



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Assessing urban poverty policy response in Maputo city:
The case of the Income Generation Programme (IGP) and
Social Benefits for Work programme (SBWP)**

A Research Paper presented by:

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialisation:
POVERTY STUDIES AND POLICY ANALYSIS
(POV)

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The Hague, The Netherlands
November, 2008

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my brother: **Sousa Raimundo Chilengue** aka “Mano Sousa”.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	6
List of Acronyms	7
Abstract	8
Acknowledgement	11
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	12
1.1. Background	12
1.2. Problem Statement	13
1.3. Justification	14
1.4. Objectives, research questions, methodology and limitations of the research	15
1.4.1. Research Questions	15
1.4.2. Methods of Data collection and Sources of Data	16
1.4.3. The study area	17
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	18
2.0. Introduction	18
2.1. Poverty and vulnerability: two sides of the same coin	18
2.3. Urban poverty: a dynamic condition of vulnerability or susceptibility to risks	21
2.4. Social protection: an emerging concept	22
2.5. Evaluation: theories and practices	24
2.6. Analytical Framework	26
CHAPTER 3: POVERTY IN MOZAMBIQUE: TRENDS, CONTROVERSIES AND CONSENSUS	28
3.0. Introduction	28
3.1. Country profile on poverty: unfinished debate	28
3.2. The Magnitude of poverty in Maputo city: unemployment and income as key determinants	31
3.3. Final Remarks	35
CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS AS A POLICY RESPONSE TO TACKLING URBAN POVERTY	36
4.0. Introduction	36

4.1. Social Protection in Mozambique: A brief overview	36
4.2. The IGP and SBWP: Background and “Modus operandi”	37
4.2.1 Targeting efficacy	38
4.2.2. Managerial effectiveness	41
4.2.3. Cost effectiveness	43
4.2.4. Positive and negative impact on the beneficiaries	45
4.3. Involvement of others actors in urban poverty alleviation: Municipal Council and NGO’s	47
4.4. Final remarks	48
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	50
References	52

List of Tables

Table 1: Distinction between Monitoring and Evaluation	26
Table 2: Asset Vulnerability Matrix: Selected Potential Indicators of Increasing and Decreasing Vulnerability for an individual.	27
Table 3: Poverty Headcount and Poverty Gap Index by Province and region, in 1997 and 2003	29
Table 4: Basic social indicators: Rural and Urban Mozambique	30
Table 5: Changes in the distribution of population across quintiles (Maputo City) (%)	32
Table 6: Growth of consumption by quintile between 1996/97 and 2002/03 (%)	32
Table 7: Per capita expenditures on selected items (%)	34
Table 8: Selected health indicators (%)	35
Table 9: Budget allocated to IGP in Maputo city in millions Meticaais:	44

List of Acronyms

AIDS -Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
AfDB-African Development Bank
CDP-Community Development Program
FLECS-Faculty of Arts and Social Science
GDP-Gross domestic product
HIV-Human immuno-deficiency virus
HDI-Human Development Index
IMF-International Monetary Fund
INAS -National Institute of Social Action
INSS-National Institute for Social Security
INE-National Institute of Statistics
IGP-Income Generation Program
MMAS-Ministry of Women and Social Action
MDGs-Millennium Development Goals
MT-Metical
NGO's-Non Governmental Organizations
OECD-Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PARPA-Action Plan for Poverty Reduction
PRSP-Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SBWP-Social Benefits for Work Program
UEM-Eduardo Mondlane University
UNDP-United Nations Development Program
USD-United States Dollar

Abstract

This paper assesses the effectiveness of two Social Protection programs, namely the Income Generation program and Social Benefits for Work program as government policy responses to alleviate urban poverty in Maputo city. It also scrutinizes the involvement of other actors in these efforts particularly the Municipal Council and NGO's.

It shows that these programmes suffer from various contextual constraints, with emphasis on those related to management such as limited coverage, deficiencies on the program design and targeting efficacy.

Nevertheless, the beneficiaries' perceptions of the gains obtained through both programs are generally positive once they experience access to basic services which in the past they could not afford. However, these gains are acquired for a short period of time, after that they get back into poverty. With regards to the other actors involvement in poverty alleviation activities in Maputo city, it is argued that it is limited and with no coordination.

In this point of view and given the high level of poverty in Maputo city the paper concludes that those programs are palliative measures on alleviating urban poverty, squandering scarce public resources and doing little to promote long term development.

Relevance to Development Studies

The 21st century will witness massive and rapid urbanization, with two billion new residents in cities of the developing world in the next 25 years. The next decade will also witness increased urbanization of poverty. These events will require adequate policy responses. Challenges include improving equity, efficiency, productivity, and governance in order to provide sustainable livelihoods, safe and secure living environments, and a better quality of life for the urban poor. Therefore, relevant studies on this field should be encouraged to ensure that the policy responses would not affect the poor. This research is an effort to line up with this matrix.

Keywords

Urban Poverty

Poverty

Vulnerability

Social Protection

Evaluation

Programs'

Acknowledgement

My special gratitude goes to my supervisor Dr. Erhard Berner for his invaluable contribution and guidance to this study. Also to my second reader, Dr. Marc Wuyts for his enriching inputs throughout the process of data analyses and writing of this research.

To my discussant, Patrick Muzinduki, who provided many useful suggestions during my research seminars and my classmates of Poverty Studies and Policy Analyses specialization for their contributions, I am grateful.

Special appreciation goes to the staff of National Institute of Social Action (INAS) particularly the brunch of Maputo city without their cooperation the data collection would not have been possible.

Additional appreciation to The FORD FOUNDATION and his partner in Mozambique The AFRICA-AMERICA INSTITUTE, particularly Mrs. Célia Diniz, whose financial support under the International Fellowship Program enabled me study at ISS, without their support it would not have been possible within this period away from home and family.

Finally, to my African brothers and sisters at ISS. We did it guys!

Finalmente, aquele abraço a malta da zona que dividimos os momentos de alegria, tristeza, solidão e esperança aqui no ISS: Amilcar Pereira, Francisco Alar, António Machoe e Eduardo Manhicene. José Adalima, de longe, sempre esteve perto: Pambeni! Ao contingente luso-brasileiro: Pedro Goulart, Ariane Corradi, Ana Luís C. Rodrigues e Paula Ellinger de Fonseca. Aquele abraço!

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Poverty is no longer an exclusively rural phenomenon as was perceived in the last decades for many development practitioners and theorists. Nowadays, it is acknowledged that urban growth which characterizes our societies is irreversible and that new approaches to addressing the ensuing problems of urban poverty are urgently needed. It is becoming consensual that urban poverty exhibits a number of special characteristics that need to be better understood at local and global level in order to delivery an appropriate policy response (Baker 1994, Kamete et al. 2001).

The Government of Mozambique and donors have invested considerable effort and resources in economic development and in the reduction of poverty. While this has led to improvements in terms of an economic growth of 8% annum over the past ten years and a reduction in the proportion of Mozambicans living in poverty from 69 to 54% (Paulo et al. 2007), concerns regarding increasing urban poverty remain valid, particularly in the case of Maputo city, the capital of the country, which according to the last Household Poverty Survey shows a negative trend of poverty reduction (INE 2004).

Furthermore, the recent events at worldwide level, particularly the increase of oil prices in the world market with a harmful impact in basic commodities, has lead to the visualization of vulnerability to shocks of ordinary citizens especially in urban areas such as Maputo city, where on 5th February 2008, raised their voices in a number of street protests against the increasing deterioration of their well-being.

Due the issues discussed, this research is an exercise to revisit the Mozambican anti-poverty framework focusing on relevant policy responses to urban poverty, particularly in Maputo city. To what extent the policy responses are effective? What are the strengths and limitations of social protection programs designed to reduce poverty in urban areas, namely: the Income Generation Programme (IGP) and Social Benefits for Work programme (SBWP)?

Those, among others, are some of the questions which this paper tries to find answers in order to contribute for a better understanding of the phenomenon of urban poverty in Mozambique and particularly in Maputo city.

Being this chapter a background (it introduces the research problem, objectives, justification, questions and methodology), the remaining chapters are organized as follows: Chapter 2, develops a brief discussion on the concepts and presents the analytical framework used to assess the effectiveness of the social protection programs under study, namely the IGP and the SBWP.

Chapter 3 presents the trends and debates about poverty in Mozambique and particularly in Maputo city. Here an attempt is made to present the current trends and key determinants of poverty; Chapter 4 presents an overview of the social protection framework in Mozambique, arguing that it is fragmented, with complex institutional arrangements and with limited coverage. Further, the Chapter analyses the operational condition and the effectiveness of the

IGP and the SBWP, as policy responses to urban poverty in Maputo city. The perceptions/evaluation from the beneficiaries of the programs is also included as well as others actor's involvement in poverty alleviation activities in Maputo city; and finally, Chapter 5 presents the conclusions and suggests policy implications.

1.2. Problem Statement

Mozambique as any other African country is not an exception when it comes to urban poverty. The country recent history was characterized by one of the most destructive civil wars in Africa which lasted for 16 years and accounted for more than one million deaths, the destruction of economic infra-structures, increase of refugees and migration to the main cities and specially Maputo. The immediate consequence of the war was an increase of the city population with no correspondent increase in infra-structures, employment, housing and so on.

To mitigate social and economic problems, the Government of Mozambique introduced in 1987 the Structural Adjustment Program with the support of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The objective of the program was to rescue the economy of the country, which at that time, was in a completely bankruptcy because of the civil war effects (Mosca 2005).

Stabilize macroeconomic indicators, reduce public expenditure and embrace a rapid privatization of government owned companies were the target. However, the program had strong social implications, particularly affecting poor people in the cities (Mosca 2005). To overcome the situation, the Government of Mozambique introduced in 1990 a social component in the overall Structural Adjustment Program, which included the establishment of social protection programs, locally called "development promotion programs".

Mozambique is now recognised among the international community as a successfully story of smooth transition from war to peace and of pungent economic growth without precedent in Africa. This prevailing consensus has led Mozambique to benefit 'from sustained large foreign aid inflows, strong and broad-based growth and deep poverty reduction' (Hanlon, 2007:1, quoting IMF, 2007:4).

According to the National Household Survey the poverty headcount index¹ in Mozambique currently is 54.1% (INE 2004). The government of Mozambique has publicly assumed that poverty in the country has been reduced in recent years. For instance, the period between 1996-97 and 2002-03 rural poverty has been reduced from 71.3% to 55.3% and urban poverty from 62% to 51.6%. However, there is an increasing trend in Maputo city from

¹ In the case of Mozambique the 'poverty headcount index is the proportion of people whose consumption per capita is below the poverty line. On the other hand, the poverty line is the level of per capita consumption expenditure expressed in the local currency "Meticais" that is deemed consistent with meeting basic needs (food and non food requirements) (INE 2004).

47.8% to 53.6% in the same period (Paulo et al. 2007, INE 2004). Additionally, according to Arndt et al. (2005), 'Maputo City continues to have the highest rates of inequality in the country and it witnessed a significant increase in inequality between 1996–97 and 2002–03 (the Gini coefficient rose from 0.44 to 0.52)'.

As part of a governmental strategy for poverty reduction, the Mozambican Ministry of Women and Social Action (MMAS) put in place among others, three social protection programs to reduce poverty and create opportunities for development in urban and rural areas, namely: The IGP, the SBWP and the Community Development Program (CDP).

The philosophy of these complementary programs differ (INAS 2008a). The IGP aims at promoting socio-economic development opportunities for groups or individuals in absolute poverty. The SBWP consists of creating an environment for socialization of groups or individuals in proved absolute poverty through promoting opportunities for socio-economic and cultural integration as well as in productive activities. The CDP is directed to urban and rural people living in absolute poverty by providing basics service and upgrading infrastructures.

However, there are growing contesting opinions on the effectiveness of these social protection programs. While proponents of such programs see them as means of ensuring that the benefits of economic growth are shared widely, critics see them as squandering scarce public resources and doing little to promote long term development (Alderman and Hoddinott 2007).

Taking into account this standing debate and the continuous increase of urban poverty in Maputo city, it is considered important to examine the dynamics of these programs. Are they palliative measures on reducing urban poverty or pro-developmental ones? Are they effective in targeting vulnerable groups? To what extent are these programs sustainable and how adequate are the respective institutional arrangements? What are the perceptions of the beneficiaries and relevant stakeholders regarding these programmes?

Therefore, the main scope of this research is primarily to examine the anti-poverty policy framework regarding urban poverty focusing on the government social protection programs, particularly the IGP and the SBWP directed to the poorest section of the Maputo city population.

This research indicates as an assumption that these programmes are palliative measures on alleviating urban poverty rather than pro-developmental ones, with limited coverage and they suffer from various contextual constrains. In this context, this research aims at understanding the operational conditions of these programmes and their effectiveness as policy responses to alleviate urban poverty in Maputo city.

1.3. Justification

The debate over the causes, consequences and solutions to poverty has gained renewed interest and significance in recent decades due to the dramatic concentration of urban poverty particularly in developing countries, however, urban poverty remains an area not well researched in Mozambique, and there is a gap that we intend to contribute to fill it in terms of research agenda.

In fact, until recently, urban poverty was never included in poverty analysis in Mozambique². It was assumed that poverty is exclusively a rural phenomenon. With the growth of urban population and the pressure over scarce resources there are emerging tensions and conflicts leading to social unrest due to increasing poverty. Although Mozambique is experiencing a sustained economic growth situated around 8% per year this is not felt in the lives of ordinary citizens.

The vulnerability of the Mozambican economy to external events has led to the visualization of an increasing inequality and vulnerability among the urban citizens. This tension was evident during the 5th February 2008 social unrest in some cities of Mozambique due to increase of petrol prices in local markets which affected directly the price of primary goods such as food, transport and so on. For many people the protests were against what they consider “increasingly deterioration of their social well-being”.

The wide media coverage of the 5th February 2008 incidents in Maputo city and its surroundings shows the cleavages of urban inequality which was described by a prominent local sociologist as a ‘*social earthquake*’. All this requires research for understanding urban poverty dynamics and relevant responses from policymakers so that the social tissue does not become characterized by violent conflicts. This research aims to contribute for the understanding of the complexities of this phenomenon and to suggest adequate policy recommendations adequate for social stability.

1.4. Objectives, research questions, methodology and limitations of the research

The broad objective of this research is to examine the effectiveness of Mozambican anti-poverty policy framework regarding urban poverty reduction, more specifically to identify the strengths and limitations of social protection programs designed to alleviate urban poverty, particularly the IGP and SBWP in Maputo city, as well as to identify initiatives, actors and their roles in urban poverty alleviation in Maputo city.

1.4.1. Research Questions

The main research question which guides the present research is the following:

‘To what extent are the IGP and the SBWP effective in alleviating urban poverty in Maputo city?’

² Exception should be made to the work of Paulo et al. (2007), ‘Xiculungo’: Social Relations of Urban Poverty in Maputo, Mozambique, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute, a precious contribution for understanding the dynamics of urban poverty in Mozambique and particularly in Maputo city.

Additionally we raise two Sub-questions as indicated below:

- a. *What is the actual involvement of the Maputo Municipal Council in urban poverty alleviation?*
- b. *What role do the local NGOs play in this context?*

1.4.2. Methods of Data collection and Sources of Data

This research intends to be a qualitative one. However, the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data is presented when possible and relevant. In short, interpretative, exploratory and reflective approaches were used in data interpretation. In order to achieve this objective, the research pursued a continuous literature review on the topic of this research at global level as well as in the context of Mozambique.

Additional sources of information at this phase included analysis of various Mozambican policy documents such as Poverty Reduction Strategies Paper (PRSP), Government Five Year Programme (2005-10), Poverty Surveys, Maputo City Government reports and Municipal Council reports.

The second phase of data collection involved a field work in Maputo city. In this context, semi-structured interviews with officials of Ministry of Women and Social Action (MMAS), Maputo City Government, Municipality and local Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) were held. The interviews explored their perception on urban poverty in Maputo city as well as the causes behind it. These interviews were also used to obtain in depth information about social protection programs, namely the IGP and the SBWP regarding the overall implementation process and intended outcomes in order to understand their strength and limitation as policy responses to urban poverty.

The perceptions of the beneficiaries about the merits and weakness of the IGP and SBWP were also explored through focus group discussions. One focal group discussions for each program with relevant gender balance was organized. The level of satisfaction driven by the program was assessed through changes in the lives of beneficiaries such as increased income, access to education, health, housing upgrade, employment, clean water and sanitation.

As noted, Maputo city is the focus of the research. Two major reasons presided the choice: 1) There are indications of an increasing poverty headcount index in Maputo city and inequality; 2) Maputo city is the capital of the country where the Central Government is located and it is the headquarters of many NGO's. Additionally, Maputo city has a *sui generis* status as a municipality and a province with relevant bodies. However, unexpectedly it is the place where the poverty headcount index is increasing as well as the level of unemployment compared to other provinces and cities.

On the other hand, we choose to pay attention on to social protection programs (in this case, the IGP and the SBWP) because they are perceived by the government anti-poverty policy framework as a response to urban poverty. Our option to analyse the referred programs is also linked to the fact that income and unemployment are close determinants of poverty in urban areas and both programs aim at to attack this issues.

The reference time frame of the analysis is 2005-06 to nowadays. 2005 has a double meaning: the first PRSP ends and its review was released; and the Government Five Year Program (2005-10) began its implementation. Since 2006 to date the second Mozambique PRSP (2006-09) is under implementation. All these policy instruments strongly recognize the importance of social protection schemes to overcome poverty in urban areas.

As limitations of this research, we would like to stress that the field work for the present research took place two months before the municipal elections. The immediate implications of this were: the government and Municipal Council officials showed some resistance to disclose some relevant information for this research, for example, the budget allocation per program.

1.4.3. The study area

This study is confined to Maputo city. Maputo is the capital and the largest city of the Republic of Mozambique. With a total of 1.099.102 inhabitants (INE 2007), ‘the overall population is distributed along seven Urban Districts (“distritos urbanos”) including the primarily rural Catembe (about ten minutes by boat from the city) and the Island of Inhaca (about one hour by boat from the city)’ (Paulo et al. 2007:17).

Most of the ‘formal “cement city” is located in Urban Districts 1 and 2, while the other districts contain a mixture of semi-formal neighbourhoods “bairros” and informal neighbourhoods “bairros” bearing the characteristics of informal settlements, shantytowns or slums’ (Paulo et al. 2007:17). The city is located in the southern end of Mozambique and is surrounded by Maputo Province, but it is administered as a province since 2005, although remaining a municipal entity.

Therefore, Maputo city enjoys some kind of double administration as municipal entity and as a province, which in several times results in misunderstandings and clashes with the government of the Maputo city.

Overpopulation, unemployment, poverty and crime are major problems. It is a city with a vibrant informal market and a growing service sector which include banks and cell phones companies.

According to Hanlon (2007), the capital city of Maputo shows the symbols of growth - new construction, traffic jams and expensive cars. But visitors, the large aid industry contingents, and writers of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank reports rarely see the poor urban neighbourhoods, small towns and rural areas where most Mozambicans live. Interviews in rural and urban areas frequently drew responses such as follows: ‘The war ended 15 years ago, but we are still poor.’

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the relevant concepts and theoretical approaches for this research. The various approaches on poverty analysis are presented which is complemented with a discussion on the crucial concept of vulnerability. Then, urban poverty is scrutinized, followed by the concept of social protection which is understood as an ‘appropriate’ principle of policy response to urban poverty. Finally, the concept of evaluation, their principles and different denominations are introduced.

2.1. Poverty and vulnerability: two sides of the same coin

Poverty and vulnerability are determined by interaction between personal (idiosyncratic) characteristics and external (exogenous) circumstances. Each individual’s ability to convert his unique combination of physical strength plus intellectual skills into a viable livelihood is constrained or facilitated by the specific economic, socio-cultural, natural, political and institutional environment that he faces (Devereux 2002).

Wuyts (2004:10-15), discussing specifically “poverty”, provide a useful summary of relevant approaches on defining poverty, namely the *monetary*, *capability*, *social exclusion and participatory*. According to him ‘the essential features of the monetary approach is that ‘poverty is mainly seen in terms of insufficient money to pay for a minimum of necessities of life. Poverty is defined at an “individual” level with little consideration for social interaction and interdependencies. These approaches involve the use of a poverty line expressed in terms of money which serves as an externally (objectively) given cutt-off point below which access to minimum level of resources is no longer assured’.

We would like to argue that although the *monetary* approach provides a good summary of poverty, it lacks other important aspects of poverty that must be taken into account when identifying the poor. Among others, such important aspects include the differences among the poor, unequal well-being within the households, the likelihoods of falling into poverty and coming out of it, etc.

The *capability approach* to define poverty according to Wuyts (2004) is based in the work of Amartya Sen (1993). It considers poverty as a failure to achieve certain minimum basic capabilities – that is, the lack of minimal substantive freedoms to function within society with minimal adequacy. Poverty as a capability deprivation entails the inability of an individual to secure a minimally adequate quality of life (e.g. access to health, education or political participation). The capability approach rejects monetary income as its measure of well-being, and instead focuses on indicators of the freedom to live a “valued” life (Laderchi et al. 2003). However, there is some criticism regarding this approach, namely the failure to define an objective and non-culturally sensitive list of minimal *basic capabilities*.

The third approach to define poverty suggested by Wuyts (2004) is the *Social exclusion*. This approach was developed to deal with deprivation in affluent societies. It takes a social perspective as its point of departure and focuses on processes that engender deprivation within society. Social exclusion as a concept not only works with groups rather than individuals, but also, and more importantly, with relation between groups within society (Wuyts, 2004). Therefore social exclusion is a relational concept – it cannot be understood as a characteristic of an individual or even a group, but only as a product of social relations.

Nevertheless, Laderchi et al. (2003) criticising this approach argues that *social exclusion* is perhaps the least well-defined and most difficult to interpret of the concepts of deprivation. Problems of definition are especially great in applying the concept to developing countries because “normality” is particularly difficult to define in multipolar societies, and because there can be a conflict between what is normal and what is desirable.

The fourth approach according to Wuyts (2004:14), is the *participatory* approach which defines ‘poverty as not an externally imposed standard, but instead seeks to enlist the participation of local population in defining what poverty means. The definition of poverty is seen to spring from the way poor people analyse their own reality. These approaches are multidimensional in nature and generally include processes, causes and outcomes, as perceived by the poor’.

Albeit the virtues of this approach, Wuyts (2004) see what he calls “two major conceptual problems”. First of all, how to deal with differences in views (voices) which are often reflective of heterogeneity in society? Second, there is a danger that points of views being selected given their prominence or ignored depending on the post-rationalisation of the materials by outsiders which conduct the process or on its conformity with what is considered to be policy relevant conclusions.

Having presenting the above approaches to define poverty, it is clear that definition of poverty depends on the way that we see it either as state of affairs, as a process, lack of resources or even product of social inequality. Because of the major differences in definition, who counts as poor is likely to differ according to the approach and the precise methods used by each approach. Moreover, the different approaches have different implications for policy (Laderchi et al. 2003).

Our standing point is that poverty must be viewed not only as a lack of resources to have access to minimal basic *capabilities* (e.g. access to income, health, education, clean water and employment) to enjoy an adequate quality of life, but also the *vulnerability* to various shocks, stress and risks from socio-economic to political aspects.³

³ The present position is opposite to the static and narrow definition proposed by the Mozambican main anti-poverty framework, PARPA II, where poverty is defined only as ‘the impossibility, owing to inability and/or lack of opportunity for individuals, families, and communities to have access to the minimum basic conditions, according to the society’s basic standards’ (GdM 2006:8).

However, it seems important to clarify the specificities of the concept of *vulnerability* which is one of the most crucial aspects when it comes to poverty.

Moser (1996:23) suggest that '*vulnerability*, 'although often used as a synonym for poverty, is not the same. Because poverty measures are generally fixed in time, poverty is essentially a static concept. By contrast, vulnerability is more dynamic and better captures change processes as people move in and out of poverty'. The author warns that 'although poor people are usually among the most vulnerable, not all vulnerable people are poor, a distinction which facilitates differentiation among lower-income populations'.

Chambers (1995:189) in his turn notes that 'much prose uses "vulnerable" and "poor" as alternating synonymous. But vulnerability is not the same as income-poverty or poverty more broadly defined. It means not lack or want but exposure and defencelessness. It has two sides: the external side of exposure to shocks, stress and risk (for instance a flood that damages or destroys the home or the gradual erosion of household income through inflation); and the internal side of defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss'.

By highlighting the aspect of risk, similarly, Calvo and Dercon (2008:215-28) point out that '*vulnerability* refers to the fact that people are exposed to risk, and in particular, to the threats of failing to meet minimum standards in any particular dimension of well-being'.

Moser (1996) elaborates furthermore by arguing that vulnerability is inextricably linked with asset ownership where the assets are as follows: 1) *Labor*, which is a valuable asset possessed by most poor people; 2) *Human capital*, such as education, skills, and health that determine the ability to emerge from poverty and make enhanced use of the labor; 3) *Productive assets* such as land and housing, and tools for production; 4) *Household relations*, that determine equitable distribution of resources within a family, for example, ensuring that women have equitable access to food and education; and 5) *Social capital*, the relationship between households and within communities based on kinship, religion, and mutual interdependence.

The previous discussion suggests that *vulnerability* is one of the cornerstone aspects of poverty which incorporates the dynamic aspect of livelihoods when it comes to poverty analyses. This prompt us to confidently argue that vulnerability is the likelihood of sliding into poverty at any time in the face of varying socio-economic and political shocks, such as negative growth, the failure to trickle-down, discrimination and various forms of conflicts.

Thus, vulnerability and the extent of the ability of an individual or household to recover from shocks are linked to the resources or assets that households or individuals hold. Therefore to understand the founding relationship between the trilogy: poverty/vulnerability/assets it is crucial to deal with poverty. The next section, introduces the debate around urban poverty arguing that acute vulnerability to various shocks and risks faced by

urban poor is a dominant characteristic of urban poverty (Moser 1995, Wratten 1995).

2.3. Urban poverty: a dynamic condition of vulnerability or susceptibility to risks

Urban poverty has been the subject of sociological and political debate from several years. The debate over the causes, consequences, and solutions to poverty has gained renewed interest and significance due to the dramatic concentration of urban poverty. ‘The literature on poverty – whether rural or urban – is replete with data and descriptions of the conditions of the poor. While this is important it is fundamental to stress at the very outset that poverty is not only a condition. It also reflects social relationships, which are sometimes entrenched in long-standing structures and institutional arrangements’ (Kamete et al. 2001:29).

Perceptions of urban poverty as a concept and more than as a growing phenomenon started to change in the late 1980s (Becker and Hamer 1994 quoted by Kamete et al. 2001). The emerging large and sprawling informal settlement areas in most towns and cities became increasingly difficult to disregard them both for national governments and the international community. The complex nature of urban poverty was increasingly recognised leading to alternative ways of assessing the situation of the urban poor, and to upwardly adjusted estimates of their numbers (Nelson 1999 quoted by Kamete et al. 2001).

In view of this, urban bias thesis became a mainstream view among development agencies in 1980s (Wratten, 1995). Basically the “Urban Bias” theory underline the perception that rural-urban migration is also due to the fact that the urban poor are somehow still better-off than the rural poor, because they are nearer to markets and opportunities. The theory of “Urban Bias” was developed in the 1970s by Lipton (1977) to explain why rural areas remained poor. It was argued that rural areas received too little expenditure on education and health care relatively to their population size and need, and that government imposed price distortions favouring urban centres over rural development, especially in Africa (Corbridge and Jones 2005).

According to Moser et al. (1995: iii) while the dimensions of poverty are many, there is a subset of characteristics that are more pronounced for the poor in urban areas which emphasize their vulnerability and risks, for example:

‘Commoditization: One set of risks faced by urban dwellers arises from their integration into the cash economy. Urban households are for the most part obliged to pay for their food and shelter (rather than rely on their own production), and may be more dependent upon purchasing services such as transportation and education, than rural dwellers. Employment is frequently unavailable, insufficient or insecure. Shelter is frequently illegal and insecure..

Environmental hazard: The poor are disproportionately affected by urban environmental problems. Special characteristics of low-income communities include: a) inadequate access to environmental services (water, sanitation, drainage, solid waste management); b) poor quality housing, c) overcrowding; and d) settlement on marginal or degraded land. These factors increase health

risks to the poor, with corresponding economic costs for health care and lost or lowered productivity.

Social fragmentation: The vulnerability of urban dwellers may also be high because of community and inter-household mechanisms for social security are less likely to operate in urban than in rural areas. Urban areas are often characterized by higher level of violence, alcohol and drug abuse, and greater risk of vehicles accidents’.

In the same context, emphasizing the aspect of vulnerability, which is a key determinant when it comes to urban poverty, Wratten (1995:24) notes that the ‘additional source of vulnerability for the urban poor is what she calls “the intervention of state” basically the policies and actions taken by state agents towards the poor people. The urban poor are likely to have more close contact with state agents and the policies than their rural counterparts. While government policies can have an important positive impact on poverty alleviation, many poor people experience the state in negative ways – as an oppressive bureaucracy which attempts to regulate their activities without understanding their needs’.

Additionally, Wratten (1995:11) argues that for example ‘structural adjustment and related policies introduced in developing countries have had a disproportionate negative impact on the urban poor, due to rising food prices, declining real wages and redundancy in the formal labor market and reduced public expenditure on basic services and infrastructure’.

This is the dominant argument in the case of Mozambique, where according to Mosca (2005) the social effects of this program primarily affected mainly the most vulnerable people in the cities placing several households into uncertainty and inducing unemployment through large scale privatization policies.

For these and other reasons the approach advocated here is that “urban poverty” is a phenomenon acting on multiple deprivations, including not only lack of income, but also other aspects of deprivation such as lack of assets to cope, for example with shocks and lack of access to health, education, legal rights, safe and secure housing with basic services. The following section introduces the concept of social protection conceived as one of the chief principle to deal with urban poverty.

2.4. Social protection: an emerging concept

Social protection has become a focus of attention in the development debate in recent years and gradually is conceived as one prominent intervention in the reduction/alleviation of poverty and multidimensional deprivation. Social protection is distinguished from other development interventions in that it is not intended to promote economic growth, though it is intended to reduce and in some cases alleviate poverty.

A distinction can be drawn depending on the purpose and scope of the programs, namely those whose aims is alleviation of poverty (targeting the poorest, direct transfers such as food for work, free/subsidized basic services, implying redistributive costs) and those which the focus it is on reduction of poverty (targeting the capable poor, providing credit without or with training, promoting small businesses, ideally retrieving investments).

Devereux and Macauslan (2006), suggest that productivity-enhancing programs aim to contribute, both directly through raising incomes but mainly indirectly, through generating income (or raising food production), or building productive assets that in turn will generate further income, they falls in the arena of *poverty reduction* social protection programs. On the other hand, “welfare assistance” which focus for example in bridging a consumption deficit with food or cash transfers and other subsidises it is regarded as *poverty alleviation* social protection program⁴. But what does the concept of social protection really embraces?

According to Devereux (2002), social protection consists of a range of interventions aimed at:

1. protecting people against shocks that could push them into poverty;
2. making poor people less vulnerable to these shocks;
3. protecting people against extreme poverty and its effects on well-being; and
4. protecting the well-being at vulnerable periods of a life cycle.

With regards to some aspects raised by Devereux (2002), particularly vulnerability and risks, DFID (2006) argues that social protection can be broadly defined as public actions – carried out by the state or privately – that: a) enable people to deal more effectively with risk and their vulnerability to crises and changes in circumstances (such as unemployment or old age); and b) help tackle extreme and chronic poverty. On the other hand, Conway and Norton (2002), note that social protection relates to how public actions designed to help people manage risk and adversity may contribute to larger policy objectives of economic growth and poverty reduction.

Norton et al. (2002) calls our attention to the fact that the first issue to be addressed regarding this concept is the distinction between social protection and alternative terms in circulation. *Social security* is the best established of these terms, but it is still associated primarily with the comprehensive social insurance and social assistance systems of the developed world. As such, it may be seen as inappropriate to the fundamentally different challenges in much of the south, characterised by higher levels of absolute poverty and financially and institutionally weaker states.

Furthermore, Norton et al. (2002) suggest that social protection varies between broad and narrow perspectives; between definitions which focus on the nature of the problems addressed and those which focus on policy response and instruments; and between those which take a conceptual as opposed to a pragmatic approach. Most definitions have a dual character, referring to both the nature of deprivation and the form of policy response. However, almost all address: a) vulnerability and risk; b) level of absolute

⁴ According to distinction provided by Devereux and Macauslan (2006), the two social protection programs analyzed in this research as a policy responses to urban poverty, namely: IGP, follows the approach of “poverty reduction” and the SBWP is more related to “poverty alleviation”.

deprivation deemed unacceptable; c) form of response which is both social and public in character.

In the context of this research social protection refers to public action taken by the government to reduce or alleviate poverty and vulnerability both in urban and rural areas. Job creation programs, food subsidy programs as well as income generation programs are noticeable examples.

The next section, presents the concept of evaluation its principles and different denominations suggesting that it embraces aspects such as assessing the strengths and weaknesses of programs as well as policies.

2.5. Evaluation: theories and practices

Evaluation as practices is booming nowadays and remains a field where the “academic” debate is not easy due to the complexity of the field. In fact, with the emergence of PRSP frameworks, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness, the demand for a solid evaluation system grew up exponentially.

Pawson and Tilley (1997:1-2) indicate that the ‘Evaluation Army’ is still increasing with their lethal weapon trying to impose some kind of “mantra” in modern societies. The range seems to be enormous, from so called ‘summative evaluation’, ‘formative evaluation’, ‘cost-free evaluation’, ‘goal-free evaluation’, ‘functional evaluation’, tailored evaluation’, ‘comprehensive evaluation’, ‘theory-diven evaluation’, ‘stakeholder-based evaluation’, ‘naturalistic evaluation’, ‘utilization-focused evaluation’, ‘pre-ordinate evaluation’, ‘responsive evaluation’ and finally ‘meta-evaluation’.

However, authors such as Shadish et al. (1991:31) claims, that ‘albeit the existing various approaches on evaluation, the exercise is still a ‘practice-driven field where theory plays a crucial role on it. In this context, evaluation theory should describe and justify why certain evaluations practices lead to particular kinds of results across situations that evaluators confront’. These situations are related to, for example: clarification of activities, process, and goals of evaluation.

Shadish et al. (1991) identifies five theoretical bases that inform the evaluations research namely:

- i) Social program: the way social programs and policies develop, improve, and change, especially in regard to social problems;
- ii) Knowledge construction: the ways researchers learn about social action;
- iii) Valuing: the ways value can be attached to program description
- iv) Knowledge of use and: the ways social science information is used to modify programs and policies
- v) Evaluation practice: the tactics and strategies evaluations follow in their professional work, especially given the constraints they face.

Moreover, Shadish et al. (1991) note that theories of practice are the most essential components in theories of evaluation and depend on the other four components. The theory of practice deals with of the following: decide on evaluation, purpose and role of evaluator, question, use, and activities to

facilitate use. Therefore, theory of knowledge informs decisions on methodology. Theory of value is related with variables to measure. Theory of use is related to facilitation of use. Theory of social programming is about how to improve program capacity to address social problems. Theory of practice tries to have a more realistic approach of evaluation. These five components show briefly how evaluation is a complex field, and that theories on field are trying to better integrate the diverse concepts, methods, and practices.

Nevertheless and according to the American Evaluation Association⁵, ‘evaluation involves assessing the strengths and weaknesses of programs, policies, personnel, products, and organizations to improve their effectiveness. Evaluation, in general, help enhance accountability, efficiency, transparency and democracy. In addition, it is a kind of research process which contributes in generating knowledge’.

Its goes without saying that evaluation leads us towards our weaknesses, strengths, challenges, possibilities, public responses, and more importantly, objectivity, sustainability, and outcome of the programs. The following definition developed by Shaw et al. (2006:6) explicitly provides the function of evaluation:

‘Evaluation refers to the process of determining the merit, worth, or value of something, or the product of that process. The evaluation process normally involves some identification of relevant standards of merit, worth, or value; some investigation of the performance of the evaluands on these standards; and some integration or synthesis of the results to achieve an overall evaluation or set of associated evaluations’.

In this context, evaluation is conceived as an intensive process of identification, standardization and measurement of value in the performance of an institution and/or its programs. According to Pawson and Tiley (1997:31), ‘evaluation is saturated with a vocabulary of causation ... In doing so, we are attempting to demonstrate an unequivocal causal relationship between program and outcome’. It is important to point out here that the terms “monitoring and evaluation” are commonly used in practice and usually this leads to some misunderstandings.

Various authors such as Kusek and Rist (2004), Khan (1998) and Brouwers (2008), abundantly highlighted that monitoring and evaluation are not interchangeable concepts rather they are complementary to each other and very often, they constitute a single Monitoring and Evaluation system. The distinction between them is summarized in the Table 1:

⁵ see http://www.evaluationwiki.org/index.php/American_evaluation_association

Table 1: Distinction between Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring	Evaluation
Continuous internal management activity	Now and then, internal or external management activity
Links activities and their resources to objectives	Assesses specific causal links
Quantitative method	Quantitative and qualitative method
Tracks progress in inputs and outputs	Examines implementation process, results (intended and unintended) impacts and relevance
Reports progress to managers and alerts them to problems	Provides lessons, highlights significant accomplishment, offers recommendations for improvement

Sources: Adapted from Kusek and Rist (2004)

Where do we stand on this debate? Without too much hyperbole we sustain in the context of this paper, that evaluation comprises a rigorous assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of programs, policies as well as personnel, and organizations in order to improve their effectiveness, applying both qualitative and quantitative methods. To achieve this goal it is suggested a flexible approach which combine the summative (*judgment-oriented*) and formative (*improvement-oriented*) approaches on evaluation. What does each approach embrace? It is explained in the next section.

2.6. Analytical Framework

Because it is our objective to assess the effectiveness of relevant policy responses regarding the alleviation of urban poverty namely two social protection programmes (IGP and SBWP), the main research question is answered by using a combined approach on evaluation of programmes effectiveness, particularly the ‘summative’ and ‘formative’ approaches as well as some elements of the asset vulnerability approach proposed by Moser (1996).

Accordingly, a comprehensive and eclectic approach in this context was applied, due the complexities of the evaluation exercise and also because a hard distinction between summative and formative approaches has become irrelevant in the context of evaluation (Patton 1997).

Herman et al. (1987) note that a summative evaluation is concerned with documenting the major patterns or constellations of activities and examining the programme success. Under this analytical approach, Patton (1997) argues that the evaluation aimed at determining the overall merit, worth, or values of something which is *judgment-oriented* falls under the umbrella of summative approach.

In this context, it is crucial to search for answers to questions such as: what are Program X most important characteristics, activities and administrative arrangements. What is the goal and objectives of Programme X? Does the program lead to goals achievement? Why should these particular activities reach its goals? Did the planned programme occur? How costly is the program? Was the implementation in compliance with funding mandates? Were funds used appropriately for the intended purpose? Were desired outcomes achieved?

Regarding to formative approach, Herman et al. (1987) and Patton (1987, 1997), argue that formative evaluation is close related to *improvement-oriented approach* which focuses on internal dynamics of program operation. A critical question is: what are the strengths and weakness of the program? This type of evaluation requires a detailed description of the program operation which leads to the use of qualitative methods. It includes usually the perception of the people close to the program about how things are performed.

The combination of the above approaches presents immediate methodological implications. It requires what Denzel (1978), cited by Patton (1987), calls “methodological triangulation and theory triangulation” which comprises the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data⁶ as well as the use of multiple methods to study a single program.

Therefore, in order to evaluate the changes brought on the lives of the beneficiaries of the programs we based our evaluation on indicators proposed by Moser (1996) to assess poverty/vulnerability. In fact Moser (1996), indentifies five level of indicators to assess poverty/vulnerability namely, labour, human capital, housing, productive assets, household relations and social capital. Table 2 shows a selected subset of indicators based on Moser (1996) used to assess poverty at individual and household level:

Table 2: Asset Vulnerability Matrix: Selected Potential Indicators of Increasing and Decreasing Vulnerability for an individual.

Type of vulnerability	Indicator of increasing vulnerability	Indicator of decreasing vulnerability
Labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of permanent job • Decline in secure wage employment • Increase in short-term, causal, minimum wage employment • Acquisition of physical disability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in household members working, especially women • Increase in home-based enterprises • Increase in jobs held by individual workers
Human Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decline in access to or quality of social and economic infrastructure • Decline in school attendance or increase in the dropout rate • Decline in health clinic attendance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substitution of private for public services, such as water pumps, private health care, and private education.
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased perception of threat of eviction • Deterioration in housing stock • High level of overcrowding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resolution of tenure insecurity • Use of plot for intergenerational “nesting”

Source: adapted from Moser, Caroline O.N. (1996:3)

⁶ To analyse, for example, “*Targeting efficacy*” of the IGP and SBWP we use the approach proposed by Johnson and Selvester (2006:8), which claim that ‘targeting efficacy should follow two dimension: a) Vertical targeting: degree of coverage of only households or individuals within defined criteria (Inefficacy = E-error or inclusion error); b) Horizontal targeting: degree of coverage of all eligible households or individuals within defined criteria. (Inefficacy = F-error or exclusion error)’

CHAPTER 3: POVERTY IN MOZAMBIQUE: TRENDS, CONTROVERSIES AND CONSENSUS

3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a quantitative assessment of poverty in Mozambique in general and in Maputo city in particular. It attempts to provide the current figures, trends and relevant debates around poverty. It further argues that despite some controversy about measurement of poverty and consequently its depth, there is a general agreement that poverty is camping in Mozambique and particularly in Maputo city it shows a negative trend.

3.1. Country profile on poverty: unfinished debate

‘Poverty needs no introduction’, as correctly pointed by Barrientos and Hulme (2005:1). Poverty is pervasive and serious and it is widespread in developing regions with estimates of global poverty indicating that as many as 1.2 billion people live on less than USD\$1 a day. The incidence of poverty is especially high in some areas of Africa and Asia. As we stress at the very outset of this paper, Mozambique like any other African country is not an exception when it comes to poverty and the debate among different actors inside and outside the government regarding the extent of poverty is still taking place.

For example, according to Hanlon (2007:11), ‘the decline in poverty in Mozambique is being exaggerated, while the gap between the rich and the poor is widening with the poor becoming steadily poorer and unable to properly feed their children. He argue that donors and the government are being highly selective in the choice of data, highlighting the most positive figures while ignoring equally valid information that paints a different picture’. The argument is that a steeper reduction in poverty was produced by substituting cheap cassava for maize in the food basket and thus driving down the level of the poverty line. While cassava is an excellent source of calories, it is less nutritious than maize; hence the switch is not justified (Arndt 2007)⁸.

Anyway, according to government data, the national poverty headcount index, defined as the share of the population living in poverty, declined to 54.1% (INE 2004). It was a ‘remarkable reduction’, from the government point

⁷ Mozambique is not what can be considered a “data-rich country”. The majority of statistical data presented in Chapter 3 is based on survey data collected between 1997 and 2003 by INE (2004), supplemented as much as possible by other recent sources such as Paulo et al. (2007).

⁸ According to Arndt (2007) ‘Hanlon’s primary assertions do not withstand scrutiny. The decline in poverty observed between 1996-97 and 2002-03, based on consumption metric, was not produced by a wholesale shift to cassava in the consumption baskets that underlie the poverty lines. This can be confirmed via simple calculation of the share of calories provided by cassava and derived products in the food consumption baskets’.

of view which takes into accounts that the National Household Survey of 1996-07 estimates the poverty headcount index around 69.4%, a decline of approximately 15.3%.

The poverty gap⁹ index also declined sharply, from 29.3% in 1996-07 to 20.5% in 2002-03, a reduction of almost a third (GdM 2006, MPF 2004). The African Development Bank and OECD - AfDB/OECD (2008:472), also strongly underline that ‘Mozambique has experienced one of the most dramatic reductions in poverty in the world in recent decades’. Indeed, rural poverty fell slightly faster than urban poverty, though rural poverty overall remains higher than urban poverty.

These trends are favourable, but monetary poverty in Mozambique remains high, and geographical variations are large (World Bank, 2007a). Table 3 shows the Poverty Measures according to the official data, by Province, in 1997 and 2003:

Table 3: Poverty Headcount and Poverty Gap Index by Province and region, in 1997 and 2003

	Poverty Headcount			Poverty Gap		
	1996-97	2002-03	Difference	1996-97	2002-03	Difference
National	69.4	54.1	-15.3	29.3	20.5	-8.8
Urban	62.0	51.5	-10.5	26.7	19.7	-7.0
Rural	71.3	55.3	-16.0	29.9	20.9	-9.0
North	66.3	55.3	-11.0	26.6	19.5	-7.1
Center	73.8	45.5	-28.3	32.7	16.0	-16.7
South	65.8	66.5	0.7	26.8	29.1	2.3
Niassa	70.6	52.1	-18.5	30.1	15.8	-14.3
Cabo Delgado	57.4	63.2	5.8	19.8	21.6	1.8
Nampula	68.9	52.6	-16.3	28.6	19.5	-9.1
Zambezia	68.1	44.6	-23.5	26.0	14.0	-12.0
Tete	82.3	59.8	-22.5	39.0	26.3	-12.7
Manica	62.6	43.6	-19.0	24.2	16.8	-7.4
Sofala	87.9	36.1	-51.8	49.2	10.7	-38.5
Inhambane	82.6	80.7	-1.9	38.6	42.2	3.6
Gaza	64.6	60.1	-4.5	23.0	20.6	-2.4
Maputo Province	65.6	69.3	3.7	27.8	31.1	3.3
Maputo City	47.8	53.6	5.8	16.5	20.9	4.4

Source: INE (2004:40)

This dramatic fall in poverty is quoted by some donors and particularly by the government as a mark of Mozambique’s post-war success. However, ‘paradoxally’ ‘in a 2006-07 qualitative survey conducted by The World Bank, three-quarters of Mozambicans said that in the past five years their economic position had remained the same or become worse’ (World Bank 2007a quoted by Hanlon 2007:1).

⁹ The poverty gap index is ‘the average percentage distance that measured consumption falls below the poverty line using all households in the sample where households living above the poverty line receive a value of zero. Mathematically, this is the same as the average difference between the consumption levels of the poor and the poverty line (expressed as a proportion of the poverty line), multiplied by the poverty headcount’ (INE 2004:15).

Furthermore, UNICEF (2006) points out that children have poor nutrition in the overwhelming majority of Mozambican households, and the rate of chronic child malnutrition is actually rising (around 49%)¹⁰, which is a completely ‘paradox’ with the discourse of the government which claims a significant poverty reduction among the majority of population. It is not necessary to re-state here that malnutrition is a crucial indicator when it comes to poverty.

Moreover, according to UEM/FLECS (2006), in a qualitative research carried out in two provinces namely, Sofala and Inhambane regarding the dynamics of poverty, the findings shows that the socio-economic situation at individual, household and community levels declined significantly, with strong evidences of increases in the number of people falling into the poverty trap¹¹.

In the case of Sofala province the research states that: serious doubts remains, with regards to the poverty headcount index of 36.1 % suggested by the National Institute of Statistics and the Ministry of Planning and Development, the government bodies responsible for the National Household Survey on poverty.

Table 4 summarises the basic social indicators for rural and urban areas of Mozambique according to National Institute of Statistic of Mozambique (INE 2004) and The World Bank (2007a):

Table 4: Basic social indicators: Rural and Urban Mozambique

Item	National	Rural	Urban
Poverty			
Poverty headcount (%)	54.1	55.3	51.5
Poverty gap (%)	20.5	20.9	19.7
Income and consumption			
Per capita monthly income (MT 000)	324	246	490
Per capita monthly expenditure (MT 000)	324	231	523
Education			
Illiteracy rate (%)	53.6	65.7	30.3
Primary school or higher (%)	27.9	14.6	53.2
Health			
Life expectancy (years)	47.1	45.7	50.8
Under five years mortality (per 1,000)	178	192	143

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

Additionally, it seems relevant to mention that ‘in Mozambique 75% of the labour force operates in the informal sector. Another 17% are unemployed, with only 8% having jobs in the formal labour market. In the rural areas 87%

¹⁰ The evolution of child nutrition indicators is explored in detail by Smiler and Ibraimo (2005).

¹¹ For instance, according to the government data generated by the 2002-03 last Poverty Household Survey (INE, 2004); Sofala was the province were the poverty headcount index declined more than any other province in the country (87.9/% in 1996-07 to 36.1% in 2002-03). Inhambane was the province were the data shows no significant change in the poverty headcount index (82.2% in 1996-07 to 80.7% in 2002-03).

of workers are informal, compared with only 50% of urban workers. Regionally, Maputo city leads in formal employment, with 33% of workers in the formal sector, but with even more than 40% unemployed' (AfDB/OECD 2008:473).

The above social indicators with little variations prompt the most recent UNDP 'Mozambique Human Development Report (2007-08)', to state that the Human Development Index (HDI) for Mozambique is 0.384, which gives the country a rank of 172nd out of 177 countries with data.

In simple words, Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world albeit its economic growth of 8% per annum and a GDP percapita of USD\$358 (AfDB/OECD 2008, World Bank 2007b). It is a clear situation of what can be considered "contradictory signals" on the effect of economic growth. Basically, the growth has not clearly been translated into substantial declines in poverty. The gains from growth are apparently not reaching many of the poor.

This scenario was also shared in a recent Joint Review meeting held in May, 2008, where the government and donors recognized that 'although there are indications of a tendency of poverty reduction, some studies carried out in 2007 indicate, on the one hand, a worsening of socio-economic inequalities in Mozambican society, and on the other hand, a significant vulnerability of the poorest strata of society' (GdM/PAP 2008).

To sum up: notwithstanding the controversy over issues regarding the measurement of poverty and consequently its depth, there is general consensus that: poverty is rampant in Mozambique and it is a critical issue to overcome. However, the relative paucity of recent information on poverty is leading to contradictory statements on poverty trends. Given the paucity of current information, trends in the evolution of poverty since 2003 are not known with confidence.

The household budget surveys examine some, but certainly not all, important dimensions of poverty. For this and other reasons, a more active poverty monitoring program is needed (Arndt 2007). Finally, many actors including the government share the opinion that at least poverty in urban areas, particularly in Maputo city, shows negative trends¹². The next section will take a closer look at the scale of urban poverty in Maputo city, arguing that unemployment, high costs of basic services, including transport remain a hard burden for the population.

3. 2. The Magnitude of poverty in Maputo city: unemployment and income as key determinants

The magnitude of urban poverty depends on the definition of poverty, which is subject to continuous debate. There is a general agreement, however,

¹² See for example: INE (2004), Fox et al. (2005), World Bank (2007), Arndt (2008) and GdM/PAP (2008).

that income and consumption are important indicators of poverty, and that HDI and the quality of housing are important supplementary indicators (Kamet et al. 2001).

Based on data from INE (2004), Fox et al. (2005), Word Bank (2007a), Paulo et al. (2007), Arndt (2007) and AfDB/OECD (2008), there is a minimum prevailing consensus: poverty and inequality in Maputo city increased. Not only did poverty rise, but its depth and severity also increased.

For instance INE (2004), suggest that poverty headcount index for 1996-07 was around 47.3% and in 2002-03 the index increased to 53.2%. Further, Arndt et al. (2005), stresses that Maputo city has the highest rates of inequality in the country and registered a statistically aggravation of inequality between 1996-97 and 2002-03 (the Gini coefficient rose from 0.44 to 0.52).

On the other hand, Paulo et al. (2007), argue that a growing share of the Maputo city population finds itself in the two lower quintiles across nationwide quintiles, rising from 18.2% in 1996-97 to 41.3 in 2002-03 (Fox et al. 2005). The authors also argued that inequality is underlined by the consumption by quintile in Maputo city, which in sharp contrast to the rest of the country saw a decrease in the three lowest quintiles and a substantial increase of 23.8% in the highest quintile, as illustrated in the tables 5 and 6:

Table 5: Changes in the distribution of population across quintiles (Maputo City) (%)

Quintile	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Total
1996/7	7.5	10.7	19.1	23.5	39.3	100.0
2002/03	19.8	21.5	17.2	13.9	27.6	100.0
All	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	100.0

Source: Fox et al. (2005) cited in Paulo et al. (2007:12)

Table 6: Growth of consumption by quintile between 1996/97 and 2002/03 (%)

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

Source: Fox et al. (2005) cited in Paulo et al. (2007:12)

Indeed, there is an increasing evidence that life conditions in the formal and informal parts of most African towns and cities are deteriorating, with ensuing overcrowding and social problems (Kamete et al. 2001). Apparently, in the case of Maputo city ‘the negative development in terms of the poverty headcount seems to be related to a combination of changes in access to employment and income, and the costs for basic goods and services including food, housing and transportation’ (Paulo at al. 2007:12).

A focus group discussion carried out by Austral (2005) in a neighbourhood of Maputo city confirms that unemployed individuals are facing difficulties because of the increasingly high prices of good and services. The scenario is definitely worse among women many whom are deprived of

opportunities to raise their human capital, for example in education, to enable them to work and earn a decent income.

This point is in line with a recent report of the Maputo city *Poverty Observatory*¹³ where it is clearly stated that, among others constraints employment, inadequate transport and access to health care are the major problems for the population of Maputo (GdCM 2007a). In an interview during the field work for this research H. Feliciano¹⁴ a young man residing in ‘Hulene’ one of the many crowded neighbourhoods of Maputo city, referred to the prevailing situation of poverty: *‘The problem here in Maputo is lack of employment. If we get employment it is possible to afford transport costs and food. Mozal¹⁵ is not enough for all of us.’* (Field work, 2008)

It is valid to remember that costs of public transport in Maputo city, also called “chapas”, were increased at least three times from 2004 to 2008 without correspondent adjustments in the minimum wages. The last increase was around 50% which resulted in a several incidents in Maputo city and its surroundings on 5th February 2008 cleavages reflecting urban inequality.

The problem of ‘unemployment’¹⁶ is frequently cited as a key cause of poverty, particularly in the urban communities; unemployment may also indicate lack of reliable, stable, and regular livelihood options—a situation of high vulnerability (World Bank 2007a). For instance, INE (2006) regarding unemployment suggests that Maputo city with 40% is the city which presents the highest rate of unemployment in the country.

According to Paulo et al. (2007:13-14), the “National Household Survey (INE 2004) reveal that 59.8% of the economically active population in Maputo receive remuneration in cash or kind, as against a national average of 11.5%; and only 6.6% of the economically active population in Maputo receive no remuneration at all as against a national average of 36%”.

Additionally, the survey show that “only 7.5% of the population in Maputo have agriculture as their main economic activity (and hence direct access to food), which is well below the rural average of 90.5% and urban average of 47.8%. On the other hand, the expenditure pattern in Maputo reveals a situation where people spend a large part of their income on non-food items”. The expenditures on housing and

¹³ “*Poverty Observatory*” is a consultative forum for discussion on poverty reduction issues, which includes representatives of government, civil society and international partners.

¹⁴ The names of our interviewers were intentionally changed once they asked to remain anonymous.

¹⁵ MOZAL (Mozambique Smelter) is one of the biggest aluminium factory in Mozambique, located in Maputo/Matola and it is controlled by overseas investors. The factory production is oriented for export of aluminium to USA, Europe and

¹⁶ According to INE (2006), the measurement of unemployment is difficult in the socio-economic conditions of developing countries, given the fact that it is frequent in the majority of these countries to see a high intensity of informal economic activities and also, because the majority of people even without a permanent working place implement some activities for their subsistence.

transportation are particularly high compared to both other urban and rural areas as can be seen in table 7:

Table 7: Per capita expenditures on selected items (%)

	Food	Housing	Transport	Furniture	Other
National	59.3	21.3	2.5	6.9	10.0
Rural	65.5	18.1	1.9	5.9	8.6
Urban	46.1	28.1	3.8	9.0	13.0
Maputo City	30.6	39.1	6.7	10.3	13.2
Richest quintile ¹⁷	16.3	42.7	7.9	13.8	19.3
Poorest quintile	42.7	34.8	4.9	8.9	8.9

Source: INE (2005) cited in Paulo et al. (2007:15)

It is widely recognized that in urban areas mainly in developing countries employment and income are the most important determinants of well-being; at the same time, labour is the greatest asset of the poor. Unemployment and declining income have implications not only for access to money and material resources, but also for urban identities. The population in urban areas largely depend on a commercialized market for goods, services and land, making employment and income the key determinants of well-being, and Maputo city does not constitute an exception (Kamete et al. 2001).

In this context, and not unexpectedly, Paulo et al. (2007:14) emerge with an argument that we completely agree: all the figures presented previously ‘points towards the widespread importance of employment and income for the population of Maputo, which has significant implications for the nature of people’s coping strategies and well-being’.

In fact, J. Cossa, an informal market vendor, from “Xipamanine” market, in an occasional interview said:

‘During the mornings I am here in the market selling used clothes. In the afternoons I’m work as a domestic employee for an Indian family. In the weekends I sell traditional beers in my house and I rent a small room for a couple of Somalian, But, unfortunately in the end of the day what I earn is not enough to pay all my expenditures, including school fees for my kids’. (Field work, 2008)

Another relevant indicator to map poverty is health. Poor health conditions reveal, in many occasions a deterioration of the well-being of individuals and households. Figures on under-five year mortality, stunting and wasting are better for Maputo than for the rest of the country. However, recent data on child malnutrition among poor households show a negative trend (Smiler and Ibraimo 2005, UNICEF 2005, World Bank 2007a).

Some of the reasons for this could be the prevailing resistance of the mothers to follow instructions on nutritional manuals provided by the Ministry of Health, limited access to food which reduces the possibility of diversification of the diet of pregnant women and also reduces the quantity of food per day (GdCM, 2007b). Table 8 show a set of selected health indicators:

¹⁷ National quintiles, as no information has been accessible on quintiles in Maputo

Table 8: Selected health indicators (%)

	Under 5 Mortality	Stunting (under 5)	Wasting (under 5)	Total Fertility Rate
National	17.8	41.0	4.0	5.5
Rural	19.2	45.7	4.3	6.1
Urban	14.3	29.2	3.1	4.4
Maputo City	8.9	20.6	0.8	3.2
Richest quintile	10.8	20.0	2.5	3.8
Poorest quintile	19.6	49.3	5.6	6.3

Source: MdS (2005); Fox et al. (2005) cited in Paulo et al. (2007:15)

3.3. Final Remarks

According to the scenario depicted in the overall chapter 3, it is evident that poverty in Mozambique and particularly in Maputo city is a critical problem. The extent and magnitude of the phenomenon could be a matter of an unfinished debate depending on the way we look at it. The rising trend in Maputo city has to be understood and dealt with. Unemployment and income apparently remains the key determinants of poverty. Why Maputo is doing so bad comparing with other cities? It is not an easy question.

Nevertheless, different sources including INE (2004) and Paulo et al. (2007:72), suggests as hypotheses to be explored in further studies, that “there is indications of inability of the very poorest and most vulnerable in Maputo to maintain links with their rural areas of origin and to take part in urban-rural exchanges”. As it is known urban-rural relations are a key component of people’s coping strategies, through the exchange of urban commodities and rural produce, and with social relationships representing an important source of social security.

Another, possible hypotheses to be tested is the “implications of high poverty rates in neighbouring provinces, which may lead to increased migration to Maputo city by rural poor and a reduction in access to rural foodstuffs for the urban poor” (Paulo et al. 2007:4)

Finally, we would like to emphasize that urban poverty, particularly, exhibits a number of special characteristics that need to be better understood at local and global level in order to delivery appropriate policy responses (Baker 1994, Kamete et al. 2001). This led to the next chapter which analyse some of the government policy responses to urban poverty, particularly two social protection programs: the IGP and SBWP.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS AS A POLICY RESPONSE TO TACKLING URBAN POVERTY

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of social protection framework in Mozambique and his institutional arrangements followed by an in depth evaluation of the IGP and SBWP effectiveness including the perceptions of the beneficiaries regarding the both programs. The role and involvement other actors such as NGOs and the Municipal Council in poverty alleviation in Maputo city it is also scrutinized.

4.1. Social Protection in Mozambique: A brief overview

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (known by its Portuguese acronym as, PARPA II) approved by the Government in 2006 and the Government Five Year Program (2005-10) are the main policy documents in Mozambique, where poverty is conceived as a critical issue to be tackled. However, these do not present an explicitly and in depth debate regarding urban poverty as a specific problem to be addressed with specific indicators.

Nonetheless, they do recognize that social protection programs have a role to play in reducing vulnerability and protect the welfare of the poor, including those who live in the cities. For instance, it is noted that ‘assistance to the most marginal population groups living in absolute poverty through the Food Subsidy Programme and Income Generation Programme will continue to be a priority’ (GdM 2001:80-82, GdM 2006:96, GdM 2005a, GdM 2005b).

According to Johnson and Selvester (2006:10-17) Mozambique has a substantial range of state social protection provision and some of these programs are perceived “implicitly” by the government as a policy response to urban poverty, although the coverage is limited and fragmented. The authors summarize the social protection framework in Mozambique as such:

- Obligatory, i.e. contributory social security, administered through INSS (National Institute for Social Security) for private sector employees, or the Ministry of Finance for public sector employees;
- Basic, i.e. social protection administered through state institutions, principally INAS (National Institute for Social Action);
- Complementary, i.e. social assistance delivered through non-state actors;

For basic social protection, the principal schemes are the Food Subsidy, Direct Social Support, SBWP, IGP and CDP. Both the Food Subsidy and the Direct Social Support programmes target the poor (destitute) unable to work. The former provides benefits in cash and the latter in kind. The remaining three programmes target the poor who are able to work.

Delivery of social assistance falls principally within two different bodies of one Ministry – the Ministry for Women and Social Action (MMAS). One of

these bodies, INAS, is funded directly from the Ministry of Finance, not via its Ministry. INAS was established within MMAS in 1997 and carries the remit for management and implementation of the basic social protection programmes. In all provinces of the country INAS have delegations (branches) with responsibilities of implementing locally the programs.

The other body, National Commission for Social Reintegration, is responsible specifically for displaced populations (for example, displaced during armed conflict, retrenched miners). Delivery of social security falls to different ministries for different groups; private sector employees are under the Ministry of Labour, but are funded solely from contributions, state employee's benefits are managed by the Ministry of Finance and war veterans have their own Ministry and the funds come directly from the state budget.

As noted in the very outset by Johnson and Selvester (2006), the institutional arrangements for governing and delivering existing social assistance and social security programmes in Mozambique are highly fragmented.

The next section analyse how the IGP and SBWP operate and their effectiveness as a policy responses to alleviate/reduce urban poverty in Maputo city.

4.2. The IGP and SBWP: Background and “Modus operandi”

In order to respond to the negative effects of the Structural Adjustment Program adopted in 1987, which affected mainly the poorest section of the population in urban areas, the government of Mozambique acknowledged the necessity to expand and improve the existent social protection programs (Mosca 2005, Johnson and Selvester 2006). In this context, the IGP and the SBWP were established in 1999 as a complement to the existing unconditional cash transfer program, “Food Subsidy” (Massingarela and Nhate 2006).

The IGP was designed to improve the well-being of vulnerable individuals or groups of individuals¹⁸ able to work through income generation activities. As for the SBWP, it targeted the same group of individuals, was conceived to provide cash benefits through public works. In both programs to be poor (destitute) was an overriding criterion for eligibility. Currently the programs have been implemented in all major cities in the country.

As noted previously, according to the distinction made by Devereux and Macauslan (2006), the IGP, can easily be identified as typically a “poverty reduction” program and the SBWP is more related to “poverty alleviation”.

The IGP activities are intended to produce items for future sale and derive income from them. Such activities involve in case of Maputo city fishery, handicraft, in-household small businesses and rearing and selling of domestic

¹⁸ The target group includes mainly, women in certain circumstances (e.g. heading households with many children, pregnant and malnourished), man and women with certain disabilities which, however, allow them to work and even older people capable to run “home-based small business” or to engage in cleaning activities.

animals (e.g. chickens). For these specific activities, the government through INAS¹⁹ provides to selected beneficiaries, loans with an expectation of repayment in future with an interest rate of 3% over the loan. The time frame of refunding is 9 months for small business and 18 months for agro-business and fishery.

To enjoy the benefit of the loan, the potential candidate must present a comprehensive project design to INAS for approval. The overall responsibilities of management of the project fall in the hands of the beneficiaries. Occasionally, INAS staff members provide some technical assistance which includes sporadic monitoring of the projects.

Conversely, the SBWP provides cash benefits through public works either in state or private institutions. These institutions include public hospitals, primary schools, public gardens and so on. The activities undertaken by the beneficiaries are mostly cleaning activities or infrastructure maintenance.

After being selected for the program, a process discussed later in the paper, the beneficiary is invited to sign a “contract” with INAS on which the amount of the subsidy is stated. The subsidy is provided by INAS and it is around 450.00MT²⁰ on a monthly bases almost half of national minimum wage

In the “contract”, it is stated that the beneficiary has to remain in the program for 18 months. After this period the host institution, either government or private should integrate the beneficiary into their permanent staff (INAS, 2007a).

It is important to note that the IGP and SBWP are totally funded by the government budget. In short, they are not a stand-alone ‘flagship’ projects designed and funded by bilateral or multilateral donors. The next section discusses the process of targeting and related issues. It makes the point that the IGP is polluted by massive targeting **E**-errors (inclusion error/leakage) and both programs add at some extent **F**-errors (exclusion error/low coverage).

4.2.1 Targeting efficacy

The idea behind the use of targeting is to generate a pro-poor distribution of social services in society. In a context of very limited public resources and many investments needed, one needs to select carefully where to allocate the budget. Thus, the advantage of targeting the poor is that it would result in more poverty alleviation with the same or lower total amount of social spending. Improved identification and targeting of the poor would then make social spending more effective without increasing the local tax burden (Dutrey 2007).

In the realm of social protection programs targeting is one of the most debated issues. The main reason is because targeting procedures determine

¹⁹ As has been observed elsewhere, INAS is the government institution responsible for managing and implementing of the IGP, SBWP as well as the Food Subsidy program. In the case of Maputo city, the respective branch holds this responsibility.

²⁰ MT (Metical) is the currency of Mozambique. 1 \$USD is equivalent to 24.00MT.

who will benefit from a particular intervention and the degree of the benefit for each group or individual. In most cases, targeting - or selection - are done through a set of criteria, that makes it highly correlated with those poverty measures tools, such as poverty lines and HDI indicators.

Sen (1995) and Saith (2005) criticized targeting procedures and showed that it is much easier said than done. Sen (1995) suggests that targeting brought several risks, such as “incentive distortion” and “information manipulation” and, while accepting that targeting is unavoidable, the most important thing is to know its limits. On his turn, Saith (2005:4609) denounced the uses of poverty lines to determine the poor people, especially because it “minimizes the dimension of problems”.

Nevertheless, a range of authors discuss the classification of targeting, namely Devereux (1999), Cornia (1995), Weiss (2005), Van de Walle (1998) as well as Gauci (2005). By summarizing their points of view, four types of targeting are commonly discussed, namely:

- a) Universal- Though the term “universal” implies that there is no targeting, but it is still in the context of delivering an intervention to the people, such as a free education.
- b) Broader targeting- Refers to reaching the beneficiaries based on their shared characteristics and not individual ones, such as geographical and occupational related issues, for example regional primary education and food subsidies programme for people living in a slum area.
- c) Narrow targeting- Refers to reaching the beneficiaries based on their individual characteristics. Someone needs to meet certain criteria to be qualify for a program, such as sex, level of income, education or even edge.
- d) Self-targeting- People who want to participate have to register themselves to the programme. The classic example here is the public works program.

According to Devereux (1999:63) ‘each approach has its strengths and weaknesses, but each shares the objective of identifying and reaching the needy without incurring exorbitant expenses’. However, “targeting efficacy” in a given social protection program is evaluated through two axes (Devereux, 1999; Johnson and Selvester, 2006):

a) Vertical targeting: degree of coverage of only households or individuals within defined criteria (Inefficacy = **E**-error or inclusion error/leakage/non-poor getting benefits);

b) Horizontal targeting: degree of coverage of all eligible households or individuals within defined criteria. (Inefficacy = **F**-error or exclusion error/ some of the poor fall outside of the programme)

Taking into consideration the remarks above as a basis to analyze “targeting efficacy” we can argued first of all, that the IGP and SBWP combine the “narrow targeting” and “self targeting” procedures. In fact, in both programs the intended beneficiaries should register themselves to INAS and simultaneously meet certain criteria to be qualified, as such:

1. Edge: Above 18 years old, able to work, living alone or heading a household as well as being a member of a household in a recognized absolute poverty situation;

2. Residence: Resident of the site of application for more than six months and to be recognized by the local authority as a permanent resident of the area;
3. Income: The percapita income of the household or individual should not exceed 1/3 of the national minimum wage. In other words, should be equal or less to 1/3 of the national minimum wage.

Going further in our analyses we can additionally argue that the IGP “narrow targeting” mechanisms are excluding massively the poor, benefiting the non-poor. In fact, evidence from the field shows that because of the high rate of illiteracy, lack of personal identification documents and access to detailed information regarding the program and their bureaucratic requirements, the majority of potential beneficiaries (e.g. vulnerable women head of households) remain excluded from the program:

‘The IGP is benefiting individuals which are not absolutely deprived; some of them even are highly and they are coming from the “cement” neighbourhoods of Maputo city’, warn our respondents in a focus group discussion. (Field work, 2008)

In short, the additional criteria which require presenting a comprehensive project design of the activities intended to be developed is leading to a massive targeting **E**-error (leakage) in the IGP.

Regarding, the SBWP targeting efficacy, evidence reveals a minimal occurrence of vertical **E**-errors. The low level of occurrence of **E**-errors is due the fact that apart from the criteria defined by INAS, such as to have a certain age, residence requirements and certain level of income per capita, there is no other heavy bureaucratic requirement, and it seems that the program does not attract those who are not poor, because of the type of jobs to be performed (e.g. road maintenance, cleaning hospital and public gardens) and its relative low subsidy paid by INAS.

Commenting on this issue, Devereux (1999) argues that the heavier the work and time demanding, there is a potential constrain for the non poor to participate in public works programs, however, in some cases this type of programs can add **F**-errors excluding the physically disable and elderly people. ‘These people may be in greatest need of public assistance, yet they can benefit only indirectly through informal redistribution from employed able-bodied relatives’ (Devereux 1999:63-64).

Taking a closer look at the coverage of the IGP and SPWP there is evidence of prevalence of **F**-errors in both programs. Their minimal sizes help to explain this aspect. For instance, according to GdCM (2007b) and INAS DPE (2005-08) the figures show, in the case of the IGP from 2006 to 2008 that the program targeted 688 beneficiaries in Maputo city, among them 182 are women and 506 men. On the other hand, the SBWP in the last 3 years covered no more than 5.000 beneficiaries INAS-DPE (2008a). For 2008 the coverage of SBWP is around 325 beneficiaries (312 men, 12 women) (INAS-DPE 2008b).

In both programs, other relevant groups of vulnerable people with certain physical disability as well as older people capable to work remain out of the program, albeit their being part of the target group. In fact, IGP bureaucratic

requirements previously mentioned and some type of job under the SBWP (e.g. heavy road maintenance²¹), play to some extent an important role as element of exclusion and therefore perpetuating vulnerability among this specific group.

It remains a huge enterprise to measure the really impact of this coverage once the branch of INAS in Maputo city has no idea of the number of poor people in Maputo city. Nevertheless, the coverage seems limited with targets calculated on incremental increases from existing coverage rather than analysis of total populations within each vulnerable category. Relying on the figures provided by INAS-DPE (2005-08), INAS-DPE (2008a), INAS-DPE (2008b) and GdCM (2007b) is acceptable to argue that the present coverage add F-errors.

Furthermore, comparing the unemployment rate of Maputo city, around 40% (INE 2006), which is the highest in the country, and the numbers of the beneficiaries of the SBWP in the last 3 years (no more than 5.000 beneficiaries) the program remains far to contribute significantly to the problem of unemployment, which is one of the major determinants of poverty and vulnerability in Maputo city, according to Paulo et al. (2008) and INE (2004).

The next section takes a look at the management aspects of the IGP and SBWP. It emphasizes that managerial deficiencies at various levels (INAS as well as the beneficiaries) and unanticipated issues related to the program design are leading to a massive failure of the IGP and uncertainty of the beneficiaries' of SBWP.

4.2.2. Managerial effectiveness

There are a number of unresolved issues in the design and implementation of social protection programs and most of them determine the performance of this type of programs. According to Johnson and Selvester (2006:8), 'many reviews draw attention to the complexity of managing social protection schemes, with complex arrangements, poor targeting and fraud. The main challenges include: Poorly designed schemes, overly complex institutional arrangements, limited management capacity that exists in low-income contexts, lack of skilled professionals with the capacity to manage the programmes'. Not all, but some of these elements are present in the IGP and SBWP management in Maputo city the most noticeable are for example poor program design and targeting.

As noted previously, issues related to the management of the IGP falls in the hands of beneficiaries (running the business day by day). Available data of a National Performance Assessment of IGP shows that among 451 projects implemented from 1999 to 2005, 23% of them were identified as "defective", 49% on "bankruptcy" and only 26% were classified as "operating satisfactorily" (INAS 2007). In the case of Maputo city, the branch of INAS implemented around 19 projects from 2006 to 2008. Among those 30% are

²¹ There is an increase of opportunities for jobs on road maintenance due the efforts of the municipal authorities to improve the quality of roads.

“operational”, 10% “defective” and 60% are in declared “bankruptcy”²² (INAS-DPE 2006-08).

The notable low percentage of success of these projects can be explained by various means, particularly by defective monitoring and evaluation of the programs, lack of management skills of beneficiaries, as well as ownership and inability to compete in an extremely aggressive market like Maputo city²³.

Surender and Van Niekerk (2008) recently reported findings of a qualitative study of an income generation initiative developed in South Africa, which underlines the same problems faced by the IGP namely: lack of capacity in the targeted communities, poor physical infrastructure, lack of capacity in the implementing department, and policy confusion about the programme's objectives.

In the same context, Van der Wel (1986) with regards to the issue of a competitive market argues that for example, basket makers, face competition which they could not survive particularly when they have to compete with newer cheaper material (e.g. plastics) as well as mechanization.

These and other additional reasons such as high levels of illiteracy of the target group of the IGP, mainly women as well as the acknowledged lack of personnel with relevant competences in project evaluation (e.g. economic sustainability/viability)²⁴ in the branch of INAS in Maputo city, also partially explain the disastrous performance of the IGP in recent years, widely acknowledged by INAS (2007b).

The high ratio of failure of the IGP leads to double consequences: a) beneficiaries are defaulting the loans with INAS, because they can not return the loan in the agreed term and they are getting indebted²⁵; b) INAS budget lost ratio regarding this program is increasing due to an inappropriate use of funds.

By contrast, the SBWP in terms of management reveals deficiencies related to program design which by the very outset contemplates to integrate beneficiaries as permanent employees in the various host institutions after a period of 18 months of working. However, INAS-DPE (2008a) shows a low

²² According to INAS national director the high percentage of bad performance of the IGP is taking INAS to start to look at additional sources of funds for these programs, namely international partners. The resources are becoming “*more and more scare because we do not have returns*” (Interview, July 2008).

²³ The issue of competitiveness of the market in Maputo city was repeatedly mentioned by the INAS national director in an interview (July, 2008) as one of the major factors behind the failure of some IGP activities with emphasis on those who are engaged in selling chickens. In fact, actually Maputo city is flooded by chickens from Brazil.

²⁴ Abundantly referred by senior INAS officials in informal interviews and also in INAS (2007b), *Balanço do Programa de Geração de Rendimentos*, Maputo: INAS.

²⁵ Several beneficiaries in the focus group discussion observed that sometimes ago they were just “*poor*”, but currently they are “*not only poor, but also indebted*” which aggravates their vulnerability.

percentage of absorption of beneficiaries after completing 18 months on the program. For example, in 2007 in a sample of 358 beneficiaries none was integrated as a permanent employee in the host institution. The trend is valid also for 2006, and for 2008 there is no indication that the scenario will change dramatically (INAS-DPE 2008a).

The explanation relies in the fact that beneficiaries under SBWP do not meet formal education requirements to become civil servant and the majority of them are above the edge allowed by the law. In fact, according to MAE (2001), in order to be eligible for a civil servants position it is mandatory to have completed the second degree of primary education and not to be more than 35 years old, which is not the case of the majority of the SBWP targeted groups (generally vulnerable and non-educated women and men over 35 years).

The philosophy of the program and the design of the program cannot ignore previous existing institutional arrangements, namely the legal mechanism to integrate beneficiaries as permanent staff in a given state institution²⁶.

The next section goes through the issues related to cost-effectiveness of the IGP and SBWP. The central argument is that apparently IGP and SBWP were not satisfactory in efficiency terms. High administrative costs and limited resources are key aspects highlighted.

4.2.3. Cost effectiveness

Information on cost-effectiveness is limited due to in part the fact that many of the social protection programs in Mozambique are running with considerable managerial problems²⁷. The cases of the IGP and SBW in Maputo city are not an exception.

The IGP and SBWP administrative costs and cash transfers (loans and subsidies) to beneficiaries are financed through the state budget rather than by donors. The donor's financial support is mainly concentrated on the "Food Subsidy Program". From the outset, the government ran both programmes (IGP and SBWP) with no donor direct financial assistance and maintained its budget commitment even when the programs were experiencing difficulties. In this context, both programs are not donor-driven programs.

Nevertheless, the IGP and SBWP were not cost effective. Since their initial implementation and subsequent expansion phase in Maputo city, both experienced "sporadic difficulties" (INAS 2006). The share of administration total expenditure was 37% in 2005. So, only 63% of the budget was allocated to beneficiaries in both programs. According to INAS (2008c), in 2007 the

²⁶ The program offers an opportunity to poor people to work and earn some money during the 18 months of the program, after this period they face uncertainty again.

²⁷ In 2003 a corruption scandal erupted involving misappropriation of funds by INAS key figures.

administrations costs increased slightly to 39 %.²⁸ These figures are not so different from similar inefficient programmes in other low-income countries (Grosh 1995).

For instance, Subbarao et al. (1997) indicates that a low proportion of public works budgets is typically spent on wages (60%), with the rest being consumed in management costs a consideration that leads the World Bank (2001) to conclude that workfare programmes are not necessarily an inexpensive way of delivering benefits to poor people. In the same context, SALDRU (2005) observes that there is no evidence base in (southern Africa) which endorses public works as an effective social protection instrument.

In general terms, according to Johnson and Selvester (2006), evidence from countries with long running government funded programmes (including Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa) shows that the overall cost of key social protection schemes is generally less than 2% of GDP, with an extremely low level of benefits and relatively little impact on the well being of beneficiaries. Table 9 shows the budget allocation for the IGP in Maputo city from 2006 to 2008:

Table 9: Budget allocated to IGP in Maputo city in millions Meticais

Years	MT
2006	1.040.600,00
2007	3.692.000,00
2008	2.912.000,00

Source: INAS – DPE, 2008

From the scenario illustrated above, it is reasonable to argue that the efficiency of the IGP and SBWP regarding costs is potentially not satisfactory and it is not atypical when compared with similar programs. The small size of both programs in Maputo city with significant budget constrains, relative small coverage as well as high administrative costs²⁹ support our assumptions. Nevertheless, we should note that limited information determined an in depth evaluation.

The next section, deals particularly with the impact of both programs on the live of intended beneficiaries. In the overall, the perceptions of the beneficiaries suggest that the IGP and SBWP had introduced some positive changes in their lives through extra source of income. However, these sorts of gains are temporary.

²⁸ It is important to note that with regards to the overall budget spent by SBWP before 2007, it is not accurate at all. However, according to INAS-DPE (2008c), a total amount of 2.818.000MT was spent in this program.

²⁹ The explanations over the route of these costs by INAS officials were not always satisfactory.

4.2.4. Positive and negative impact on the beneficiaries

In the preceding sections we evaluated the effectiveness of the IGP and SBWP in various dimensions. In particular, their “modus operandi” and managerial aspects are discussed. The propose of this section is to analyze beneficiaries own perceptions regarding the performance of both programs, particularly the changes that they bring into their lives, minimizing at some extent their vulnerability. A subset of indicators proposed by Moser (1996) on labor, human capital and housing is used in the analysis.

Labour is one of the great assets of the poor. Many urban households depend on a sole breadwinner which makes them vulnerable. In urban areas employment is frequently unavailable, insufficient or insecure (Kamete et al. 2001, Moser 1996). By far, the most important constraint on poverty or improved well being indentified by the two groups of beneficiaries is related to unemployment.

In this regard, our respondents suggest that to have household members working, especially women, seems to make a difference. The solid source of income provided by the programs, particularly the monthly subsidy of the SBWP, reduces significantly the uncertainty to pay for household food and non food expenses such as children school fees.

This confirms the notion that ‘enhancing the opportunity of employment and income for women is particularly important to reduce vulnerability in household due their responsibility on feeding and maintaining children and youngsters’ (Kamete et al. 2001:43).

However, our respondents highlighted the temporary nature of the SBWP’s benefits as a limitation. The non-possibility of maintaining the job in practice after 18 months lead most likely them right back into poverty³⁰. Devereux (2006), in this regard warn that poverty alleviation programs such as SBWP which bridge a consumption deficit with cash transfer usually are for a short time period with residual impact.

In relation to the IGP, the group of beneficiaries emphasizes that the establishment of home-based enterprises through IGP initiatives was particularly important for generating further income and invest in productive assets. Nevertheless, the uncertainty of the market which leads to the collapse of several IGP was noted as a potential problem because the majority of beneficiaries are unable to return the loans on time.

Furthermore, this may end diverting the available resources at household from others necessities such as food or health to repay the loan. Instead of improving one’s situation it may have the perverse effect of increasing the vulnerability of the household members.

Having said this, it is important to note that Moser (1996) suggests that an increase in household members working, especially women, as well as increases

³⁰ In many cases this narrows the range of options to get out of poverty, such as paying for transportation to search for new jobs.

in home-based enterprises are indicators of decreasing vulnerability in a given household in an urban context.

In describing human capital aspects such as access to health care services, education and water there is a prevailing consensus among the beneficiaries who claim a positive correlation of being part of the IGP and SBWP initiatives and have access to the referred basic services. The opportunity to have access to income, even to sporadically to afford the expenses related to health, education and water explains this enthusiasm.

For instance Paulo et al. (2007:54) observes that “water in Maputo city is becoming privatised as part of municipal policy for water provision, and many households signs contracts with private owners and pay up to 350 MT per month. Additionally, health posts and hospitals are in many cases located in other neighbourhoods and transportation is considered inadequate and expensive”.

It is a significant gain for the beneficiaries of the IGP and SBWP to be capable to overcome this sort of expenses. According to Moser (1996) this is an indication of decreasing vulnerability of the households or individuals.

Equally significant, the focus group discussion revealed with regard to housing, that the gains derived from the IGP and SBWP are insignificant to cover the expenses to improve the poor quality of housing, which in many cases the its overall costs are prohibitive.

In fact, the majority of the beneficiaries of both programs live in overcrowded slums of Maputo city with inadequate drainage, sewerage and regular solid waste collection. Our group discussions further showed that expenses with education and health tend to be large. Therefore, expenses with housing improvements can be delayed, but medical expenses normally have to be met at short notice. Finally, it was strongly mentioned that albeit the poor quality of housing they never experienced tenure insecurity.

Moser (1996) claims that “the high level of overcrowding” it is a potential indicator of increasing vulnerability and conversely tenure security shows a relative degree of decreasing vulnerability.

Summing up this section, perhaps the most dominant perception of the beneficiaries with regard to the impact of the IGP and SBWP in their lives is that there are some positive changes. The opportunity to earn a substantial flow of income pays indubitably reduces their situation of vulnerability to various external stresses and shocks.

Furthermore, allows them to engage in productive activities and to be rewarded as well as improvements in access to basic services such as health and water and benefits for the rest of the household members, e.g. to be capable to pay children school fees. Nevertheless, these sorts of gains are temporary (e.g. because of loan repayment problems when the project collapse or loss of jobs).

The next section analyses the involvement of other actors in poverty alleviation in Maputo city, namely the Municipal Council and local NGO's. It underlines that there is lack of coordination and limited interventions in terms of programs directed to reduce the vulnerability of the poor.

4.3. Involvement of others actors in urban poverty alleviation: Municipal Council and NGO's

In Mozambique, decentralization of power is recent. Before 1998, when the first municipal election was held, the municipality of Maputo did not enjoy any kind of autonomy, either administrative or financial. It was under the jurisdiction of the central government. Various sources including Oppenheimer and Raposo (2002), suggested that because of this, its performance was significantly weak. The authors further argue that Municipal Council demonstrated limited capacity to delivery basic services to the urban population as a response to poverty and rapid urbanization.

After the elections in 1998 the municipality became began to have administrative, judiciary and financial autonomy. The new functions/competences of the Municipal Council under the Municipal Legislation Package (Law 2/97) includes a range of improvement in the well-being of the urban population such as economic development, health, education, housing, water and sanitation, sports, culture and security. However, the law does not mention the role of coordination to be performed by the Municipal Council in programs and activities related to urban poverty alleviation implemented by the multiple actors (Ginja and Schwarz, 1997, quoted by Oppenheimer and Raposo 2002).

Nevertheless, there are three areas of municipal interventions in Maputo city in order to alleviate poverty: a) social assistance to vulnerable people (e.g. elderly and disabled people, abandoned and street children and windows); b) improvement of basic infrastructures in poor neighbourhoods; and c) urban management. Among all these domains the most visible ones are improvements of basic infrastructures and urban management. The others remain as erratic interventions. The impact of these activities apparently is limited due the fact that they are not covering all neighbourhoods and the number of vulnerable people targeted is insignificant (see for example, CMCM 2007).

Paulo et al. (2007) explains that this sort of inability is due to the fact that the Municipal Council, even after the approval of the Municipal Legislation Package in 1997 which gives Maputo municipality relative administrative and financial autonomy, in practice, it remains very weak in terms of both human and financial resources which seriously hampers its ability to deal with several issues including poverty alleviation.

As it was pointed out in chapter 2, Maputo city enjoys some kind of double administration as a municipal entity and as a province with a governor appointed by the president of the country. The co-existence of these two entities apparently has negative effects in the coordination of activities for poverty alleviation. The definition of responsibilities remains a critical issue, which delays basic services delivery to the poor.³¹

³¹ The problem of lack of coordination vis-à-vis in delivering basic services was systematically highlighted in interviews with senior officials of the municipal authority.

With regard to the NGOs, their activities on poverty alleviation are residual with limited impact, because the majority of them turned their attention to HIV/AIDS prevention type of activities where funds are easily available. However, according to LINK (2006), the body responsible to coordinate local NGOs activities, their main areas of intervention regarding poverty alleviation in Maputo city are: a) Food distribution to vulnerable people and b) Social reintegration of the abandoned and street children. These sorts of activities are developed by charity institutions such as Red Cross and local churches.

Summing up this section, it is possible to argue that limited resources and interventions, residual impact on the poor and lack of coordination between state and non state actors in poverty alleviation related activities in Maputo city are the main features to be highlighted. Paulo et al. (2008:72) emphasizes that the 'policy of decentralisation through the establishment of municipalities is positive as it brings political decision-making closer to the urban population, but municipalities must be supplied with sufficient human and economic resources to implement their growing responsibilities' among them poverty alleviation.

4.4. Final remarks

The social protection framework in Mozambique and his institutional arrangements was presented in this chapter. It was argued that it is highly fragmented and with limited coverage. Nevertheless, the government acknowledge the role and importance of these schemes in reducing vulnerability and protect the welfare of the poor, including those who live in the cities. Further it was analysed how the IGP and SBWP operates as policy responses to urban poverty emphasizing that the IGP targeting procedures adds massive **E**-errors (leakage) or inclusion. Conversely the SWBP revealed a minimum presence of this type of errors. The minimum size of both programs adds **F**-errors or exclusion errors.

Further, it was also noted that the high percentage of bad performance of IGP in Maputo city is diverting the few resources available at INAS due to difficulties of repayment of loans faced by the beneficiaries once the project/activities collapse. This leads to a situation in which the poor became "not only poor, but poor and indebted" as noted by one of the beneficiaries of the IGP. As observed earlier, lack of managerial skills of the beneficiaries, poor monitoring of the projects/activities by INAS and uncertainty of the market are the major causes of collapsing IGP initiatives.

Problems regarding the conceptual design and implementation of the SBWP are also remarkable. In fact, unanticipated legal issues namely the requirements to integrate the beneficiaries at the host institution after 18 months in programme are leading the beneficiaries to uncertainty. In short, because the majority of them did not complete the second level of primary education and are above 35 years of age, they cannot be absorbed in the majority of host institutions including the state.

Additionally, there is evidence of cost inefficiency in both programs derived from high administrative costs. However, it was noted that this is not

only typical to Mozambique, but generally in developed countries this sort of programs have limitations, particularly the SBWP schemes.

Nevertheless, albeit the constrains above indicated, there is a prevailing consensus among the beneficiaries who claim that the IGP and SBWP bring positive changes in their lives namely access to basic services (e.g. health care, water, education). The income earned is also benefiting other household members (e.g. payment of children school fees). However, as beneficiaries suggested, the gains are temporary due to the uncertainty of the market which leads to the collapse of several IGP project/activities and loss of jobs after completing 18 months under SBWP.

Finally, the chapter also analysed the extent to which the involvement of others actors such as the Maputo Municipal Council and local NGO's in poverty alleviation related activities as well as their role in the process. In general, it was argued that lack of coordination between the municipality, local NGO's, the government of Maputo city, limited resources available in the municipality, focus on HIV/AIDS related activities instead of those of poverty alleviation by the local NGO's and limited coverage of the interventions are, in summary, the features of performance of the other actors regards to poverty alleviation/reduction in Maputo city.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This research is aimed at understanding the extent to which the policy responses are effective to tackle urban poverty in Maputo city, by specifically analysing the strengths and limitations of social protection programs designed to alleviate/reduce poverty in urban areas, namely: the Income Generation Programme (IGP) and Social Benefits for Work programme (SBWP) and the involvement of others actors in this efforts such as the Municipal authority and local NGO's.

In this context, it can be argued that poverty and inequality in Maputo city increased according to different sources which have as key determinants: unemployment and income (INE 2004, Arndt et al. 2005). In fact the poverty headcount index increased from 47.3% in 1997 to 53.2% in 2003, and according to the World Bank (2007a) the trend prevails.

Further, although the absence of an explicit commitment in the main anti-poverty policy documents such as PRSP and the Government Five Years Plan in regarding urban poverty as a problem with specific characteristics, there is a tendency to consider social protection programs as policy responses to deal with urban poverty. However, the overall framework of social protection in Mozambique is highly fragmented with limited coverage.

With regards to the IGP and SBWP, there is evidence of managerial constraints, namely the relative high percentage of bad performance of the IGP schemes, including increasing problems of financial resources due loans repayment deficiencies and targeting procedures which actually is leading to a massive occurrence of **E**-errors (leakage). The minimum size of both programs is leading to the existence of **F**-errors (exclusion).

On the other hand, SBWP shows conceptual problems regarding its design and implementation processes, namely the absorption of beneficiaries by the host institution as permanent employees which is constrained by unanticipated legal issues such as education requirements and age. Therefore, there is a potential of increasing the vulnerability of the beneficiaries who are "moving in and out of poverty systematically".

Beneficiaries' perceptions of the gains obtained trough both programs are generally positive, once they experienced access to basic services which in the past they could not afford. Nevertheless, these gains are acquired for a short period of time. With regards, to the other actors involvement in poverty alleviation activities in Maputo city, particularly the Municipal Council and local NGO's, it should be argued that it is limited and with no coordination.

Finally, it is important to state that not only there are few resources, given the level of poverty, but that these resources are also not appropriately used. This subscribes the point of view which sees this type of programs as squandering scarce public resources and doing little to promote long term development. In short, they remain as palliative measures to alleviate/reduce urban poverty with high levels of administrative costs and deep management problems which confirm ours initial assumptions.

As mentioned in the very outset, this research is primarily to serve as a contribution to understanding some of the complexities of urban poverty in Maputo city and relevant policy responses. Therefore preliminary recommendations include the following:

- Attention should be given to the issues of urban poverty in Mozambique, because it shows a less positive trend, particularly in Maputo city. There is an opportunity to start the debate once the third PRSP (2009-2012) is about to come;
- Having the IGP and SBWP as main programs to deal with income and unemployment, it is crucial to improve managerial skills of the beneficiaries of IGP through adequate training and in the case of the SBWP, a redesign of the conceptual basis of the program contemplating legal aspects is necessary;
- The place of targeting in a social protection strategy raises questions in a country with 54% of the population classified as absolutely poor. Therefore, targeting procedures should be revisited in order to avoid to include the non poor on the benefits; and finally
- The Municipality must be supplied with sufficient human and financial resources to implement their responsibilities which include urban poverty alleviation activities.

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