% of total expenditure in 2008 to 15.5% in 2009. There was a significant increase in the resources allocated to higher education in that year, but there was a negative real growth in general education.
- The budget for 2011 shows an increase in absolute terms of resources for education. Investment in education (mostly from external funds) slightly increased in 2011 (FDC, UNICEF, 2010).
6.3.2 Students and teachers at school

An estimated 3.3 million (81.3%) school-age children attend primary school in Mozambique (MICS 2008). The net rate of school attendance\(^2\) has increased from 60% in 2003 to 81% in 2008. Meanwhile, the gender parity index\(^3\) in primary school has fallen from 6 to 2. Net rates of attendance have tripled during in same period, but they are still low with only one in five school-age children attending school (MICS 2008).

Table 6.9 Children in primary and secondary school

Overall the number of children attending vocational and technical education increased in 2006 and 2008, particularly at the elementary level. At the basic and intermediate levels, however, the 2006 and 2008 increases were not significant, and intermediate education experienced a small variation in the last two years.

Table 6.9 Children in vocational and technical education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational and technical education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>3068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Var %</td>
<td>0,95</td>
<td>7,90</td>
<td>57,01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22958</td>
<td>23666</td>
<td>20286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Var %</td>
<td>15,03</td>
<td>3,08</td>
<td>14,28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4363</td>
<td>4293</td>
<td>5309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Var %</td>
<td>0,00</td>
<td>-1,60</td>
<td>23,67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INE, Statistical Directory/Ministry of Education, Planning Directorate

\(^2\) Net rate of school attendance refers to the relationship between the number of children of school age who attend a certain class or degree and the total number of children of age who actually attend that class or degree.

\(^3\) Gender parity index is the ratio of school attendance between girls and boys.
The number of teachers has also increased in the different branches of education but it is still derisory for the number of students. The student/teacher ratio is very high (MEPT, 2010).

### Table 6.10 Teachers by level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>EP1</th>
<th>EP2</th>
<th>ESG1</th>
<th>ESG2</th>
<th>Technical vocational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>35069</td>
<td>5382</td>
<td>2444</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>45887</td>
<td>11011</td>
<td>5004</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>61242</td>
<td>19192</td>
<td>9156</td>
<td>2245</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INE, Statistical Directory/Ministry of Education, Planning Directorate

Drop-out rates are very high among girls, as are repeat rates at levels above EP1.

### Table 6.11 Rates of drop outs in primary and secondary education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EP1</th>
<th>EP2</th>
<th>ESG1</th>
<th>ESG2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drop outs (D)</td>
<td>Failures (F)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>16,0</td>
<td>3,1</td>
<td>13,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>7,1</td>
<td>9,7</td>
<td>8,3</td>
<td>13,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### 6.4 Health

#### 6.4.1 Health budget

- Health-resource allocation increased by 68% in 2009, compared to 2008. Health management is still very centralised, however, with 82% of the budget allocated at central level and only 18% in the provinces.
- The budget proposal for 2011 indicates that the volume of resources channelled to health continues to grow modestly, from Mt9,214m in 2010 to Mt9,263m in 2011.
- The proposed budget for 2011 shows the sector’s continuing reliance on external resources. Investment expenditure in health is expected to fall from Mt5,230m in 2010 to Mt4,438m in 2011 (FDC, UNICEF, 2010).
6.4.2 Reproductive sexual health

- Data from MICS show that 29% of girls aged 15-19 had their first sexual relations before they were 15 years old. The National Survey of Prevalence and Behaviour Risks (INSIDA) indicates that the proportion of young women aged 15-19 years who had sexual relations before the age of 15 slightly reduced, from the 28% recorded by IDS in 2003, to 23%. A similar reduction is observable in the sexual activities of men, falling from 31% in 2003 to 27% in 2009.

- According to INSIDA 2009, 26% of women aged 20-49 had sexual relations before the age of 15 years.

- Despite the consistency of age-range of first sexual relations in INSIDA 2009 and IDS 2003, the intermediate age of first sexual relations was slightly higher in 2009 (16.5 years), compared to 2003 (16.1 years) for the same age group (20-49 years).

- A comparison of condom use between women and men reported in the IDS 2003 and INSIDA 2009 shows consistent growth in all age ranges, although the proportion continues to be low.

Table 6.12 Use of condoms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Mulheres</th>
<th>Homens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Of the total number of teenagers (12-14 years) interviewed, 5% said they had drunk alcohol throughout their life. Most (69%) said they drank alcohol one to four times a month in the period under consideration, and 1% stated they drank at least twice per week. More boys than girls consumed alcohol throughout their lives (6% and 4%, respectively). The proportion of adolescents who have consumed alcohol tends to rise in urban areas (6%), compared to rural areas (4%) (INSIDA, 2004).
- Overall, 6% of women and 6% of men reported an STI, genital wound or ulcer in the last 12 months. For both sexes, the incidence frequency of STIs is slightly higher in the 20-24 group than other age ranges (INSIDA, 2004).
- INSIDA results indicate that 11.5% of Mozambicans aged 15-49 are infected by HIV. There are more infected women (13.1%) than men (9.2%). Urban dwellers aged 15-49 have a higher HIV prevalence (15.9%) than rural residents (9.2%). This applies to both sexes: prevalence among women in urban areas is 18.4% compared to 10.7% in rural areas; and prevalence for men in urban areas is 12.8%, compared to 7.2% in rural areas.
- Prevalence among women aged 15-19 is 7%, but it is double among 20-24 year olds (14.5%). Among men aged 15-19, the rate of prevalence is 2.7%, increasing to 5% in the 20-24 age range.

7 Discussion matters and issues for future surveys

7.1 Social vulnerability and social capital growth
This study seeks to draw attention to the vulnerability, or limited capacity, of certain social groups faced with conditions of economic shock and risk to harness the forces that improve their ability to benefit from opportunities offered by the state, market or society. The study of young persons’ perceptions and experiences in four Maputo City neighbourhoods shows that they have limited abilities of turning their assets (material goods, education, work experience, etc.) into livelihoods.

This already limited capacity may be exacerbated by the current economic crisis, which has had direct effects on people’s lives and subsistence, particularly those who rely on monetary income. Though it was not the study’s aim to seek a direct link between the crisis and its impact on the lives of young people in urban areas, their perceptions and testimonies on changes in their lives over the past three years suggest a significant negative correlation.

The study suggests a number of aspects for consideration beyond the income dimension when thinking about social vulnerability, including social cohesion, and appropriate response policies and programmes. Youth, in general, suffer from a negative self-image, reinforced by their peers, and perceive themselves as poor and rejected by other social groups. They have reduced capacities for organising to face common challenges, such as unemployment and participation in decision making. Although the government has launched a number of policies and programmes targeted at young people, they fall far short of what is needed.
Building on Durkein’s (1893) premise that it is harmony, not conflict, which defines societies, it is worth discussing some aspects of youth’s exclusion that may facilitate social cohesion.

The concept of social capital is commonly defined as the set of rules, norms, obligations, reciprocities and trust that characterise a society’s relations, structures and institutions, and allow its members to achieve their individual and community outcomes. Some authors argue that qualities of social organisations, such as trust, norms and networks, increase social effectiveness by facilitating the coordination of actions. Collier (1998) offers a definition that highlights not only the social side of the concept but also its capital component. He argues that if social capital is to have significant economic and social impacts it needs to be able to produce externalities: those that increase knowledge reserve; reduce incentives for opportunist individual behaviour; and those that provide a substitute for opportunist behaviour through collective action. Social capital is not a homogeneous concept, but a composition of social elements that promote individual and collective action (Abramovay et Al, 2002).

Social capital is a resource – although not a tangible one – that can be used as a public asset and for the benefit of young people. As a public asset, it can facilitate solidarity and mutual-support relationships among youth, thereby contributing to the mitigation of the many social disorders that flourish in large cities. As an individual asset, it can help to promote the rights and duties of the citizen.

For this study, and the reality of Maputo City it explores, social capital promotion has the potential to: 1) have a mobilising impact on youth by promoting the creation of associations and strengthening their self-esteem; 2) to generate significant aggregated outcomes less expensively from a per capita viewpoint; 3) allow for inclusion since its logic is based on the principle of gradual increase of served population; 4) include civil society, including youth groups, in the formulation and implementation of its objectives; 5) promote a culture of citizenship thus far unknown to a large section of the city’s youthful population; 6) offer effective responses to specific neighbourhood problems, based on locally generated skills.

7.2 Expanding the response: inclusive government programmes, extension of CSO activities and promotion of Corporate Social Responsibility focused on youth

The study showed the need to re-think specific interventions by building on a broader understanding of the complexity of urban youth’s perceptions and experience of vulnerability and shock. Any policy aimed at reducing vulnerability must understand the precise nature of the vulnerability faced by affected groups, and their relationships with incomes and assets. In addition, understanding the sources of risk and their relative importance is essential. Finally, it is necessary to appreciate how risks affect assets, incomes and entitlements, and how individuals respond to such risks. Policies to reduce
vulnerability should include measures to reduce poverty levels with a view to improving well-being, but need to be supplemented with measures focused on risks, on the differences between groups and potential fluctuations that occur from time to time.

Some flaws in the current policy are related to: 1) reductionism of the concept of poverty uses, which focus only on the income dimension, and the relevant definition of priorities which, apart from not discussing broadly the complexity of urban poverty, excludes dimensions of cohesion promotion and social capital; 2) the resource-allocation mechanism for the job-generation component, the level of access by interested parties, ineffective monitoring and a high degree of associated corruption; 3) the capacity for expansion and efficiency in the social protection system, and defining the line between extremely needy and the very needy.\(^4\)

In the visited neighbourhoods of Maputo City, it was noted that the NGO-run programmes have limited coverage. This can be partly remedied by increasing funding, which has tended to prioritise activities in rural areas. The extension of NGO initiatives, particularly to monitor, and create youth capacity to monitor, public programmes, is critical as the state increases investment in urban areas.

Several private-sector initiatives, leading to employment, are already up and running within the framework of Corporate Social Responsibility. Companies, such as Vale do Rio Doce, Millennium bim, Standard Bank and others provide placements for new graduates, allowing them to prepare themselves for future employment. Such initiatives should be expanded to include youth with technical and basic training.

7.3 Information challenges
The literature review for this study suggests critical challenges with regard to the limited availability of independent and inter-disciplinary information on the challenges of urban areas, on the one hand, and the shortage of disaggregated data that would allow the assessment of trends among groups, geographical areas and other variables.

For example, it would have been useful to understand more about the evolution of poverty and well-being indicators between the four studied neighbourhoods in time. The absence of more specific data on the complexity of urban experience implies that policies will continue to be elaborated on the basis of generalities, as is the case with the current Strategic Programme for Poverty Reduction, whose introduction and overview are defined in a generic context of poverty.

\(^4\) Several studies have demonstrated that the difference between the extremely needy and very needy categories is slender.
7.4 Issues for future research

Both the IOF 2009 data that assess the household perceptions of their economic situations, and the surveys carried out in this study of four neighbourhoods suggest that many poor people are plunged into conditions of extreme poverty. On the other hand, IOF 2009 indicates significant improvements in the economic situation of family households in Maputo City. It would be useful to mount a broader investigation of the differences between groups (age, socio-economic situation, location, type of activity, etc.) to distinguish the fluctuations between them. An assessment based on the disaggregation of IOF data would be a good place to start such an analysis, complemented by empirical data of concrete personal experiences.
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### Annexes

#### 9.1 List of Policies and Programmes Directed to and/or that potentially benefit Youth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of programme</th>
<th>Implementing agency (Government, NGO, other)</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
<th>Target Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Poverty Strategic Programme</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>National coverage (Municipalities)</td>
<td>Urban population for: 1) employment generation (self-employment, small and medium-size enterprises, industries and services labour intensive) 2) friendly business environment, 3) social protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAIJ (Youth initiatives Support Fund)</td>
<td>Government (Ministry of Youth and Sports)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Funding of young girls micro projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique on the Move</td>
<td>Government (Ministry of Youth and Sports)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>An initiative by the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MJD), aimed at disseminating access to the practice of physical education and sports at community level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTE 21&quot;</td>
<td>Government (Ministry of Youth and Sports)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Dissemination of access to playing football</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Education Policy</td>
<td>Government (Ministry of Education)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Ensure access to technical-vocational education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural policy of Mozambique and Strategy for its Implementation</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Promotes the integration of socio-cultural values in the teaching curricula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy and Strategy for the Prevention and Combat of Drugs</td>
<td>(Ministry of Health)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Promotes primary prevention initiatives in and outside school, mainly in the settings participated by Youth and adolescents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Policy</td>
<td>(Ministry of Youth and Sports)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Dissemination of supplementary training and/or complementary for the youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Implementing Body</td>
<td>Coverage</td>
<td>Benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive Development Strategy for Youth</td>
<td>(Ministry of Youth and Sports)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Youth of all ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment and Vocational Training Strategy in Mozambique</td>
<td>Government (Ministry of Public Services)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Youth of all ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School and Adolescents’ Health</td>
<td>(Ministry of Health)</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Youth and adolescents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.J.M. through implementation of community activities and cleaning campaigns</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>National coverage</td>
<td>Youth of all ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mpfunany association HIV-AIDS support programme</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Hulene B neighbourhoo d</td>
<td>Support to HIV-Aids orphans and sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Xivoningo association Self-employment incentive programmes</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Hulene B neighbourhoo d</td>
<td>Young population at work age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLSA Mozambique Domestic violence victims support programme</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Mafalala neighbourhoo d</td>
<td>Support and prevention of domestic violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBE-Limpa Technical-vocational training programme</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Mafalala neighbourhoo d</td>
<td>Aims to promote employment for Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The TIMTSWALO association Technical-vocational training programme</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>And partnership with the Self-Employment and Vocational Training Institute</td>
<td>And partnership with the Self-Employment and Vocational Training Institute for interested Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit association George Dimitrov Loans granting</td>
<td>Mozambican Association</td>
<td>Covers the George Dimitrov</td>
<td>Provides loans for Youth only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPA, Technical-vocational Training promotion programme</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>This organisation covers some Maputo City neighbourhoods Through promotion of technical-vocational training for Youth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIVANINGO Cultural Events</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Covers some Maputo City neighbourhoods Cultural events involving Youth, such as dance, song, theatre, shows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPTAR Social debates</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Covers the Polana Caniço neighbourhood Youth between 18 and 30 years old and literacy aimed at people of all ages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAJ Reproductive sexual health programmes</td>
<td>Government organisation</td>
<td>Covers some Maputo City neighbourhoods Adolescents, Youth and adults at reproductive age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.2 Research Team

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- **Technical input**: Hermenegildo Mulhovo
- **Co-ordination ODI**: Paola Pereznieto