



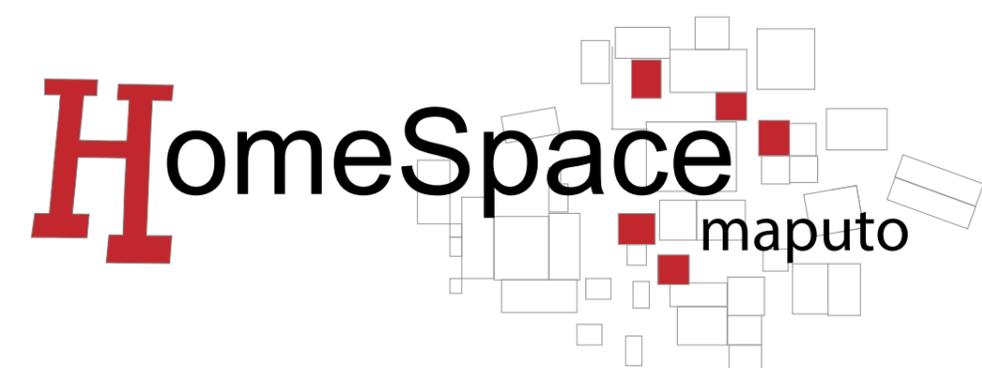
## Six cases revisited

Jørgen Eskemose Andersen

Mia Prahm Eskemose

Ivan Dos Santos

**H**omeSpace   
maputo



*This document draws on the research programme 'Home Space in African Cities', funded by the Danish Research Council for Innovation 2009-2011, under the management of Prof. Jorgen Eskemose Andersen of the School of Architecture, Copenhagen.*

*The programme was based on a conception and research design by Prof. Paul Jenkins of the School of the Built Environment, Heriot-Watt University / Edinburgh School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture.*

*It was implemented in partnership between the above institutions (led by Professors Andersen and Jenkins) and the Centre of African Studies at the ISCTE- Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (represented by Dr. Ana Bénard da Costa) and the centre for Development of Habitat Studies in the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique (represented by Prof. Dr. Luis Lage , Prof. Julio Carrilho and Dr. Carlos Trindade) and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (represented by Dr. Adriano Biza).*

*The fieldwork was undertaken with participation of students of architecture and anthropology from Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, and had key involvement from architect Silje Sollien and anthropologist Judite Chipenembe.*

*Generous support from the Mozambican director of the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning, and time donated by Edinburgh and Lisbon institutions for their academics' inputs have been a key aspect of the programme's success.*

*Layout and illustrations by Anders Bjerregaard-Andersen.*

*Photographs Mia Prahm Eskemose*

*Maputo, Mozambique 2012*



## Research Background

### *The African City*

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

This context is leading to new forms of urbanism emerging which challenge conventional values of what is ‘urban’. These forms are based on spatially mobile populations with many engaging with multiple economic activities based on social structures, as opposed to industrial based activity distinct from residential environments. The physical form of this urban-

ism is dominated by households' use of space for living – which often incorporates economic production as well as social reproduction. Although these urban forms are in evidence in other Southern countries, there is much more limited capacity of government to record and service urban space in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, the relative poverty of the majority (and hence lack of profit opportunity for wider formal private sector urban action in this respect) means that the extent of what is typically called 'informal' urbanism is much more prevalent in both spatial and temporal senses. In other words it is widespread (including in what is often seen as 'formal' urban areas) and has already existed for decades – and its growth will mean it will most likely continue to exist for many more decades.

### ***'Home Space' as a concept***

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

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

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

A built environment dwelling and household socio-economic study in a representative section of the large peri-urban areas of Maputo city, partly

drawing on previous studies in a longitudinal sense, and partly following the trends in urban expansion and morphology (using stratified random sampling based on some 100 sites, half being longitudinal) – to record what is understood as home space and its role in urban change; and

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

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

## Contents

Introduction.....	11
Case 6 .....	15
Case 7 .....	21
Case 10 .....	27
Case 57 .....	33
Case 63 .....	39
Case 72 .....	45
Conclusion.....	51
Glossary .....	54





## Introduction

This report tells fragments of the lives of six families. The Life Stories are based on interviews focusing on living conditions among six families living in peri-urban Maputo and includes: family structure, economic capacity, housing situation and developments on the plot.

The interviews took place between December 15th and December 19th 2011. Furthermore short follow-up visits were made on 23rd and 24th of March 2012. The interviews were conducted by two students: A Danish student with a BSc in Anthropology and a Mozambican student with an AP Degree in Multimedia and Communication. The work was supervised by Jørgen Eskemose Andersen, the Home Space Research manager.

The six cases were chosen among the 102 cases used in the Home Space research in 2009. The cases were chosen as a stratified random sample among the cases in the inner belt of the general case study area i.e. Polana Caniço and Maxaquene. Furthermore one case (case 72) was selected due its specific location in proximity to the municipal landfill threatening the health of the entire bairro surrounding the landfill. The case is of specific interest due to the resident, a single woman, being a longtime activist in a local NGO, Livaningo, which for many years has argued in favor of the relocation and eventual closure of the landfill.

The interviews followed the interview guide<sup>1</sup> elaborated for the Home Space fieldwork conducted in 2009. The method was semi-structured

---

<sup>1</sup> Home Space research fieldwork. Interview guide for semi-structured interviews

interviews following some main subject areas concerning the interviewee and their plots. Some questions, however, were not necessary to be asked again since they were responded to already in the 2009 interview. This involves questions about the family's origin and when and how they acquired the plot. However some of these issues were still touched upon as the interviews developed during the visits in 2011 and 2012.

The life stories are organised within six headlines each representing an area of interest for the Home Space research:

- The family
- The house
- The plot
- The neighbourhood
- Development and changes
- Aspirations and the future
- Reflections

In this way each Life Story will have a number of interrelated issues, which make it possible to compare and draw connections between different families over time and space. The issues in focus will differ a little from case to case depending on what is relevant in the case of each family.

The Life Stories are written with information given by the informants during the interviews. In the end we have added our reflections to describe the atmosphere as experienced when conducting the interviews and to enrich the understanding of the living conditions in each case. For further investigation follow up visits and interviews with different family members would enhance the understanding of the families' compositions and living conditions.

The Life Stories may as such stand alone as individual stories depicting everyday life in today's peri-urban Maputo and in the end an analysis and conclusion are outlined comparing and cross tabulating all six cases.

For further info please consult: <http://www.homespace.dk>

Maputo 2012-03-30



**Case no. 6**  
Polana Canico A

## Case 6

### The family

Benedito Langa is 57 years old and lives on a plot in Polana Caniço with his family. He has six daughters and three sons with his 47-year-old wife. There are currently 16 people living on the plot: Benedito and his wife, seven of their children, four grandchildren (out of six), two of Benedito's nephews and a daughter in law. His oldest son is 30 years old and is living in the house with his wife and their two children, who are three years old and three months old. Benedito's oldest granddaughter, who is 11 years old, and her sister who is nine years old, are staying with them until their mother manages to build an extra room for them at her house, where she lives with her husband. Two of Benedito's nephews also stay with the family because their father is working in SA (South Africa).

Eight of the children are in school. Benedito assured that it is best for them to keep the children in the same school because it makes it easier to participate in school meetings and events. The family belongs to the evangelist's congregation and practice the Zion religion. They regularly attend church, praying on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays - depending on Benedito's work schedule.

Benedito has been a stock manager in a company –Hidro Moç Ltda - that produces doors, beds, etc. for two years now. When he first came to Maputo in 1970 he worked as a domestic worker until his employer died. It was not easy to get another job and he explained how he had to go around knocking on doors searching for a new job. At some point he eventually managed to get a job at a butcher through a cousin of his who was the wife of the owner. In the beginning of 2012 Benedito started working on a big project for his company in Tete. In the beginning of March he had an accident with his arm and was sent back to Maputo to recover until he becomes fit enough to return to work in Tete. The project is planned to finish around August 2012.

Benedito's oldest son is a mechanic and in the beginning of 2012 he went to SA to take a course for a coal extracting company in Tete. His plan is to return and move to Tete with his family (his wife, who is a hairdresser, and two children who are currently living in the plot). Prior to working for the coal company, he worked in a cement factory in Maputo and did carpenter jobs on the plot. Benedito's youngest daughter lives with her husband in Bairro Liberdade in Maptola. In December 2011 she worked as a hairdresser, but by March 2012 the salon had closed and she is now

working as a maid in the house of the owner of the salon. “At the end of the month they help out with expenses”, Benedito said after describing his children’s professions. He did not mention the wife’s small barraca in front of the house as a source of income. Here she sells local fruits and vegetables according to the season.

They do not ask neighbours or family for help when in need. They coordinate their supplies so they will not be out of food by the end of the week, Benedito explained. The oldest son manages to save up a bit of money. He himself only manages to keep a bit for emergencies, like when the children are sick, the rest he has to use for daily expenses. He told us that to get a loan in the bank it is a requirement that you have a project for which the money is supposed to be invested in. Benedito is, however, part of a micro-credit group (Xitique) and has been so for around two years. In February 2012 it was his time to receive Xitique money and he spent it on repairing the living room furniture and buying plastic chairs for the dining table. Benedito explained that the Xitique group has increased and, therefore, the money received by each member, when it is their turn, has increased – this is one of the reasons for the new furniture. Each group member pays 1100Mtn in a monthly meeting - 100Mtn being for food and drinks during the meeting, and the rest for the microloan.

### **The house**

There are four bedrooms in the house and one living room. The oldest son stays in two of the rooms with his wife and two children (when he is not in South Africa). Behind the main house, in the backyard, there are three small rooms, two of which are roofless. One of the roofless rooms is a modern WC and the other functions as a bathroom where they shower with buckets, but will in the future be the kitchen, Benedito explained. They have water on the plot, which is a relatively new improvement. Credit electricity and charcoal are used for cooking. They buy two sacks of charcoal from neighbours every month, which is an expense of 700Mtn per month.

### **The plot**

The area where the plot is used to be covered by bush and there were only a few houses around. Benedito explained how the civil war forced people to flee the countryside to the cities and in that period (the 1980s) the area got populated.

On the plot they have a shading devise, which is a zinc sheet covering

the space between the main house and one of the rooms in the backyard. Here they stay under the shade on warm days and Benedito encouraged the children to go sit there during the interview.

Benedito told us that the most important aspect of the plot is that he will be able to pass it on to his children and create a future for them. Besides that, the plot is located close to town, which makes it possible to walk when they do not have money for transport.

### **The neighbourhood**

There have been some improvements in the area like street lighting and a garbage removal service. Benedito would like the roads to be improved from sandy roads to real roads because a lot of dust rises when cars pass by. He believes it is the government’s responsibility to act upon and solve these kinds of problems.

The police station is far away and the police very rarely patrol the streets by car. He mentions that it would, however, be good if somebody patrolled the area at night, but it has to be somebody with weapons and a big group of people or else it will not work. Until 8pm the streets are safe since there is a lot of movement. Late at night it can happen that people get robbed and assaulted. The safety aspect of the neighbourhood could be improved, Benedito said.

The barracas operating as bars make a bit of noise at night during the weekends, but it does not bother them too much.

### **Development and changes 2009-2011/12**

In 2009 they were 14 family members on the plot, but since that time one more grandchild has been born.

The room and WC behind the main house (in the backyard) were built in 2011 by the son. To provide space for the building of the rooms in the backyard, the family removed a tree, which was placed in the middle of the yard.

The shelter in the backyard used to be a carpenter workshop in which the son worked, but is today used as an area to cook and relax in the shade. The son only does minor maintenance jobs during the weekends, since he is now employed.

In the beginning of 2012 Benedito got a micro loan via the micro credit group that enabled him to fix his couch, two matching chairs, buy a couple of plastic chairs for the dinning table and a freezer (placed in the living room).

### **Aspirations and the future**

The newly built toilet does not have running water, yet, but it is a future plan, Benedito explained. The roofless room, where they today shower with buckets of water, will be made into a kitchen. Benedito would like to finish the house inside and outside by plastering the walls, putting glass in the windows, fixing the doors, creating a larger shaded area outside and cementing the floor in the backyard. He needs the money to do it though, he said. He would also like to further expand the house but there is no space on the plot, which is another problem.

Benedito explained to us how the cement city is growing. He believes that these projects are both private and government programs. The projects create the possibility that the cement city will expand to their area and that they will be forced to leave their plot. If this should happen, they believe, they will get compensation in the form of money and/or new land. They would prefer to stay on their plot in the future though, and the future plan is to pass the plot to the eldest son, who already lives there with his family.

### **Reflections**

We were sitting in the couch in the living room while the interview in 2011 took place. The couch was old and shabby documented in 2009 interview and was almost falling apart in 2011 as we experienced during the December interview.

By March 2012 Benedito had fixed it, giving it a brand new appearance. His wife, however, was still resting on an esteira most probably due to a life long habit. In 2011 Benedito's wife was also sitting on an esteira on the floor, preparing leaves for cooking. One of the older children was resting next to her, while the others were gathered around us. On a pillow on the floor the youngest grandchild was sleeping. The children were listening to the interview, but were also playing at the same time. At some point one granddaughter started crying and Benedito carefully cleaned her face and placed her on his lap. Afterwards the kids were told to stay in the shade outside where it is fresher. The home environment was seemingly pleasant during both visits.



**Case no. 7**  
Polana Canico A

## Case 7

### The Family

Baltazar Jose Langa is in his forties and lives in the Polana Caniço A neighbourhood (PC). He is a police officer by profession (superintendent) and has been so for around ten years. Recently he completed a course in the Academy of Police Sciences and graduated last year. He lives with his 30 year old wife, Catija Diniz Molessa (the interviewee) and seven other permanent residents. This includes Catija and Baltazar's two sons of nine and two years of age. Baltazar's two grown up sons, that are in their twenties, also stay with them. Besides that, Catija's sister of 13 years, a brother of 21 years and nephew of 22 years live with them. At times more family members come to visit from the provinces, increasing the household residents by two to three persons.

Baltazar brings in the main income and is assisted by a barraca his wife has built in their front yard. The rest of the residents go to school and university. Catija's youngest son is still not in school, her oldest son is in grade 3 and the nephews are in grade 6 and 7. The oldest son gets picked up by a schoolbus in front of their house. When he gets a bit older he will start taking the chapa to school, Catija said. Catija's 21 year old brother is at his last year of university, studying French. The 22 year old nephew is studying agriculture in Boane, approximately one hour transport from Maputo.

Baltazar and Catija met in Beira when Baltazar left his home province of Maputo to work in her home province of Beira. They returned to Maputo together in 2003 where they got married the same year in a traditional ceremony (lobolo). The first three years upon their arrival they lived in a house in Magude, while they were waiting for the current house in PC to be finished. They had to take a bank loan to complete it, but by 2006 they had moved into their current house. Catija said they have paid off the loan and even manage to save some money in the bank. They now have two residences. The one in Magude which is used as a holiday house and the one in PC which is used as their permanent residence.

Catija is a Catholic and her church is São António da Malhangalene. She is active in the nucleus church group where they visit the homes of other members and pray. She never turns to the church if she has a serious problem though. She will instead turn to the family for help. She hesitated, but said that neighbours might be a possibility too. They use the Chefe

do Quarteirão to document their residency e.g. when they need a loan in the bank.

### **The house**

The houses on the plot are built with cement blocks and are plastered and painted. The same goes for the wall around the house. The main house has three bedrooms, one bathroom with a modern WC with running water, one kitchen and one living room. The house has two verandas, one on the front and one at the back. The dependencia behind the main house has three bedrooms, a kitchen and a bathroom with a modern WC. They have had running water on the plot for around five years, although it only runs in the morning. The lack of water in the afternoon forces them to use buckets to shower at that time of day and at night. Next to the dependencia is a garage and built into the wall in front of the house is a barraca facing the street. The backyard is green with bushes and has a little pathway made of tiles.

The house has electricity, although Catija said that they consider it a financial burden. They are, therefore, opting to use all three means of energy available i.e. coal, gas and electricity, for different occasions as to minimize this burden. Gas is e.g. used early in the morning before they have lit the coal. They buy the gas by Galp petrol station at Praça da OMM, which is not too distant from their house. The charcoal is bought in sacks in Magude or Chiqualaquala, as it is much cheaper than in town. Sometimes, however, they buy it at a neighbour's house.

### **The plot**

Catija said that she feels secure about her family's right to the plot. Her husband's father got access to the land around the 1970s, when there was only bush. The father settled there and later acquired documents for the plot. Recently through the Chefe do Quarteirão they acquired ownership documents to the plot. They, however, had an incident where neighbours took some of their land, Catija claimed. They informed the Chefe do Quarteirão in order to reclaim the lost piece of land, but nothing was done about it until the present day.

When asked about the future of the plot Catija said there have been rumors that the government wants to build new apartment buildings in the area, however, she believes this will not happen any time soon because the government "does not have money". However, if it should happen they will have "no voice" in the matter, according to Catija, but shall certainly be

compensated and might then move to their house in Magude. During the interview it also emerged that they have a plot in Boane where they have cattle. However, Catija would rather stay where she is now, she said. She likes it in Polana Caniço with her social connections, friends and the plot, which is large enough to accommodate a family of nine. Besides that she likes that the plot is located close to the beach and city.

### **The neighbourhood**

When asked about eventual problems in the neighbourhood or the plot, the interviewee said she could not come up with anything. She thought a lot about this question until she said that "people say that PC is very dangerous and is full of thieves, but that is not true". The lower part of PC (she pointed towards the sea) is more dangerous and, furthermore, has serious drainage and hence erosion problems when it rains.

Another minor problem in the neighborhood is when people come from South Africa for New Years and Christmas and there can be loud music from their cars or the barracas they are frequenting, but she added that this is only during the festive season (December-January). She seems to be satisfied with the service provision in the area. They have a container to dump garbage and tchovas to pick it up, and they have schools and hospitals nearby.

### **Development and changes 2009-2011/12**

Since the 2009 interview they have improved their house and have (re-) tiled the floor in the living room. The rooms behind the main house (in the dependencias) have been extended and finished to a degree, so they are now inhabitable. They also built a shower and paved the path between the main house and the dependencia. The barraca located in front of the house on the wall is also new and was built a year ago. She mentioned that they have had improvements in water and electricity, but happened many years ago.

### **Aspirations and the future**

Personally, Catija aspires to get a daughter. Materially wise she said her house is almost complete and that just little things, like finishing the painting and adding a water tank, still need to be done. She mentioned that she constantly has to fix small things in and on the house, like the chairs, tables and repainting the walls due to all the young children living there.

Concerning general aspirations in the neighbourhood, she hopes that the main road will be improved, but added that they have to wait for the Secretario do Bairro for that to happen. All they can do is wait for the projects to be realised, she said. Concerning the future of their plot, she said she would prefer to stay at their plot in PC than to move to their other plot or get resettled.

### **Reflections**

Both interviews were conducted in the living room. Here are shelves full of old electronic equipment: TV, dvd devices and stereos are like exhibited as only half of them actually work. On the walls are photos of the husband when he graduated from the police school and one of him in his uniform. Catija appeared calm when talking about the demolishing of houses in her area and her confidence of being compensated might be due to the fact that her husband is a member of the state.

Several things point to the family having a surplus economy and a good social status e.g. they have two cars (even though one is not working) and sometimes take trips to the beach, which is a normal Sunday afternoon activity in Maputo, more so if you have your own transport. They have a dependencia, two bathrooms and a tiled pathway. Besides that, the plot is quite green and full of bushes and small trees, which is quite unusual in the unplanned bairros in Maputo. This might both be a sign of having the economic capacity (buying and nursing the trees) and a motivation to keep a nice garden.



**Case no. 10**  
Polana Canico A

## Case 10

### The family

Elias is a 52-year-old man, who came to Maputo when it was still called Lourenço Marques. He now works as a guard in the downtown area of Maputo. Over the last two years Elias and his wife have been staying at their plot in Zimpeto. The plot in focus in this study and which was part of a survey back in 2000 is located in PC (Polana Caniço). Elias is still the head of the family and the owner of the land in PC. On his way from work he often stops by the house in PC.

This plot now houses relatives and tenants. Elias' oldest son Sergio (33 years) his wife and their child are staying on the plot. The child does also often stay at his maternal grandparent's house. A niece (Irene), her husband and two children (five and 11 years old) also stay on the plot in PC. Irene's husband, however, works in South Africa. Besides them, a family consisting of a father, mother and child (around 3 years old) have been renting two rooms on the plot for around two years now. Only one child, one of the cousin's daughters, is old enough to be in school.

In 2011 Sergio did small occasional jobs in the neighbourhood, but since March 2012 he is working downtown, Maputo. He explained how it takes him around an hour to get to work with the chapa everyday.

When in need for some small help they go to the neighbours and as they responded when asked: "it's normal to ask neighbours for things you need in the kitchen, e.g. sugar". They never ask anybody for more substantial things like money.

### The house

There are two cement block houses on the plot. The old house has four rooms with two entrances on each side of the house. Sergio, his wife and their child stay in two of the rooms; while the tenants occupy the other two rooms. The newly built cement block house has three rooms and two entrances. Elias' niece is staying there with her husband and two children.

Water is bought at a neighbour's house for 1Mtn per 20 litres and stored in bidons. Sometimes there is not water for two or three days. They use pre-paid electricity, for lighting the house, which they buy at a gas station by the fish market near the beach. They buy food at a large informal market - Xiquelene. Charcoal is bought by the Carlos Cardoso road, as the selling stalls were moved to here because of the re-construction of the

Julius Nyerere road.

### The plot

Elias has been living on the plot since 1990. The plot is fenced with thorn bushes. What the son likes the most about the location of their plot is the short distance to town. This is the only positive thing he has to say about their plot.

They have a small caniço structure on the plot which functions as a church – a very simple building with no door or windows. The church belongs to the Deus Apostole de Cristo congregation and both Elias and his wife are pastors and preach in the church on Sundays. People in the area use the church for reasons of convenience as the main church, is located in Maxaquene D, which is quite a distance by foot, and hence the caniço church was built to solve the transport problem for people in the neighbourhood.

### The neighbourhood

The son seems quite upset with the situation in the neighbourhood. He clearly stated that he did not find any positive things about the neighbourhood. One of the issues that bother them most is the small roads, or rather paths, in their area with no lighting where security is an issue. They feel safer at night on the roads with street lights. The narrow roads also make it impossible for cars to enter e.g. to facilitate a funeral. There is no police patrolling in the area except sometimes on the big roads like the nearby Julius Nyerere.

The son explains that he finds the garbage a big problem in the area. His own family throws garbage in a large pit that was created by erosion during the floods of 2000 (which completely destroyed part of the Julius Nyerere road and is only being rebuilt now). They have consulted the Secretario do Bairro about the garbage problem and the possibilities of getting a container.

A big improvement in the neighbourhood is the implementation of electricity, which has reduced assaults at night. The son also expressed his opinion that it is the government's responsibility to ensure that they receive proper housing and work. He mentioned how they have no running water on the plot, even though more and more Bairros are getting water connections. When asked what more the inhabitants in the Bairro could do to solve problems in the area, both Elias and the son replied that there

is nothing they can do, because they are probably leaving the neighbourhood due to the ongoing government programs rebuilding the Julius Nyerere road.

They know the Chefe do Quarterão and frequently ask him for documents/declarations e.g. when they are applying for a job and the Chefe do Quarterão then writes a declaration documenting that the person is who he claims to be and resides in the specific area.

### Development and changes 2009-2011/12

At the time of the 2009 interview Elias was the only one supporting the family financially, whereas today the son is employed.

Since 2009 Elias, the head of the family and his wife have left the house in PC and are now living at another plot in Zimpeto where they have built a house. Here they have a relatively big plot, which could be used for chicken farming, Elias explained.

At the plot in PC they have built a simple reed structured church, but apart from this they have not, according to themselves, done any improvements on the plot over the last 10 years. The niece and her husband, however, have managed to tear down a caniço house that was there in 2009 and built a new house of cement blocks. Another change is that the family started renting out part of their house since Elias and his wife moved out where a family is staying.

Over the recent years they have started to invest in the plot in Zimpeto instead of the plot in PC since they are convinced that they will be removed from their PC plot within the next couple of years.

In 2009 Elias expressed concern about their housing situation because the area is not planned and they have no documentation to the plot. He continued by saying that he wished the government would plan the area. In the 2011 interview he said that the area will, at some point in the future, be used by the government in a plan which does not involve the people who live there now. These people will be resettled or compensated, Elias believes. However until the present day they do not in reality know what will happen as they have not been formerly informed by the government. As in 2009, they still do not have documentation to the land.

### Aspirations and the future

They are aware of why the government does not invest in their area. They believe that the government is planning projects in the area, which will lead to a resettlement of the inhabitants and/or some compensation. Some inhabitants nearby have already been bought out and the houses demolished, they explained. When returning in March 2012 two to three rows of houses next to the Julius Nyerere road had been demolished because of the re-building of the road. The road is now just a few plots from their home.

The issue with land insecurity is evidently worrying Elias as he formulates directly: "We are just waiting for a project to get implemented". They expect a project to be presented anytime – maybe next year. This is also the reason why they do not want to invest on improvements for their plot or house in PC. On the other hand, they are planning to invest in chicken farming on the Zimpeto plot.

They explain how the government will take the land if they need it and they will not have any influence on where to get relocated. Only in the case of compensation will the family be able to buy new land and only if the compensation is large enough will they be able to buy new land eventually close to town- like where they live now in PC.

### Reflections

The interview was conducted in the caniço church with Elias and his son Sergio. The woman and children of the family were inside the houses or nearby in the neighbourhood playing. The female tenant was sitting with her daughter on an esteira in the shadow of the houses. Sergio's wife was fixing her hair in front of a mirror.

Elias seems to be at the plot in PC relatively often, but when asked about how many people live in the house, he had to go and ask the other family members. Sergio pointed out that he was probably better at answering questions about the neighbourhood's condition since he lives there and his father does not.

Elias seems to have acknowledged that the future is not in their hands anymore and has tried to get ahead of the demolishing of their house in PC by moving to Zimpeto. The son, who still lives in PC however seems very frustrated about the situation and expresses how he feels being put aside by the government.

Elias is active and preparing himself for the future. After the interview Elias asks us if we know anyone working with or supporting chicken farming as he is searching for some help to start up his farm in Zimpeto.



**Case no. 57**  
Polana Canico A

## Case 57

### The family

Jacob Kiwi is 51 years old and lives in polygamy with his two wives. He stays with both of them, his 13 children and two grandchildren on a plot in PC (Polana Caniço). Two of Jacob's brother's daughters are also living with them. The family members count 19 people who all live and sleep on the plot. This also includes Jacob's mother, who is old (they do not know how old) and cannot walk anymore. They carry her outside her room daily to rest on an *esteira* in the shade.

Jacob's first wife is Elisa who is 38 years old and together they have six children. They have four sons of seven, nine, 17 and 19 years of age; and two daughters who are 11 and 14 years old. With his second wife Paulina, who is 39 years old, Jacob has three daughters of 17, 20 and 22 years of age. Besides these, Jacob has three other daughters who are 22, 25 and 27 years old. One of them (25 years old) has a daughter who is 8 years old. Jacob's two nieces are 22 and 26 years old, the oldest has a four-year-old daughter. They all stay at the plot in PC.

The husband, Jacob, works as a driver and is not there when we are conducting the interview. Only one of the wives is there: Elisa. The other one, Paulina, is at the *machamba* in Boane. She stays there for a week and switches with the other wife every week. The *machamba* is only for personal consumption. They told us that the land in Boane is big, and they grow peanuts, beans, maize, and pumpkin, and make use of the leaves of these products for cooking. The harvest depends on the rain. They got the land through somebody they know, but they do not remember well what year it was. They take the *chapa* fourth and back to Boane and carry the vegetables home from the *machamba* on their heads.

The only income in the family is the husband's wage, and since the family is very big they do not manage to save any money. The money is spent on daily expenses and sometimes they do not even have enough. They cannot get help from neighbours because, as the daughter says: "The neighbours do not have anything either. It is hard". They think the husband's wage is rather low and they say that it does not cover their expenses at all: "It is not enough for nothing", as they formulated. They believe that the government should support them in having proper housing.

They belong to the Presbeterian Church (Swiss Mission) and go to church three times a week (Tuesday, Thursday, Sunday). Paulina also some-

times goes to sing on Saturdays when their children have bible lessons. The church is placed in Maxaquene and they walk to get there.

### The house

The family sleeps in the three houses on the plot. In the main house there are three bedrooms and a living room. The two wives, Elisa and Paulina, and one of Paulina's daughters have a room each in the house. Some of the children sleep in the living room while the mother of Jacob sleeps in the second house with the rest of the children; here they sleep on *esteiras* on the floor. The oldest son has his own room in the third house, which has a room and the only bathroom on the plot. The room used to function as a kitchen, until the son wanted his own space. Now they cook outside in the space between the two bigger houses on the plot. When there are visitors, they get to sleep in the son's room next to the bathroom.

They use electricity to watch TV and for lights, but they cook on charcoal because electricity is too expensive, as the wife, Elisa, said, "Nobody cooks with electricity, it is too expensive". They cook on charcoal, which the husband buys when he is out of town. He usually travels to the north of the country and returns with sacks of charcoal (the charcoal is cheaper in the north). They have running water on the plot for two hours daily. In these hours they fill up a big water tank outside the house where they store the water. They spend 500-700mtn monthly on water. They have a modern WC, but no running water in it.

### The plot

The family raises a small number of chickens and ducks. These animals were for eating at the forthcoming Christmas celebrations, they told us. They only get meat occasionally and most commonly during festive times e.g. Christmas and new years. And during the December interview Elisa mentioned that they were still waiting for real meat i.e. cow or goat for Christmas and New Years.

They bought the land from the former owner who was moving to Gaza. They feel secure about their land because they have been there for so long. Two of the grown up daughters, one of them now a mother herself, was born on there. "It is ours", they simply said, even though they have no papers on the land. When it rains heavily the plot gets flooded and they dig ditches allowing the water to flow to the road. What they like the most about their plot is the house and the short distance to the city.

### The neighbourhood

In referring to the neighbourhood and improvements a little discussion developed. They do not like anything in particular about the *bairro*: "We have to like it, because it is what we have", they explained. First they stay quiet when asked what they dislike about their neighbourhood, but then responded: "If there is something we do not like – what can we do about it?" Afterwards, they complained about crime like rapes and also that their plot is small.

The same thing happened when asked what improvements they would like to see in their neighbourhood. "We do not know" was the prompt answer, but then one of the daughters suggested street lights and the others immediately agreed. When asked what they can do to improve things one daughter stated that the state should do it. The other daughter asked her: "But when the state does not do anything, shall we just not do anything either? And stay like this" – she leaned back and crossed her arms. The first daughter replied: "But we cannot do anything." In the end they agreed that they could contribute to buy material or write a letter to the *Secretario do Bairro*. Their main concern is getting food on the table everyday, as they explained during the visit.

### Development and changes 2009-2011/12

In 2009 they lived 17 people on the plot whereas in 2011 they said that there are 19 family members in the household. By March 2012 they told us names and ages of 21 family members living on the plot. One of the grown up daughters and her child are two additional persons who have moved in with the family since 2009. The grown up daughter used to live with the family of the father of her child, but told us that it did not work out, which led her moving back to her fathers' place.

They use to have a car, which was used to transport the vegetables from their *machamba* to their home. However, the car was damaged and they did not have money to fix it, so now they have to go by *chapa* and carry the vegetables on their heads. An improvement they managed since 2009 was to paint the main house (light yellow).

### Aspirations and the future

They think the houses are small for the large family and they would like to build a small house where the car garage used to be. There is space, but no money to build. When asked how it would be possible to build an extra

house they say: “But how? (laughing). First we need something to eat and that is a problem in itself”. They hope for the plot to stay in the family for the next generations.

### Reflections

There were a lot of children and especially young woman at the plot on the day of the interview. Chicken were running freely around and making noise. The bigger boys were playing checkers, while the smaller ones simply played around. The atmosphere in the family seems pleasant and everybody who wants to speak gets a chance. After the interview the team was served pineapple in the shade of the car garage, while the smaller kids were lying on an *esteira* eating mangos.

The fact that the entire household manages to survive only on Jacob's salary and the vegetables from their *machamba* shows that everyday is a question of survival. Their lack of action and their answers show a limited willingness or confidence to act upon their living conditions. When they talked about how to improve the neighbourhood they seemed very passive and gave the impression that they cannot do anything. At some point they give an unrealistic idea about helping out by buying material, which will most likely never happen since they do not even have money enough for themselves.



**Case no. 63**  
Maxaquene C

## Case 63

### The family

Adelto is 29 years old and has a university degree in Physics from the Pedagogic University, from which he graduated in 2009. He also did a course in electronics at the Industrial Institute. He lives on a plot in Maxaquene with his father (the head of the household) of 64 years of age, his sister of 31 years of age and his brother who is 27 years old.

Adelto is unemployed, but gives lessons to students in need of brushing up, which provides him with a small income; but the lessons are temporary, which means he gives lessons a few times a week and sometimes none. However, during the holidays he gives none. Adelto is very active in his church, which is called Assembleia de Deus (God's Assembly) and has a business card with his name, phone number and the schedule for public activities in the church. He told us that he is taking a course at the church where he learns how to preach the bible and explained how "the church is a part of me".

The sister sells take-away soft drinks and beers from the house. She previously sold second hand clothes on their plot, but stopped because she always ended up having clothes of poor quality that she could only sell for five to ten meticaís. This resulted in her not having money to buy new clothes to continue the business. In 2012 she went back to school to finish her studies and is now doing grade 11. The father is a carpenter and does occasional jobs for clients i.e. a door, a window or some furniture - all produced on the plot. But jobs are few. The brother does occasional jobs, mostly fixing radios in a workshop close by their house.

The sister and Adelto both manage to save up a bit of money. The sister is part of a Xitique savings group. Adelto has a bank account, which he had to open in 2010 when he went to Tete for 3-4 months to work as an electro mechanic. His contract was not renewed, so he was forced to return to Maputo. None of the family members have any debts. According to Adelto people, mostly neighbours, sometimes borrow small money from the sister.

### The house

They live in a house built with cement blocks with three bedrooms, one living room and a kitchen. Adelto shares a room with his brother, while the sister and father each have a room.

They use wood, which is left over from the carpenter workshop to cook and heat water for showers. They also use charcoal which they buy at a neighbour's house or at the market. Using charcoal for cooking is cheaper than using electricity, Adelto explained. They have an electric stove but it is only used for boiling water for tea. The pre-paid electricity is bought at the gas station by Praça da OMM, which is not too distant.

### **The plot**

A project by ADM (Aguas De Moçambique) made it possible to get water directly on their plot. The project was supporting the residents and hence cutting the normal cost of getting a connected pipe and a meter. They paid 2500 Mtn to get a water connection on the plot in this program. However water does not run all the time; there might be water for an hour or two every day, but sometimes there is no water at all. At the time of the 2011 interview there had not been water for three days. When this happens they store water in jerry cans.

The garbage is burned on site, left in a container or the tchovas come and pick it up. If the garbage trucks stop they can sometimes throw the garbage directly on the truck, but normally they go to the containers. However the garbage trucks do not have a time schedule and the container is far and hence they often burn the waste on site.

When they get sick they go to the nearest hospital. Before they would sometimes use some herbs they had in their garden. These were, however, removed when they recently started building a wall around the plot. The father often buys some Chinese plants that he takes for muscle pains and back pains.

Adelto is pleased that his home is close to the cement city, since everything is placed in the city and if he does not have money for transport he can get there by foot.

### **The neighbourhood**

Adelto has good relationships in the area, which he considers one of the good things about the neighbourhood.

He explained that the government has made some improvements in the area. They got two street lighting posts outside their house and a water tap on the plot. The improved lighting has reduced robberies, he said.

At night cars pass by and stop at a barraca nearby where they play loud music, this bothers the family and they have considered going to the police station with the issue, but have not done anything yet. To maintain order and security in the neighbourhood the inhabitants tried doing some private patrols, but stopped because some of the patrollers were thieves themselves, as Adelto formulated it.

We asked what is needed to progress with development in the neighbourhood and Adelto told us that there are some meetings at times, but he does not take part in them. He believes that the Chefe do Quarteirão is aware of the problems in the area and it is the Chefe do Quarteirão's responsibility to bring about the necessary changes. "The residents cannot do anything. It is hard", he said.

### **Development and changes 2009-2011/12**

The sister is no longer selling second hand clothes since business was bad, so she sells soft drinks and beers from the house and wants to open up a proper barraca. She also started studying again at night.

Since 2009 they repaired a leaking zinc roof on their house. They raised a wall of the house two blocks higher to avoid stagnant water on the roof that eventually entered the rooms. Furthermore, they had to fix the roof after an electricity pole fell down when a drunken neighbour hit it with his car. The plot used to be fenced with a thorn bush, but at the time of the 2011 interview the construction of a cement wall had been going on for two weeks and was almost done.

### **Aspirations and the future**

They are planning to get a steel gate for the entrance in the cement wall, but before they manage the father might build a simple wood gate in order to close off the plot. They also want to build a proper bathroom with a flush toilet and finally build a barraca where the sister can sell her beer and soft drinks. They further hope to be able to plaster the house.

### **Reflections**

We were sitting in the shade of the big tree on the plot conducting the interview while the father was doing some carpenter work on his workshop on the plot. After we had talked to Adelto we asked if we could talk a bit with his sister, who was doing domestic work in the house. He told us that the sister would prefer not to talk to us.

At the end of the interview we stayed in the house, since it was raining heavily outside, and here Adelto showed his ability for preaching. He told us a story about God and continued by quoting extensively from the bible. He continued like this for 30 minutes without pausing and we got invited to visit his church. His dedication to the church is obvious very strong and this seems to be a big part of his life, which he also said.



**Case no. 72**  
Hulene B

## Case 72

### The family

Christilina is a 55-year-old woman, who lives alone in the bairro of Hulene B. She has never been married and has no children. From 1981 to 1991 she lived in Polana Cimento at a pension run by nuns, which no longer exists. It was not required to be a part of the church to rent a room there, she explained. By 1991 she was living with her sister in the same area, before moving to where she currently lives. Christilina has been an activist and project coordinator for many years in a Mozambican environmental NGO called Livaningo. She has for many years worked for improvements in her neighbourhood such as getting street lamps on her road, stopping a company from leaking waste water on her street and trying to find a solution for the landfill. These activities were all part of her engagement with Livaningo. She has especially spent much energy in the case of the landfill, which is located right next to her plot. A part from her activism she has a children's dance group that performs in events and demonstrations. Through her activism and her dancing group she has become friends with the Secretario do Bairro. Friendships like these help her getting documents done faster, she told us.

Christilina was born in the province of Gaza and has four siblings; two sisters and two brothers. She explained how her mother was not the type of woman who would sit around and do nothing and Christilina was raised in this spirit. She said she likes to work hard and does not ask for many favours. If she does need a favour, however, she would rather ask close friends instead of family and has, according to herself, never asked family for help.

Recently Christilina borrowed money from a local businessman to be able to open up a little barraca in the neighbourhood. However, soon after, she suffered a break-in both in the barraca and her house, which left her with no products in the barraca and in debt to the businessman.

### The house

The plot is fenced with low thorn bushes and is quite big and open with many big trees. The house is placed in the back with a latrine and bath facility behind it. The house consists of two rooms with a door in between them. As an expansion of the house walls for three more rooms have been built, but these have yet to be finished. Outside the house blocks are stored for further construction work.

A room in the house functions as bedroom, while the other serve as a living room and kitchen, although most cooking takes place outside. The small living room is packed with things, which are however, very well organized. Around the walls things like tables and a stove (not functioning) are placed, with capulanas and tablecloths covering them. Teddy bears and other small items are carefully placed as an exhibition on the capulanas. The walls are covered by amateur paintings and some of Christilina's own artwork. Christilina used to produce art from recycled materials and some of these products are placed around the room.

Christilina told us how the house is very important to her since it is her own home. It gives her respect as a citizen and gives her a sense of freedom, she explained. She is not dependent on others and does not need to ask for favours, which she repeated several times during the interview.

Normally she uses gas for cooking, but when there is not any available or she has no money she uses charcoal. She buys most of her daily products at neighbours' houses, since the nearest market is in Lualaba, which is quite far. The garbage is left outside behind the house or if the day is calm with little wind she burns it.

### **The plot**

Christilina's plot is placed on a corner and a few meters from the plot boundary is the municipal landfill, in fact the only landfill in the greater Maputo area.

Prior to move onto the plot in Hulene B she lived with her sister and her husband, and then she moved out to get some more privacy. She does not remember too well when she got the plot, but it was around 1994. The plot was acquired from another family and used to be for small-scale farming. She has no documents proving ownership of the plot and believes that the only problem that could occur is if the former owner dies and his relatives claim the plot. This would, however, be very unlikely to happen since all the neighbours' required their land the same way, she explained. She feels secure on her right to the land due to the fact that she has been living there for so many years. If you have been living on some land for more than five years you are entitled to it by law, she explained. She admitted, however, that it would be a good idea to get papers on the plot.

Christilina has experienced small problems with the neighbours e.g. their

goats and chickens enter her plot at times. She used to grow her own vegetables, which reduced her expenses on food, but the neighbour's goats entered the plot and ate them. She tried to solve the issue with the neighbours, but they did not want to cooperate on that matter. As she does not like to argue too much with neighbours and generally appreciates the friendships she has in the neighbourhood, she did not pursue the matter any further.

### **The neighbourhood**

The landfill is a big problem in the neighbourhood and causes a lot of health issues for the population living nearby, putting them all in danger. Christilina talked a lot about the landfill, the problems related to it and how they have been fighting for its removal for many years. The smoke from the landfill, the flies and smell reach her house all the time and when the wind is in her direction it becomes unbearable at times. She explained how the smoke is very toxic because all types of material (incl. industrial and medical waste) are burned on the landfill; hence there is a lot of tuberculosis in the area, which Christilina believes is caused by the smoke. Besides this, the landfill also works as an escape route for thieves who hide in it after assaulting people.

There was a problem on her street with a company located next to the landfill that used to let waste water run down the street, but after the residents took action, with help from Livaningo, the problem was solved.

Public transport stops on the main road, two minutes from her house, and she mentioned it as one of the privileges of the plot location. The police mostly patrol during the festive season (December/January) or when there is a criminal case in the area, Christilina said. There used to be community patrols by the residents where whistles were distributed, but it did not last long. The government made some infrastructure improvements in the neighbourhood like electric poles for street lights, but this was only after the inhabitants campaigned for it through Livaningo. The street lighting has reduced robberies and assaults in the area.

### **Developments and changes 2009-2011/12**

When in the process of expanding the house Christilina got robbed, and had to stop the construction due to money shortage. Shortly after she managed to put burglar bars on her front door, but has not continued working on the rest of the house. This is also in part due to an operation Christilina had in the beginning of 2012. At the Central Hospital in Maputo

Christilina had her uterus removed and after getting home she experienced some complications and was forced to stay in bed, unable to work, for almost two months. She had friends who came to take care of her and cook her food. When visiting Christilina in March 2012 a girl friend was staying with her for a couple of days, just to help out.

Christilina believes that it is the government's duty to help in terms of housing and living conditions. She compared the situation of the landfill with a father's duty to help his child when the child is obviously sick i.e. the residents are the children and the landfill the sickness.

### **Aspirations and the future**

Finishing the house is a big priority for Christilina. She would also like to fence the plot with a wall of cement blocks; this would increase security as well as prevent the neighbours' animals from entering. She is considering building a dependencia to rent out. Selling the plot would only be relevant if she had another plot where she could stay. In the future she might leave the plot and house to her nephews since she has no children of her own.

### **Reflections**

Christilina is a proud woman with the courage and confidence to fight for changes. She does not accept things as they are, and does her share to introduce changes and improvements in the living conditions in the neighbourhood e.g. by being active in the NGO Livaningo. Christilina does not have a family of her own and is living alone, something quite unusual in Mozambique.



## Conclusion

In the following conclusion there will be a short summary of each case, followed by a comparison between the 2011/12 data and the 2009 data. In the end an outline of the connections between these set of data are elaborated. Finally the document will reflect on impressions and experiences when visiting the households in two turns. It is the ambition of these reflections to verify to which extent there is remarkable or no changes to observe within the different areas of interest as defined by the Home Space research.

In one case (6) the head of household is still employed in the company where he has been for many years. His oldest son is now employed full time and has a steady income- before he used to do carpentry jobs in his small workshop on the plot. There has been improvement in the family's economy because more family members are working now and bringing income to the house. Since 2009 they have further managed to build a new WC and an additional small bedroom in the backyard, as well as repairing their living room furniture. Also one more grandchild has been born and lives on the plot with the parents.

In a case (7) of a civil servant (a police officer), the family has succeeded in finalizing the dependencia in the backyard and building a barraca in front of the plot, which faces the street as an integrated part of the perimeter wall. The barraca is operating with the help of the wife's grown up brother and nephew. The informant is aware of rumours of urbanization programmes in the area, which will eventually lead to resettlement, but still feels secure about her plot, as she believes relocation is unlikely to happen any time soon. However she acknowledged that if it were to happen, she would have no influence on the matter, but would still get appropriate compensation and/or housing.

In another case (10) the head of household and his wife have left the house in Polana Caniço (PC) and moved into a house they have recently built in Zimpeto. However, he is still the head of household and comes on a regular basis to the plot in PC when returning from work in central Maputo. The son lives on the PC plot with his wife and child, a cousin and her family and a family of three as tenants.

Some improvements have been introduced since 2009 e.g. a former caniço house has been demolished and they have built a house of cement blocks. Furthermore, they have built a small church of caniço and where both head of household and his wife give services on Sundays.

The son feels threatened by the fact that several houses in the neighbourhood have already been demolished. According to the informants, it is unclear what will happen to their land but they are quite certain they shall be compensated or receive land for house building somewhere else if they are forced to leave.

In the case (57) of a family living in polygamy the household has been increased with two more family members, a daughter and her son of three years of age. The family car has broken down and the women are now forced to take a chapa and carry their machamba produce to the house. The grandmother is now unable to walk and is carried out to the courtyard everyday. The only improvement since 2009 is that they managed to paint the house. They express difficulties in getting proper food for the large family everyday. The household relies on only has one income, which is from the husband's job as a driver.

In this case (63) the interviewee managed to get a university degree, albeit of little use as he still is unemployed. He brings in some income to the household when teaching individual students in need for brush up assistance. The family managed to build a new cement wall around the plot and have aspirations for building a barraca on the plot facing the street and hence the new wall is already prepared for this. It is the intention that the sister will manage the barraca selling basically drinks. Finally, they have benefitted from a social program by ADM, which provides them with piped water on their plot. The interviewee is very active in his church, where he has taken a course on how to preach the bible.

In one case (72) a woman is still living alone and has suffered two burglaries, one in her house and one in her barraca (located in her neighbourhood). She has managed to improve the security of her house by installing a metal door. The woman is in debt to a local businessman from whom she borrowed money to start her barraca quite recently, which however ended up getting burglarised. She is still active in a local NGO and runs her own dancing group with some local children. The landfill next to her house continues as a health threat.

Throughout the various interviews many interviewees seemed to think certain details of their lives and family relations were unimportant and gave, occasionally, tailor made answers in their endeavours to meet our expectations, rather than precisely responding to the issues pointed to. There was often a tendency of not knowing exactly how old each family member was, and in certain cases family members would address others

as their parents i.e. "mom" or "dad", when in reality they were their uncles or aunts. Despite these uncertainties the responses are considered as precise answers as possible, even though family categories in Mozambique are very complex and can be difficult to systematize and relate to western family patterns.

Six cases points to a number of important development issues. Several of the households have, over a relative short period of time (since 2009), succeeded in improving their living conditions, some to a greater extent than others. This includes extending their house, arranging new job opportunities, like opening a barraca, or managing to get a steady job or doing small occasional jobs. However, most are still relatively poor and there are no signs of major economic changes within the surveyed households.

The lack of employment opportunities continues to be a major issue. Many of the households had family members busy in informal businesses, like operating a barraca or engaged occasionally in jobs, often on a day-to-day basis, and quite often in the building sector. The young generation is obviously in a very difficult situation and seemingly frustrated over the poor performance on part of the government to facilitate and create job opportunities. Disappointment with the government performance was often further expressed in terms of housing. Quite a few of the interviewees gave the impression that influence on employment and housing were only in the hands of the government and hence beyond their individual influence. However, investment in house building and minor house improvements was obviously still a priority to many. Many invest considerable time in religious institutions, going to church three times a week, preaching and/or are active in small church groups.

In the case of the households living in Polana Caniço there appears to be consensus among the respondents that changes are underway, as many mentioned nearby houses getting demolished and the inhabitants being compensated or relocated somewhere outside the city. Some expressed some certainty that this would eventually also happen to their homes sometime in the future. It became quite clear during interviews that most residents are not involved in the process and have only become aware of the matter via rumours. No one expressed a desire to influence the situation and the only indication of some kind of involvement was that some were pointing to the Secretario de Bairro as their local representative in such matters. As such, all considered the issue of eventual relocation beyond their control and influence. Certain passivity among the interviewees was observed, when touching upon this obviously delicate and important issue.

## Glossary

Bairro: neighbourhood/district

Barraca: selling stall

Bidons: jerry can for water storage often old oil or other containers.

Caniço: reed

Capulanas: printed fabric worn by Mozambican woman

Chapa: minibus

Chefe do Quarteirão: block chief, the lowest tier in the political and administrative structure in the Municipality of Maputo

Dependencia: a building at the back of the plot often with small rooms side by side

Empregada: maid

Esteira: mat made of reed

Lobolo: bride price

Machamba: agricultural field

Secretario do Bairro: Neighbourhood Secretary. The neighbourhood responsible for residency permits and like maiden local affairs. However legally with limited formal influence.

Tchovas: carts pushed by hand. Very common mode of transporting a variety of goods in the bairros as the tchova can enter the many narrow pats and alleys

