

**Operation of the Market Study
Land Access in Urban Areas
The Case of Maputo**

prepared for Urban LandMark by

José Alberto Raimundo and Inês Macamo Raimundo

*Universidade Pedagógica, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais
Departamento de Antropologia e Sociologia
Maputo, Moçambique*

February 2012



Urban LandMark

Acknowledgments

The research comprised in this report was funded by the Urban Land Markets Programme of Southern Africa (Urban LandMark). We are particularly grateful to the Programme Director of Urban LandMark, Dr Mark Napier, and to the project initiators and managers, Caroline Wanjiku Kihato and Lauren Royston.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the Municipality of Maputo in Mozambique, particularly the DCU as well as the DINAGECA officials, who gladly gave us useful information related to land processes. This study would not have been possible without the collaboration of the local administrative structures such as the ward secretaries, the heads of the *quarteirões* and the heads of the housing blocks (ten households). We would like to make special mention of the ward secretary of Luis Cabral, Mr Manhique¹, and the Secretary of the FRELIMO party, Mr. Buque. We also extend our thanks to Mr Nuvunga from Hulene B ward as well as Ms Rosa, the head of *quarteirão* 1.

This study would not have been possible without the willing participation of the people of these wards, thus a special thanks is extended to our 567 respondents.

Finally, we would like to extend our gratitude to the university students, namely Heldemira, Grácio, Alcido, Etelvina, Arlene, Élcio, José, Daniel, Sebastião, Felizarda, Cristiano, Nelsa and Justina, who took on the role of interviewers. Many thanks too to our data typists: Regiane, Nelson, Yarin, Nilza, Leonardo, Adelta, Raimundo, Valoi and Filipe.

¹ On submission of this report, we were informed that Mr Manhique had passed away. We therefore dedicate this report to him. May his soul rest in peace.

² A person who is in charge of 25 households.

³ A person who is in charge of 10 households.

Contents

Acknowledgments	2
1. Introduction.....	10
2. Research Aims, Methods and Study Area	12
2.1 Aims.....	12
2.2. Methods and phases of the study	12
2.3. Methodology.....	13
2.4 The study area: the city of Maputo	19
2.4.1 Population distribution throughout the wards	23
2.5. Description of the fieldwork	24
2.5.1 The survey	24
2.5.2 Procedures for the pilot survey.....	25
2.5.3 The sampling	25
2.5.4 Distribution of respondents	25
2.5.5 Challenges and experiences.....	26
3. Land Policy and Land Legislation in Mozambique.....	27
3.1 Importance of land and land access	27
3.2 Land legislation	29
3.3 Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra (DUAT).....	32
3.4 Land registration in peri-urban areas.....	34
3.5 The importance of the declaração	34
3.6 Problems with land registration	35
3.7 Conclusion	38
4. Profile of the Interviewers and Respondents in Luis Cabral and Hulene B	40
4.1 Demographics	40

4.2 Average time spent in the wards.....	41
4.3 Gender of respondents	41
4.4 Age of respondents	42
4.5 Place of birth.....	43
4.6 Marital status	43
4.7 Number of children.....	44
4.8 School-going children.....	45
4.9 Highest level of education	46
4.10 Mother tongue.....	47
4.11 Description of dwellings.....	48
4.12 Household structure	48
4.13 Spouse or children under 18 living in another dwelling.....	50
4.14 Residence of children	50
4.15 Reasons that children do not live with parents	51
4.16 Main source of income.....	53
4.17 Secondary source of income.....	53
4.18 How most of a household's income is generated	54
4.19 Total monthly income.....	56
4.20 Previous residence	58
4.21 Independence	59
4.22 Previous dwelling	59
4.23 Type of settlement	60
4.24 Main source of income in previous residence	62
4.25 Total monthly income in previous residence.....	63
4.26 Conclusion	64

5. Motives for Moving to Luis Cabral and Hulene B.....	66
5.1 Motives for moving	66
5.2 Change within family or community as a contributing factor to moving.....	67
5.3 Main changes within family or community.....	68
5.4 Secondary changes within family or community	69
5.5 Economic changes	70
5.6 Main changes in economic situation.....	71
5.7 Secondary change in economic situation.....	72
5.8 Changes in socio-political conditions.....	73
5.9 Main changes in socio-political conditions	74
5.10 Secondary change in socio-political conditions	74
5.11 Conclusion	75
6. Finding a New Place to Live, Expectations and Networks	77
6.1 Source of information on the area	77
6.2 Finding a place to live.....	78
6.3 Alternative accommodation.....	79
6.4 Time spent finding accommodation	80
6.5 Conclusion	81
7. Value Attributed to Space in Luis Cabral and Hulene B.....	82
7.1 Value of current space	82
7.2 Value of the area to the municipality.....	83
7.3 Reasons the municipality values the area	84
7.4 Reasons the municipality may not value the area.....	85
7.5 Value of the property to the landowner	86
7.6 Value of the area to the neighbours	87
7.7 Conclusion	89

8. Contract Pertaining to Land Access in Luis Cabral and Hulene B.....	90
8.1 Contracting	90
8.2 Validity of land agreements.....	92
8.3 Time spent negotiating agreements	94
8.4 Property ownership.....	95
8.5 Alternative options to ownership.....	95
8.6 Property purchase price	96
8.7 What is included in the cost of the property	97
8.8 Did the neighbours pay for their property?.....	98
8.9 How much did the neighbours pay for their property?.....	99
8.10 Paying a fair price.....	100
8.11 Conclusion	101
9. Protection of Land Rights in Luis Cabral and Hulene B	103
9.1 Protection of land rights or interests	103
9.2 Firmer land rights	104
9.3 Weak land rights	106
9.4 Improvements to property.....	107
9.5 Access to money for improvements	108
9.6 Time spent making improvements.....	109
9.7 Cost of improvements.....	110
9.8 Improvement or deterioration in situation	111
9.9 Improvements in living conditions	112
9.10 To what extent had the situation deteriorated.....	113
9.11 Conclusion	114
10. Land Dispute Resolution in the Study Area	116
10.1 The arbitrators.....	116

10.2 Personal experience of conflict.....	117
10.3 Description of land disputes	118
10.4 Reasons for moving away from current location if necessary.....	118
10.5 Fate of the current home if the respondent were to move	120
10.6 Other alternatives for the place if they should move.....	121
10.7 Factors that drove people to the area	122
10.8 Space constraints	123
10.9 Reasons for space constraints	124
10.10 Conclusion	125
11. The Land Process in Luis Cabral and Hulene B.....	127
11.1 Role players who could speed up the land process.....	127
11.2 Role players that could make the land process more affordable	128
11.3 Suggestions to facilitate the process	129
11.4 The urban land market in Luis Cabral and Hulene B	131
11.5 Making a profit from selling property	131
11.6 When it is unfair to make a profit from selling property	132
11.7 Personal experience of the land process	133
11.8 Checking the identity of the seller, previous occupant or landlord	134
11.9 Calculating the value of property	135
11.10 Degree of difficulty in coming to a property agreement	136
11.11 Degree of difficulty in protecting land rights	136
11.12 Terminating the property agreement	137
11.13 Making the process more affordable	138
11.14 Other means of dealing with the land process	139
11.15: Suggestions to make the process more affordable.....	139
11.16 Participation in follow-up survey	140

11.17 Conclusion	141
12. Conclusion and Policy Implications	142
12. 1. Conclusion	142
12.2 Urban land policy implications.....	153
Bibliography	156

Acronyms

APIE	Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado (States Housing Administration)
<i>Bairros</i>	Neighbourhoods or wards
CMC	Cooperative Muratori de Mentistici de Ravenna (an Italian contracting enterprise, involved in road construction, housing, etc established in Mozambique in the late 1980s)
DM	Distrito Municipal (Municipal District)
DMCU	Direção Municipal de Construção Urbana (Municipal District of Urban Construction)
DINAGECA	National Directorate of Geography and Cadastre
DUAT	Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra (Land Use and Benefit Rights)
GPA	General Peace Agreement
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Front Liberation)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (National Institute of Statistics)
MINED	Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education)
MOZAGRIUS	Mozambique Agriculture
MZN	Metical (Mozambican currency), plural: Meticais
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (National Resistance of Mozambique)
RGPH	Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação (General Census of Population and Housing)
TEBA	The Bureau of Employment
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Eduardo Mondlane University)
<i>Xitique or stokvel</i>	Informal credit system / saving scheme

1. Introduction

This report was written within the scope of the Urban LandMark project *Operation of the Market Study – Land Access in Urban Areas – the Case of Maputo* under the auspices of a group of Mozambican researchers from three Mozambican universities – The Pedagogic University, Delegation of Maputo, Eduardo Mondlane University and the Higher Institute of International Relations – in collaboration with the Urban Land Markets Programme of Southern Africa (Urban LandMark).

The report addresses the contentious issue of land access in Mozambique. Although land may not be sold in Mozambique, the fact remains that it continues to be done, implying violation of the law. This study discusses the dynamics of the land market, considering people's adherence to land registration processes. It is argued that an extralegal socially dominated land market exists in Maputo due to the obscurity and bureaucracy of the current land registration process. This situation is due to several reasons:

- Lack of regulations related to urban land
- Clumsy bureaucratic procedures
- The slow response of the agencies responsible for the registration process.

However, it must be mentioned that, apart from the cumbersome national administrative system, the neighbourhoods have their own administrative system that people adhere to whenever a land issue needs to be addressed.

The study results were derived from a combination of methodological tools, which included: a survey of 567 households in the selected neighbourhoods of Luis Cabral and Hulene B. In addition, further specialist interviews and a bibliography analysis were done in order to complement the process. Some of the preliminary findings were presented at a comparative seminar titled *Land Markets and Tenure Security Studies in Angola and Mozambique*, which took place in Johannesburg on 3 November 2010.

This research report is structured as follows: after the introduction, the second chapter outlines the aims, methodology and the study area. The third is a reflection on policy and land legislation in Mozambique, while the fourth provides a demographic profile of the respondents. The fifth chapter determines the motives that drove people to settle in their specific ward and the sixth describes how they came about to settle in the area. Chapter seven deals with the value ascribed to the space people inhabit, while chapter eight describes how land contracts are drawn up. The ninth chapter reveals how people protect their rights and interests while the tenth chapter shows how they resolve their disputes. Chapter eleven provides an analysis of the land assessment process while chapter twelve comprises various conclusions and policy recommendations. A bibliography is provided, with references to support the arguments in this report.

2. Research Aims, Methods and Study Area

2.1 Aims

According to the terms of reference, the purpose of the study was to undertake qualitative interviews, household surveys and action research in Maputo in two peri-urban sites – Hulene B and Luis Cabral. The purpose of the research was two-fold:

- To understand how land markets in these sites operate and how the poor access, retain and trade land
- To investigate whether or not, and how, land tenure can be improved incrementally in order to promote land access, land ownership and buying and selling of property to support livelihoods and promote asset creation.

2.2. Methods and phases of the study

The study was structured into four phases:

Phase one: A literature review was undertaken for proposal design and definition of the study area. During this process, the team reviewed the National Land Policy 10/95, the Land Act 19/97, and municipal by-laws on land use, as well as reports and research articles on various land-related aspects.

The literature review provided an understanding on aspects beyond the land issue. During this phase between August and October 2010, the research team also undertook so-called specialist interviews – a joint effort with two researchers from Urban LandMark. These interviews took place with ward secretaries and municipal officials directly involved with land issues and urban rehabilitation. They also included technicians from the National Directorate of Geography and Cadastre (DINAGECA) as well as officials from the municipality and with the directors of the Pro-Maputo project – a World Bank-led project that aims to provide tenure to land owners in urban areas. The survey questionnaire was designed and discussed with researchers from South Africa and then translated from English into Portuguese.

Phase two: Field research took place by means of a survey undertaken throughout 567 households distributed as follows: Luis Cabral (257 respondents) and Hulene B (310 respondents), which translates to 54.4% respondents in Luis Cabral and 54.6% in Hulene B.

Thirteen university students collected the data while the four team members supervised the survey and undertook the specialist interviews. This took place throughout 2010 until the middle of 2011.

The survey questionnaire comprised 75 questions aimed at collecting demographic data (place of birth, age, marital status, type of household, migration history, etc.). Economic and social data were also collected such as household income and type of housing. Since the study focused on the urban land market the main questions surveyed land access in the respondents' previous and current residences, the cost of the land or house, the improvements made on the property, the respondents' means of income, the land access process and particularly the regulations governing land access.

Phase three: Data entry and analysis were undertaken by 10 university students. A data manager formed part of this team in order to train the data typists.

Phase four: A research report was compiled to present the preliminary results, which were discussed in a workshop with a researcher from Urban LandMark. Based on these discussions, it was agreed to re-organise the data set into neighborhoods and according to gender.

2.3. Methodology

As mentioned, the study was undertaken in the city of Maputo in two neighbourhoods. This was preceded by interviews with stakeholders from the municipality, as well as *bairro* (ward) secretaries and people from the Pro-Maputo project on urban rehabilitation.

In Luis Cabral, interviews took place with Mr Buque, the *secretario do bairro* (ward secretary), and Mr Manhique, who at the time was in charge of administration relating to land issues, including registration of people and liaison with community leaders. These interviews provided

background information relating to the history of the Luis Cabral neighborhood, formerly known as Xinhambanine, which means a place established by people from Inhambane. It came to light that the then president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, named the neighbourhood in honour of the late president of Guinea Bissau, who paid a state visit in 1976.

In Hulene B, the research team met with Mr Nuvunga, who provided useful background information on the neighbourhood. The Hulene neighbourhood is divided into two parts: Hulene A, where land has been surveyed and parcelled, which is a first step towards qualifying for municipal services and land title, and Hulene B, where only one third of the land has parcelled plots. This is the poorest and most populated neighbourhood in the study area. A large percentage of the population in this particular neighbourhood live along a landfill and some households survive by selling the rubbish collected in the area. It is understood that the majority of the population of Hulene comprises people displaced by civil war and floods. Most of them did not return to their original homes after the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 2002. Despite the fact that people in Hulene B live around a landfill area, it is clear that the municipality is currently in the process of drawing up an urban plan to improve their living conditions. The *secretario do bairro* and his team (the *chefe do quarteirão*² and *chefe de dez casas*³) are in the process of registering people living in these areas.

The city of Maputo comprises 346.77 km² and is structured into seven urban districts, 63 wards, various *quarteirões* and blocks of ten households as seen in Table 2.1.

² A person who is in charge of 25 households.

³ A person who is in charge of 10 households.

Table 2.1: Municipal districts and wards of Maputo

Municipal Districts	Wards
Ka-Mpfumo	Central A, B and C; Alto Maé and B, Malhangalene A and B, Polana Cimento A and B, Coop, Sommershield and Costa do Sol
Ka-Lhamanculo	Aeroporto A and B; Xipamanine, Minkadjuine, Unidade 7, Chamanculo A, B, C and D; Malanga and Munhuana
Ka-Maxaquene	Mafalala, Maxaquene A, B, C and D; Polana Caniço A and B and Urbanização
Ka-Mavota	Mavalane A and B; FPLM, Hulene A and B; Ferroviário, Lulane, 3 de Fevereiro, Mahotas, Albasine.
Ka-Mubukwana	Bagamoyo, George Dimitrov, Inhagoia A and B, Jardim, Luís Cabral, Magoanine, Malhazine, Nsalene, 25 de Junho A and B and Zimpeto
Ka-Tembe	Gwachene, Chale, Inguide, Ncasse and Xamissava
Ka-Nyaka	Ingwane, Ribjene and Nhaquene

Source: Da Silva, 2011 (Table 1).

Maputo is managed by a city governor who heads up the city of Maputo and a mayor who is in charge of the city council or municipality. The municipality is represented by a legislative body to which all members are elected, while the government comprises people appointed by the President of the Republic.

The municipality has its own president and 16 councilors. Some councilors are elected and others are appointed. Those who are appointed are in charge of finance, human resources, urban planning and the environment, such as waste management. The elected councilors are in charge of administrative issues such as the management of the municipal districts.

The municipality has its own financial, political and judicial autonomy and it is part of its leader's duty to manage the land, licensing for construction, infrastructure, waste, sanitation, road maintenance, waste management, and the security of the municipality.

Each municipal district consists of *bairros* (wards). The *bairros* in turn are divided into *quarteirões*, which comprise 25 households that are further divided into blocks of *dez casas* (10 households). Table 2.2 illustrates the administrative structure of Maputo.

Table 2.2: Administrative structure of the city of Maputo

Structure	Wards/Households	Observations
Municipality	The entire city including urbanised and non-urbanised areas	
Municipal district	Divided into wards or <i>bairros</i>	The number varies according to the size of the municipal district
Municipal district of Ka-Mpfumo	10 wards	
Municipal district of Ka-Maxaquene	10 wards	
Municipal District of Ka-Lhamanculo	08 wards	
Municipal District of Ka-Mavota	11 wards	
Municipal district Ka-Mubukwane	11 wards	
Municipal district ka-Tembe	4 urban areas	
Municipal district Ka-Nyaka	3 urban areas	
<i>Quarteirão</i>	Within the ward. Varies according to the number of wards and population. However, a <i>quarteirão</i> can comprise at least 50 households	
Block	25 households	
Chief of 10 houses	10 households	

Source: INE 1997

Each municipality is led by the city mayor and the administrator heads up the urban district. Thereafter, the hierarchy consists of the *secretário do bairro*, *chefe do quarteirão* and *chefe de dez casas*.

A new mayor is elected every four years while the head of the *quarteirão* and the head of the household block (*chefe de dez casas*) are appointed by the urban district. More recently, the head of the *quarteirão* and *chefe de dez casas* are elected by the community.

The *secretario do bairro* was previously appointed by the FRELIMO party as an alternative to the colonial structure. With the Terms of Reference (TOR) as a guideline, the *secretario do bairro* can be a man or woman who is mandated to solve the problems of the *bairro*, to act in the capacity of a judge, settle or re-settle people and implement government decisions. Until 1994, the *secretário* was appointed by the government, but this duty currently falls upon the municipality, on condition that the decision-maker is a member of the FRELIMO Party. The *secretário* need not be a municipal official, however he/she is paid by the municipality to serve a specific term.

The *secretário do bairro* is in charge of thousands of people living in a *bairro*. A *chefe de quarteirão* is appointed below the *secretário* to take charge of the administrative issues pertaining to 25 households. The *chefe* must keep record of all the births, death, new arrivals and departures within his area of responsibility.

The *chefe de dez casas* is in charge of 10 households. He/she has the same responsibilities as his senior, but his duties are limited to 10 households and he reports to the *chefe do quarteirão*.

The *quarteirão* comprises 50 households or more; 10 blocks (the *bloco* is formed by 25 households); 10 *casas* (the *casa* is formed by 10 households or families). The number of *quarteirões* or blocks varies according to the size of the *bairro*. However, the administrative structure is the same for all the *bairros*.

The majority of city dwellers access land through social networks. Typically a new migrant to the city contacts someone they know in a particular *casas* to find out whether there is land available. Others may have contacts with influential people higher up local structures, and through these networks, will pay a fee to buy space in the city.

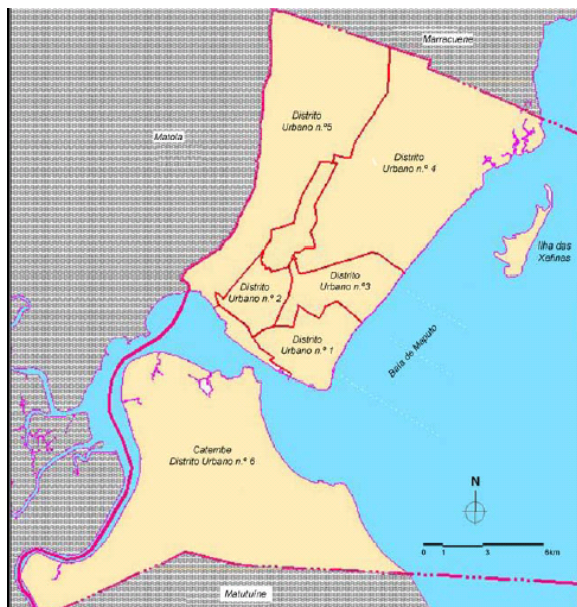
In both the Luis Cabral and Hulene B neighbourhoods:

- Most inhabitants do not possess a DUAT (Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra), that is, a title deed for their property, and the municipal district does not have a database of the people who have applied for the DUAT.
- Many people were displaced due to civil war and floods, and the municipality has allocated tracts of land to provide these people with a home and security. Other inhabitants settled on plots of land because it was unclaimed empty space, mainly in Hulene B.
- The application for a DUAT is a long process involving various steps, while urban land law and its regulations are not implemented as prescribed. One of the comments during the interviews was as follows: “*The Municipal officials work on an ad hoc basis; they have no idea how to go about the land registration process*”. One of the municipal officials interviewed from the Directorate of Urban Construction said that only 5% of Maputo city dwellers owned a property title deed, known as the DUAT.
- A councillor in the Maputo municipality also acknowledged that “the land law and its regulations don’t cover all situations concerning the rights to the use of land in urban areas”. In other words, in addition to the onerous requirements needed to register land, few requests are granted because most urban dwellers live in areas that are not formalised and therefore not considered part of the urban development plan. In 2006, a law on the regulations for urban land use made the issue of a DUAT contingent upon the design of a development plan for the land in question. Because most people live in informal settlements which are not yet under a development plan, the majority of the land in Maputo city effectively remains ‘outside’ of the remedies available in law.
- People are afraid of losing their properties. One of the survey’s respondents said: “*The land will be taken away by rich people. The poor, and particularly those who were not born in the*

city of Maputo, will not be allowed to stay. The only alternative for us is to return to our place of origin. This will be difficult because our children have become accustomed to living in the city.”

2.4 The study area: the city of Maputo

The study was undertaken in two neighborhoods of the city of Maputo. Maputo occupies approximately 300 km² and has an estimated population of 1 216 873 (INE 2005). The city is divided into seven municipal districts and is situated on the southeast coastal zone of Africa, in the southern extreme of the Republic of Mozambique. It is bordered in the south by the city of



Fonte: Carta de Endereçamento da Cidade de Maputo, CMCM, 1997

Matola – the main Mozambican industrial city, the Marracuene district to the north, and the Mozambican Channel to the east (MINED-Atlas Geográfico Vol. 1 1986; Santos 1985). Up until the time of its independence in 1975, Maputo, formerly named Lourenço Marques, was divided into two areas dubbed “concrete” and “cement.” These areas were inhabited by Whites and Coloureds, respectively. A third area was called the “reed,” and was a *bairro* inhabited by Blacks (Knauder 2000). Colonial policy limited the settlement of Black people in the “concrete” or “cement” areas. Only a few educated blacks, who had renounced their African culture, known as *assimilados*, were allowed to take up residence in these areas. Nonetheless, given the generally un-favoured position of Blacks, in terms of access to education and better employment, the majority of Blacks could not afford to live in the “concrete” or “cement” areas.

After independence, the city was further divided into three areas. The central nucleus, consisting of brick and mortar buildings, is the wealthiest area of the city, made up of the *bairros* of Sommerschild, Polana, Coop and Triunfo, Central, Malhangalene and the Alto Maé. All these *bairros* are part of Municipal District Number One, currently the Municipal District of Kalamankulo.

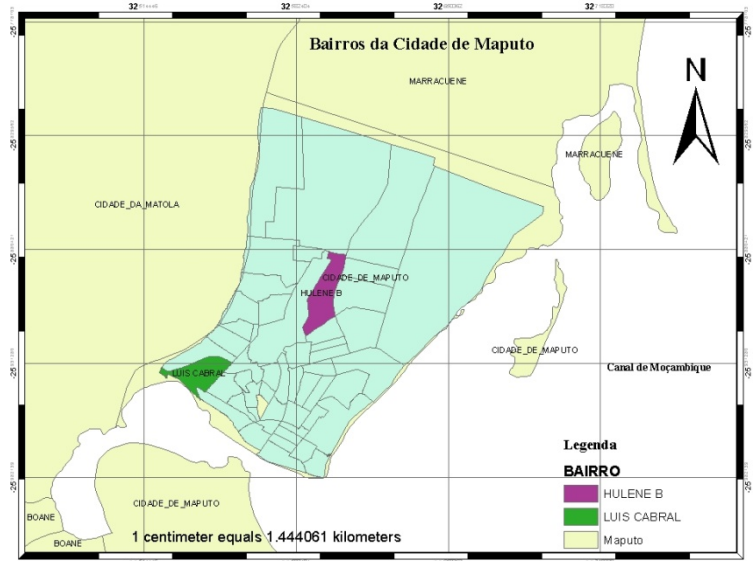
The suburbs, which occupy the largest area of the city, mostly comprise buildings made of reed, wood and zinc sheeting. *Bairros* such as Malanga, Chamanculo, Xipamanine, Aeroporto, Benfica, Malhazine, Hulene, Laulane, Forças Populares and 25 de Junho have poor infrastructure and sub-standard facilities.

The peri-urban areas have largely rural characteristics and comprise the *bairros* of Zimpeto, Mahotas, Magoanine and C.M.C⁴ (Santos 1985; Araújo 1999; Knauder 2000). These neighbourhoods make up the third division of the city and are part of Urban District Number Five. Most people in Maputo live with poor sanitary conditions, inefficient drainage and waste management systems. The overtaxed drainage system was built in 1949 and benefited from improvements between 1982 and 1989. These improvements, however, did not include the peripheral neighbourhoods (Hordjik et al 1989; UN-Habitat 2004). Only a few of the richest areas of Maputo are served by a ditch system which drains sewage.

Historically, the most influential ethnic group in the capital city has been the Ronga people, who originally inhabited the area where Maputo stands today. However, data results from the 1997 census show that Shangaan speakers now comprise the largest linguistic segment of the population (Table 5.5). This increase in the number and percentage of Shangaan speakers can be anecdotally explained by a rise in the number of migrants coming from the mostly Shangaan speaking Gaza province, bordering Maputo to the north.

⁴ An acronym created by an Italian Company responsible for the building of houses for people who were resettled due to the construction of the Maputo-Witbank freeway (1990-2000). This area also accommodated people affected by the flooding of 2000 (personal comment).

The Luís Cabral and Hulene B neighbourhoods, the targets of this study, are located within the Municipal district of Kamabukwane (Luís Cabral) and Kamavota (Hulene B). Luis Cabral, formerly known as Xinhambanine, has a long history of urban settlement in comparison with Hulene B. The bairro of Luis Cabral expanded with the settlement of workers from the Maputo harbour. It currently has 33 800 inhabitants (INE III RGPH of 2007).



The neighbourhood is made of 86 *quarteirões*. However, the *quarteirões* located along the Maputo-Witbank highway and those along the swamp have not been parcelled, including *quarteirões* 40, 41 and 42 and those are located within the São José de Lhanguene Cemetery⁵.

The system of land parceling is defined by land regulations in the 2009 Structure Plan of the City of Maputo (Plano de Estrutura da Cidade de Maputo). This system was conceived in order to re-organise public spaces and the rules of urban management by defining the different classes and categories of land use. In this context, the following categories of land use were established:

- Urban spaces characterised by housing in formal demarcated segments in the so-called cement areas. There are very few informal settlements in this area.
- Urban areas characterised by housing in formal or informal demarcated areas, with incomplete infrastructure.
- Areas set aside for industrial development and storage buildings.
- Social and public services, and special use areas.
- Areas demarcated for infrastructure development.
- Agricultural or green areas.

⁵ The Maputo Municipal Cemetery.

- Ecological areas.
- Areas with incomplete infrastructure for purposes of single-storey housing, as well as parcels of land along untarred roads or roads along which the population density is higher than 60 houses per hectare.

While Luis Cabral comprises brick houses with zinc roofs provided with electricity, the area is still relatively rural. However, the *bairro* features six blocks of flats located in *quarteirão* number one. Luis Cabral has a longer settlement history than that of Hulene B.

Hulene B is located closer to the International Airport of Maputo and to the dump known as Lixeira de Hulene. Prior to 1990, Hulene B was characterised by swamps and lakes, and was mainly used for agriculture until migrants settled in the area. The civil war and the floods of 2000 were the push factors for increasing arrivals in the area (Christie and Hanlon 2001).

Hulene B consists of a mix of urban structure and unplanned settlements. Some of the city dwellers are classified as “internal displaced persons” who migrated to the area as a result of the floods. Certain portions of land have been divided into allotments, but the largest parcel of land has not been divided as such. This area is inhabited by a population of 33 800 (16 621 males and 17 179 females) throughout 96 *quarteirões*.

Hulene B and Luis Cabral are categorised as irregular settlements, as many families live in non-urbanised or unplanned areas. Many families share spaces of less than 500 m². The high population density per square metre is due to the fact of one parcel of land is usually occupied by more than one household. In most areas, the houses are self-constructed, mostly unfinished, covered by zinc, and their dimensions vary from 150 m² to 450 m².

Mr Nuvunga from Hulene B said that most of the land is unparcelled and fully occupied. In Hulene B *quarteirao* 128 and 129 are unplanned, while in Luis Cabral *quarteirões* 40, 41, 42 and 43 unplanned areas inside the cemetery, with a further four unplanned areas outside the cemetery. These are found along the N4, or the swamp of Luis Cabral (Mr Cossa, Maputo, 06/08/2011). In

both areas where land has not been parceled, the *quarteirões* present irregular geometric forms. The access to residences is very difficult, there are no tarred roads and there is no space available for new housing.

Fountains are the only source of potable water. The market is informal and located less than 1 km from the main houses. People mostly shop at kiosks located in the front yards of many of the houses.

2.4.1 Population distribution throughout the wards

The General Census of Population and Housing (III) indicates a growth in the population of the city of Maputo. From 739 077 in 1980, the population grew to 966 837 in 1997 and 1 094 628 in 2007.

Table 2.3: Population growth between 1980 and 2007

Population by sex	1980	1997	2007
Men	382,933	473,728	532,570
Women	356,144	493,109	562,058
Total	739,077	966,837	1,094,628

Source: da Silva, 2011 (Table 4)

Table 2.4 reflects the current population distribution in the municipal districts of the study area. The municipal districts of Ka-Mubukwane and Ka-Mavota registered the largest number of population numbers living in suburbs and comprises 53.69% of the population of the city of Maputo.

Table 2.4: Population distribution in the study area in 1997 and 2007

Municipal district	Ward	Population		Population growth (%)	
		1997	2007	1997 -2007	
Ka-Mavota	Albasine	5,152	15,957	209.7	
	Costa do Sol	14,186	16,828	18.6	
	Ferrovário	41,353	49,877	20.6	
	FPLM	10,834	11,428	5.5	
	Hulene A	27,655	28,240	2.1	
	Hulene B	38,664	45,390	17.4	
	Mahotas	21,282	47,508	123.2	
	Mavalane A	20,064	20,829	3.8	
	Mavalane B	11,896	13,030	9.5	
	3 de Fevereiro	14,056	16,710	18.9	
	Laulane	23,102	27,969	21.1	
	Total	228,244	293,766	28.7	
	Ka-Mubukwana	Bagamoio	21,966	19,995	-9.9
		George Dimitrov	39,667	40,972	3.3
Inhagoia A		17,923	16,405	-8.5	
Inhagoia B		15,195	16,153	6.3	
Jardim		14,335	12,720	-11.3	
Luís Cabral		33,553	33,800	0.7	
Magoanine		11,900	76,588	543.6	
Malhazine		8,491	8,752	3.1	
Nsalene		4,296	4,011	-0.7	
25 de Junho A		12,997	13,154	1.2	
25 de Junho B		19,035	23,756	24.8	
Zimpeto		11,650	27,689	137.7	
Total		211,008	293,995	39.3	

Source: Plano de Estrutura da Cidade de Maputo, 2010.

2.5. Description of the fieldwork

2.5.1 The survey

The survey was one of the data collection tools used to determine the issues related to land access, rights and obligations with respect to housing and occupation. The survey was structured into two steps: a pilot survey and the survey *per se*. The pilot survey was conceived to meet the following objectives:

- Since the questionnaire was based on South African conditions, it had to be adapted to the Mozambican reality.

- The interviewers had to familiarise themselves with the questionnaire to be used in the study area as well as the location of the *quarteirões*.
- The heads of households' perception of the questions had to be verified
- It was necessary to measure the efficacy of the questionnaire
- The team had to ensure that the people were willing to be part of the study.

2.5.2 Procedures for the pilot survey

The pre-test survey was administered to 52 households. There were 19 households headed by women and 14 by men. Information was also acquired by the *secretários dos bairros*. They provided information on the structure of the families or households and how people were settled in the areas. The survey was undertaken during a period of 10 days, including Saturday and Sunday. The sampling covered 567 households and was calculated as follows:

2.5.3 The sampling

The database for the sampling was based on the data of the Third National Census of Population and Housing of 2007.

Table 2.5: Cluster for sampling calculation

Urban district	Total population	N (household by bairro)	N (household by bairro)
Luís Cabral (B1)	33,800	6,953	257
Hulene B (B2)	45,390	8,416	310
Σ (Total) (B1+B2)	79,190	15,369	567

2.5.4 Distribution of respondents

Females outnumbered males in the survey. The city of Maputo, particularly the peri-urban areas, is dominated by females because they were following their counterparts who were working in the Maputo harbour (Araujo 2005). Raimundo (2009) points out that women also came to the city by their own decision, some of whom make a living as cross-border traders.

Table 2.6: Sampling by sex and by *bairro*

	Bairro Luís Cabral	Bairro Hulene B	
Sex	Percentage		Total
Male	37.7	38.7	38.2
Female	62.3	61.3	61.8
Total	100	100	100

2.5.5 Challenges and experiences

This study posed several challenges. One of the issues was to convince people that the research team was not working for the government. In other words, the people had to be assured that the interviewers would not be reporting to the government or the municipality that they were residing illegally on their parcel of land or that they were buying and selling property illegally since the Constitution as well as the Land Law and National Land Policy state that land is not to be sold.

The other challenge was related to identification of the *quarteirões*. This issue arose due to the change in fieldwork guides. It is important to state that it became necessary to replace one of the fieldwork guides appointed by the *secretário do bairro* as he did not live up to the expectations of the research team. This resulted in a delay of a day to conclude the survey.

3. Land Policy and Land Legislation in Mozambique

3.1 Importance of land and land access

The issue of land access and ownership is very pertinent to this study since access to land guarantees subsistence for both rural and urban dwellers. To some extent, the availability of land, or the lack of it, can be a push or pull factor associated with migration (Raimundo 2009⁶; Raimundo 2008)⁷.

The current situation pertaining to land access in Mozambique, mainly in urban areas, is a result of the combination and overlap of the legal framework and traditional rules, or consuetudinary law. Both changed as a consequence of economic, social and political transformations throughout the history of Mozambique. For instance, during the colonial period, the Portuguese system dictated that access to land should be in accordance with Europeans rules. This situation established unequal social conditions along racial lines. Only the Whites or the *assimilados*⁸ were entitled to own land. The first piece of land legislation passed after independence in 1979 was Law No 6/79, which focused on reversing social injustice so as to return land to the Mozambican people.

The Structural Adjustment Program of 1987 established Decree No 16/87 to ‘reduce state power’ on land issues. New land legislation in the form of the Land Law of 1997 eliminated unequal land access based on gender differentiation. However, as Ammering (2011)⁹ points out, the new land legislation excluded the municipalities, which means that there still is no clear land legislation on this level. This situation increased informal land access, which has led to land conflicts. Only in 2006 did the Council of Ministries approve the Urban Land Regulation (Regulamento do Solo

⁶ Raimundo, I. M., Gender, Choice and Migration: Household Dynamics and Urbanisation in Mozambique, A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Graduate School of Humanities, Forced Migration Programme.

⁷ Raimundo, J. A.,

⁸ People who were given the status of Black Portuguese, those who assimilated the Portuguese values such as eating at the table using a fork and knife, not walking bare-footed, sleeping on a bed and importantly speaking Portuguese at home and everywhere else.

⁹ Ammering, Ute, Morar nos bairros suburbanos de Maputo. Livelihoods e a implementação do planeamento local.

Urbano). This regulation defines urban land access through Decree 60/2006, which allocates the responsibility for determining land access and granting DUATs (land tenure) to the municipality.

Migrants and non-migrants alike supplement their incomes or meet their entire needs through agriculture. Access to land and land usage assure the survival of many households. Analysis of the ways in which families access land and use it requires examination as a means by which people organise their societies and networks. Furthermore, this requires an analysis of the coexistence between customary and formal law. It is important to understand the degree of access, particularly for women, as well as the existence or absence of land conflicts.

The right to access or own land is an important social issue. These rights are in many cases transmitted through an entirely male inheritance system. In traditional society, land cannot be transferred to women. Forms of access to land and land ownership within traditional households as per gender criteria indicate who holds the power in a household. So the question is, what legal mechanisms can expand property rights to all? What forms of property are most important or relevant?

Ownership of land represents the social relationship established around the land, which determines who can use it as well as the purpose of such land. These relationships are linked to other institutions such as marriage, inheritance and the market. Within the system of land ownership, there is also the concept of land rights to be considered.

Access to and use of land has become a source of conflict among people and between the government and the people. Since the signing of the General Peace Agreement, various land disputes have arisen in Mozambique. In these instances, the people most affected are migrants and women. They relocate to new environments away from relatives from whom they could inherit land. Use of land also remains a women's issue because cultivation is included in the maintenance of the household.

In Mozambique, land can be accessed and used by everyone. Some land use conflicts have been recorded as a result of the growth in international investment. The difference in access to resources between people creates reasons for migration, including crossing borders (Raimundo (2009)).

According to the kinship system, land belongs to men directly within a patrilineal system and indirectly within a matrilineal system. Women's access to land always occurs through male mediation. The cash income that women earn through their work or business on the land is generally managed by their husbands or partners. The majority of women who have migrated to the cities do so in response to various situations within the household in order to meet their livelihood requirements. Many generate work through informal activities (in the informal market), others acquire domestic work (housemaids), while some move into sex work as various life histories will later attest.

3.2 Land legislation

Chilundo et al (2005) and Raimundo (2008) confirm that the history of land legislation and land rights in Mozambique goes back to the colonial period, when the Portuguese colonials declared that the land belonged to Portugal regardless of the existence of customary laws and the chiefs' methods of ruling on land issues. At that time, land registration, within the legal framework system, was only used by Portuguese citizens, and Mozambicans were excluded from this process.

The Portuguese administration in Mozambique established three categories of land administration:

- Land in large urban areas and small towns
- Land within and on the outskirts of African villages
- Free land (land that was considered without ownership).

As Chilundo et al (2005) states, the process of land acquisition was by way of a formal request to the Portuguese authorities, either by a Portuguese citizen or an organisation in need of the land. The authorities would inspect the land requested to verify whether it was already occupied or not. The land would then be allocated and later registered.

On Mozambique's independence, the state nationalised all the land. The Provincial Services of Geography and Cadastre and Land Registry was given the authority to assign land concessions in rural areas, while the town councils were mandated to do so in urban areas.

The first Land Law after independence was drawn up in 1979, known as Law 6/79. According to the regulation (Decree 16/87), the State rented land to users for a 15-year term (Chilundo et al 2005:5), automatically renewable for the same period. In rural households, each member of the household had the right to half a hectare in irrigated areas and one hectare in rainfall areas.

The one hectare was allocated in rural areas, as large tracts of land are needed for agriculture. However, in the urban areas or cities, the land dimensions were conventionally 15m x 30m, in other words 750 m² – usually the size appropriate for buildings (Mr Cossa, Hulene B, 06/08/2011).

The 1979 Land Law was amended in 1986 (Law 1/86), with a view to reinforce the security of land ownership. The main amendment introduced was to extend the period of land use concessions from 15 years to 50 years, renewable.

In 1992 after the signing of the General Peace Agreement that brought to an end 17 years of civil war, a new challenge presented itself: how was the government to accommodate exiles and displaced persons. This scenario was a focus of land conflict (Chilundo et al). Furthermore, the urban elite were clustering plots of land in rural and urban spaces.

After the signing of the General Peace Agreement, people who had migrated to a specific urban area did not return to their place of origin since they had become accustomed to the urban life style (Raimundo 2009; Raimundo, 2008; Araújo 2005). Many of the former refugees who did attempt to return to their homes found their land occupied. Braga (2001) also identifies land conflicts between foreign investors and the local population in Niassa and Nampula provinces during the time of the MOZAGRIUS project.

A new land policy was drawn up in 1995 as a means of responding to the various land conflicts arising from the demands of those who refused to move to their original homes, the former refugees, people displaced due to war or floods and the foreigners. The purpose of this law was to promote national and foreign investment without adversely affecting local people occupying land that had not been formally registered, for instance the DUAT. Within the framework of that policy, the then Council of Ministers created the inter-ministerial Land Commission and mandated it to coordinate the process of consultation, discussion and national debate leading to the drafting of the new land law.

The new land law approved by the Council of Ministers, known as the 1997 Land Law, reaffirms state ownership of land, but recognises and safeguards rights acquired traditionally through occupation and inheritance. At the same time, it creates incentives for investment, by granting land use concessions to private entities for renewable periods of 50 years.

The law seeks to guarantee access to land and security of land tenure for smallholding farmers, and to create an enabling environment for national and foreign investors. It supports the principle that land is state property that cannot be sold, yet it recognises the rights acquired traditionally through occupation. One of the respondents commented as follows:

“We have to acknowledge that the current settler of Maputo inhabits land that for years belonged to big families such as the Matxiquexique, Mavotas, Mubukwane, Matola, Kamatsolo, Tembe, Nyaka and Fumo. To some extent, these were the first people who decided to sell the land because they feared they would lose it. So it was a surprise to them that government approved a Law that favoured the indigenous people.”

As Kanji et al (2005:9) states, “The 1997 Land Law was the result of extensive consultations with civil society and it is praised internationally for having sought to protect smallholders’ rights.”

Mozambican legislation dictates that land is owned by the state. Through the state, people can access and use land. However, in practice, traditional forms of land tenure give rise to conflicts

over access to and use of land. Generally, such disputes are solved with the help of local structures and community leaders. It is also well known that women, although they live and work on the land, never inherit it. This still happens even though the constitution states that both genders have equal rights to land.

3.3 Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra (DUAT)

The DUAT is a document that allocates a title deed to someone who occupies land. This is issued by the Provincial Cadastral Services, following a process which includes participatory delimitation of community lands and negotiation with neighboring communities on the management of shared natural resources.

In reality, there are two documents that need to be considered in the context of land issues. The Título is a document that gives someone the right to use land for a specific purpose, while the DUAT grants the right to use the land. In practice there is no difference.

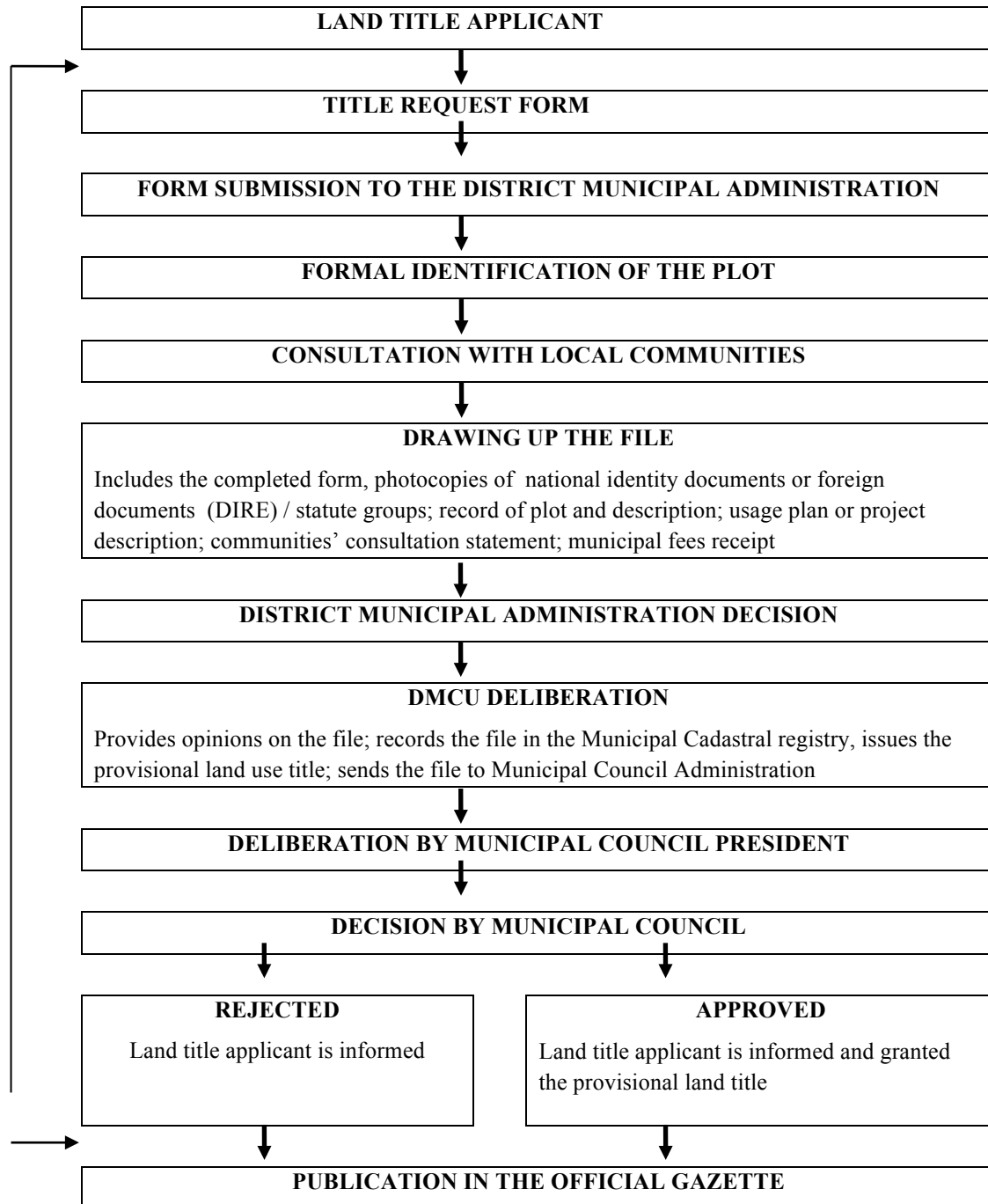
Applying for a land concession is a long bureaucratic process which requires lengthy consultation before the document can be issued. The applicant, whether it be an individual or an organisation, must submit to the consultation process since the state has to determine whether the land is being used or not, and if it is inhabited, the state needs to establish the compensation due to the people occupying the land at the time.

Land registration takes place on request, taking into account the land rights protected by the Land Law of 1997. Registration fees are relatively low ranging from less than 1 000MZN (Meticais¹⁰) to over 5 000MZN depending on the size of the land. Although objectively speaking the registration fee seems low, the respondents interviewed consider the fee to be high since the income per household is often less than \$1.00 (One American Dollar). The 90-day registration period is never adhered to since the procedures are time-consuming. Furthermore, the main authority involved in the land registration process is based in the provincial capital, rather than the district or village. The Provincial Cadastral Service is responsible for certification, and there are

¹⁰ Mozambican currency. At the time of the interview, 32 MZN was equivalent \$1.

only a few districts in which the cadastral service has been set up. Table 3.1 illustrates the process to be followed to acquire a DUAT.

Table 3.1: Registration process for land use rights at the Municipal Directorate for Construction and Urbanisation



Source: Chilundo et al, Land registration in Maputo and Matola cities, Mozambique, 2005:11

3.4 Land registration in peri-urban areas

Kanji et al comments that peri-urban areas often experience spontaneous, unplanned development as cities expand. The boundaries of peri-urban areas are not fixed, but are continuously redefined as a result of urbanisation and the ensuing expansion of urban areas. In Maputo these are areas developed within the municipal districts of Kamaxaquene, Kamavota, Kamubukwane, KaLhamankulo, Kanhaca and Katembe. Only the Kampfumo does not have peri-urban areas. This is the “cement area” while the houses in other districts are made of reed and zinc.

Apart from the national land law that regulates the right of use of land, the urban areas have their ‘own’ land system. For instance, in July 2003 the Municipal Council of Maputo passed a by-law on land use rights. This law endorses various regulations which apply to rural land, such as the 90-day period for dealing with applications to register land. To avoid duplication in land allocations, which is common in urban areas, at least three members of the community have to be consulted prior to allocation. The holder of the registration certificate (provisional title) can use it to acquire loans from credit institutions. These titles are issued by the municipality, specifically the Directorate of Urban Construction and Planning.

Generally, poor people feel that applying for land registration is futile due to the long bureaucratic process and the costly fees involved. The traditional land owners mentioned earlier lost their land to people from outside their communities, known as *vientes*¹¹. These people who claim to have bought the land produce certificates to prove it. However, the documents produced are usually *guia de marcha* (travel documents) issued at their place of origin by the traditional leader, the chief of the village, or the formal district administrator.

3.5 The importance of the *declaração*

There are internal administrative structures and processes in place that are meant to facilitate land acquisition for specific purposes, such as construction. With the exception of specific wards on the boundary of Maputo, farm land has become scarce since much of the land has been allocated

¹¹ The new arrival.

for construction of buildings, particularly the wards closer to the city centre. This is the case in Luis Cabral and Hulene B.

The interviews undertaken with the *secretários de bairros* and various municipal officials revealed that people are still in search of land for purposes of construction. Based on information provided by the *chefe do quarteirão* or the *chefe de dez casas*, the *secretário de bairro* issues a *declaração* to address land issues. In peri-urban areas the *declaração* is an official document.

The *declaração* is recognised by the authorities for purposes of applying for a bank loan or for use as a travel document. This document serves to certify that the individual is a national living legally in the particular ward or community.

It is common practice for anyone moving away from a ward to apply for a *declaração* or travel permit to be produced at the final destination. Some churches also request that a *declaração* be produced before a new resident can join the parish. Thus, the *declaração* works as an affidavit, serving to confirm the residence of individual. It is used largely as an administrative tool, for census purposes or in criminal investigations to identify a person's residence. The *declaração* however, is not a *sine qua non* for the granting of the DUAT.

3.6 Problems with land registration

The land registration process is lengthy, the fee is costly, and lack of information on the land law can cause significant frustration for the applicant as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Problems experienced with the land registration process

Step	Problems
Step 1: Application for registration	The applicant faces difficulties in drawing up the request, in accessing the lawyers and paying for the services they provide, and he /she may not be able to provide a signature. This situation arises because the applicant may be illiterate and cannot read the information document, there is a shortage of lawyers to assist the applicant and the process is not affordable.
Step 2: Delivering the request, accompanied by a declaration from the neighbourhood and the work place, to the DMCU general secretariat.	The applicant has to embark on a long journey since the DMCU is a long way from the study areas. On arrival, the applicant may struggle to correctly identify the relevant municipal service since the location and functions of the municipal services are not publicized. There is little signposting, staff are not well trained and accessing the relevant files is time-consuming since the filing system is inadequate.
Step 3: The DMCU general secretariat sends the request for the file to be drawn up at the land registry.	This phase is characterised by lengthy internal procedures; slow document compilation; time-consuming analysis and poor internal distribution of work. This situation is caused by the shortage of trained staff and the lack of established procedures to facilitate registration.
Step 4: Drawing up the file at the land registry.	.../continued
Step 5: The land registry sends the file to the DMCU.	The main constraints in this phase include the inadequate skills of the technical ordering commission, tardiness in producing information and lack of coordination with the neighborhood <i>secretários</i> due to insufficient means of transport and lack of established links with the local authorities.
Step 6: The DMCU collects information on the physical state of the land.	The information sent is often inaccurate since there is no objective means of gathering information, and there is no procedural guide as to the type of information required.
Step 7: The DMCU sends the file to the secretary of the Municipal District Administration.	
Step 8: The Municipal District Administrator gives his opinion	The pertinence of the administrator's opinion is questionable, since it is not necessary for the administrator to know each of the cases in his area of jurisdiction. Furthermore, the judgment made by the administrator does not go beyond that which the DMCU representative tells him.
Step 9: The DM administrator sends the file to the DMCU administration.	There are delays in sending the file to the DMCU due to weak logistics. There is also undue favouring of some files to the detriment of others because of unclear criteria for selection of files to be sent to the DMCU.
Step 10: Recording the entry at the DMCU secretariat.	Defective internal processing, weak inspection of documents and excessive time spent on analysis cause undue delays. This situation arises from lack of internal procedures concerning land registration, shortage of skilled workers, and the poor quality of the materials used to create the file.
Step 11: The DMCU secretary sends the file to the land registry.	
Step 12: The land registry allocates a number to the file.	The land registry archive is disorganised, due to lack of compliance with the established rules, the inadequate nature of the archive premises, lack of archive equipment and lack of skilled technical staff (jurist and archivist). This situation leads to insecurity of the files (fires, intrusion, thefts, deterioration or disappearance of files, and lack of confidentiality).

Step 13: The land registry sends the file to the design room.	Criteria for selection of files to be processed are unclear (disorganisation, undue favouring, and illicit payments are part of the process). Due to the lack of equipment, there is no guarantee of a good standard of work.
Step 14: The design room issues the location plan.	
Step 15: The file is sent from the design room to the Town Planning Sector.	The main problem in this phase is the difficulty in identifying the basic territorial unit in which the plot is located (the parcels of land currently defined are very large, and do not adhere to Article 23 of the Land Law regulations, which states that: (i) the identification of parcels of land shall be standardised so as to facilitate the process (ii) as far as possible, the parcels shall have a regular shape...).
Step 16: The Town Planning Sector pronounces its opinion in accordance with the partial plan of the zone.	
Step 17: The Town Planning Sector sends the file to the Secretary of the Head of the Urbanisation Department.	Delays occur because staff members are overburdened with work pertaining to other issues, which compromise internal decision-making. Decision-making is a slow process.
Step 19: The secretary of the Head of the Urbanization Department sends the file to the secretary of the DMCU.	.../continued
Step 20: The Secretary of the DMCU delivers the file to the DMCU analysis commission.	The main constraint in this phase is the extent of time required to make a decision. This commission consists of councilors, hence the possibility that they are overburdened with excessive work commitments.
Step 21: The DMCU analysis commission sends the file to the secretary of the DMCU General Manager.	
Step 22: "The DMCU director peruses the file	
Step 23: The Secretary of the DMCU Director delivers the file to the DMCU analysis commission.	
Step 24: The DMCU analysis commission issues its dispatch.	
Step 25: The DMCU analysis commission delivers the file to the DMCU computer secretary.	
Step 26: The DMCU computer secretary draws up the dispatch to the applicant.	There are further delays in communicating the dispatch to the applicant due to poor attendance at work on the part of municipal staff. This situation is aggravated by poor training of staff and lack of motivation.
Step 27: The DMCU computer secretary communicates the dispatch to the applicant.	

Source: Chilundo et al, Land registration in Maputo and Matola cities, Mozambique, 2005:14-15.

3.7 Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, land access in Mozambique can be either by consuetudinary law (traditional system) or formal state law. For years people have accessed land without considering the formal procedures that grant land access via the issue of a formal document.

Most people do not possess the formal documents granted by the various authorities granting access to land for various reasons. Raimundo (2008) argues that directly after independence people were relying on the new government or FRELIMO policy to reinstate the dignity of the Mozambicans through their right of access to land or property. The socialist regime allowed people to occupy land without any formal approval.

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) policy, property is a commodity that can be bought and sold. However, Mozambique's Land Act does not allow the buying and selling of property, but this still occurs regardless of the national law.

Based on the study areas of Luis Cabral and Hulene B, this report discusses how people operate within the property market as well as the importance of the *declaração*, the DUAT and other methods of land regularisation.

It is important to note that the DUAT is a new process originating from the Land Act of 1997, yet many people are still bound to the informal system, i.e. people are still accessing land through relatives or friends who informally transfer their access rights, while bypassing formal structures such as the municipality. However, community leaders such as the *chefe do quarteirão* or *secretário do bairro* are still the main players in the process of land transfer and allocation. Negrão (2004) points out that even though private property in Mozambique is not recognised formally, there is an active property market in the city of Maputo as follows:

- Through purchase and sale of property
- Through purchase and sale of housing
- Through renting of infrastructure.

The property market is not structured and usually involves small transactions. The study reveals that in poor wards small amounts of money are involved given the fact that properties in these areas are not valuable such as those in the municipal district of Ka-Mpfumo. The parcels of land vary according to the amount that people can afford to pay. As one respondent said: *“In Luis Cabral there is no more space to build new houses so people can only get a portion of land of about 5m x 7m. There are households that do not even have space to build a latrine; some are obliged to share a latrine”* (Mr Cossa, 06/08/2011).

4. Profile of the Interviewers and Respondents in Luis Cabral and Hulene B

This section profiles the respondents in terms of demographic characteristics.

4.1 Demographics

The survey was undertaken in the city of Maputo in the wards of Luis Cabral and Hulene B by a team of interviewers, supervisors and checkers. The 13 interviewers had the task of collecting information by administering a questionnaire that was drawn up in South Africa and applied to Maputo.

There were two supervisors, whose task it was to supervise the survey, including the distribution of the interviewers in the respective blocks, clarification of questions, collection of questionnaires and verification of whether the questionnaires were completed correctly. Thereafter they submitted the completed questionnaires to the checkers. The two checkers were assigned the final verification of the questionnaires, including supporting the supervisors in the field.

The survey took place between 29 October and 4 November 2010. Thirteen interviewers covered Hulene B (seven) and Luis Cabral (six), as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Team of interviewers

Luis Cabral		Hulene B	
Males	Females	Males	Females
Daniel	Felizarda	Heldemira	Grácio
Sebastião	Nelsa	Etelvina	Élcio
Cristiano	Justina	Arlene	José
			Alcídio

In Luis Cabral the major interviews (19.5%) took place on 1 November and the shortest (16.3%) took place on 29 October. In Hulene B the major interviews (23.9%) occurred on the last day (4 November) while the shortest (9.7%) took place on 1 November, as seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Date of the interviews per ward

Date	Luis Cabral		Hulene B	
	Total	%	Total	%
29 October	42	16.3	46	14.8
30 October	47	18.3	44	14.2
1 November	50	19.5	30	9.7
2 November	44	17.1	50	16.1
3 November	30	11.7	66	21.3
4 November	44	17.1	74	23.9
Total	257	100	310	100

4.2 Average time spent in the wards

The quickest interview lasted 30 minutes and the longest was an hour and a half in the Hulene B ward as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Average time spent in the wards

Date	Luis Cabral		Hulene B	
	Total	%	Total	%
Less than 30 minutes	116	45.1	213	68.7
Between 30 minutes and 1 hour	136	52.9	96	31.0
Between 1 hour & 1 hour 30 minutes	5	1.9	1	0.3
Total	257	100	310	100

4.3 Gender of respondents

A total of 567 respondents were interviewed in Luis Cabral and Hulene B: 222 males (39.1%) and 345 females (60.9%). It is clear that there was a significant gender disparity in the interviews for the following reasons:

- According to the third General Census of Population and Housing in Mozambique (2007) Maputo comprises 562 058 females (51.3% of the population) and 532 570 males (49.7% of the population). These figures determined the sampling.
- Although the majority of people are females, the majority of households are headed by males. There are 156 231 households headed by males representing 70.6% of households, while 65 197 are headed by females (29.4%). However, at the time of the sampling the *secretarios*

do bairros informed the survey team that many of the males were working outside the neighbourhood in the city centre, in other provinces, or as migrant workers in South Africa and Swaziland. There was a possibility of interview the men on the weekend, but most of them were reluctant to be interviewed since they were attending football matches and various ceremonies, or undertaking maintenance and repairs.

Unlike the men, the women were eager to be interviewed. However, there were questions that the women simply refused to answer such as income, reasons for migration, the municipal value of the property, the type of house they stayed in previously, the condition of the previous property in comparison to the current property, the neighbours' perception of the value of their property, etc.

Table 4.4: Gender of the respondents

Place of interview	Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%
Luis Cabral	103	53.6	154	44.7
Hulene B	119	46.4	191	55.3
Total	222	100	345	100

4.4 Age of respondents

The majority of respondents (357) were born before 1975 when Mozambique was declared independent, and 210 were born after this date. The eldest respondents were born in 1927 (eight) and the youngest respondents were born in 1992 (eight).

In Luis Cabral, most males were born in 1960 (6.8%). The same number of respondents gave their birth date as 1973 (6.8%), followed by those who were born in 1984 (5.8%), 1985 (4.9%), 1963 and 1953 (3.9%) and 1929 (2.9%). The others were born between 1927 and 1992. The main birth dates for females were as follows: 1982 (7.8%), 1975 and 1980 (5.8%), 1929 and 1970 (4.5%), 1965 and 1988 (5.8%), 1951 (3.2%) and 1966 (2.6%).

In Hulene B, the majority of males (5.0%) were born in 1939, followed by those born in 1960 and 1968 (4.2%), 1950 (3.4%), 1957 (3.4%), 1964 (3.4%), 1968 (3.4%), 1970 (3.4%), 1979 (3.4%), 1980 (3.4%) and 1981 (3.4%). The majority of females in Hulene B were born in 1960, 1964 and

1968 (all 5.2%), followed by those who were born in 1974 (3.7%), 1975 (4.2%), 1972 (3.7%), 1973 (3.7%), 1947 (3.1%) and 1967 (3.1%).

4.5 Place of birth

The data indicates that the respondents were immigrants in the city of Maputo, born mainly in southern Mozambique. As a matter of fact, the dominant immigrants in Maputo are those who originated in southern Mozambique, namely the Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces.

The general data indicates that 45.5% of people are originally from Maputo province, followed by 26.5% from Gaza, 19.2% from Inhambane, 3.9% from Zambezia, 2.6% from Sofala and 0.7% from Cabo Delgado. The other places of origin were Maputo city (0.5%), Nampula (0.4%), Tete (0.2%) and other places (0.2%). It was found that none of the respondents in Luis Cabral were born in Maputo, but 52.4% of the respondents in Hulene B were born in the capital.

Table 4.5: Place of birth

Place of birth	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Maputo province	38	36.9	66	42.9	54	45.4	3	1.6
Maputo city	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	100	52.4
Gaza	25	24.3	34	22.1	44	37.0	48	25.1
Inhambane	28	27.2	46	29.9	8	6.7	26	13.6
Sofala	3	2.9	2	1.3	4	3.4	6	3.1
Manica	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	0.5
Zambezia	7	6.8	3	1.9	6	5.0	6	3.1
Nampula	2	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Cabo Delgado	0	0.0	1	0.6	3	2.5	0	0.0
Tete	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Outro	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	109	191	100

4.6 Marital status

The majority (62.8%) of people in the study area are either married or living together, followed by single (18.3%), widowed (13.5%) and divorced (5.5%) individuals. In Luis Cabral 73.8% of men are married or living together, 16.5% are single, 6.8% are widowed and 2.9% are divorced or separated. The trend is the same with females: 51.9% are married, 27.9% are single, 15.6% are

widowed and 4.5% are divorced or separated. In Hulene B there are slight differences: divorced/separated and widowed males each stand at 4.2%. The number of widows in this ward is relatively high at 20.4%, while single females make up 15.2% and 7.9% of females are divorced or separated.

Table 4.6: Marital status

Marital status	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Married or living together	76	73.8	80	51.9	94	79.0	108	56.5
Single	17	16.5	43	27.9	15	12.6	29	15.2
Divorced/separated	3	2.9	7	4.5	5	4.2	15	7.9
Widowed	7	6.8	24	15.6	5	4.2	39	20.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.7 Number of children

Table 4.8 reveals that the majority of households, either headed by males or by females, have more than four children. Households headed by females have higher numbers of children than male households.

In Luis Cabral, 52.4% of male-headed households have more than four children, 14.6% have only one child, 11.7% have two, 10.7% have three and 10.7% have none. Where female-headed households are concerned, 39.0% have four or more children, 20.1% have two children, 13.0% have one and 8.4% have none.

In Hulene B, 54.6% of male-headed households have four or more children, 13.4% have none, 11.8% have two, 11.8% have three and 8.4% have only one. Where female-headed households are concerned, 48.2% have four or more children, 16.8% have three, 14.1% have two children, 12% have one child and 8.9% have none.

Table 4.7: Number of children

Number of children	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Only one	15	14.6	20	13.0	10	8.4	23	12.0
Two	12	11.7	31	20.1	14	11.8	27	14.1
Three	11	10.7	30	19.5	14	11.8	32	16.8
Four or more	54	52.4	60	39.0	65	54.6	92	48.2
None	11	10.7	13	8.4	16	13.4	17	8.9
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.8 School-going children

In Luis Cabral, 23.7% of the children in male-headed households have already left school, 22.6 % have not started school yet, 32.2% are in primary school, 19.4 % are in secondary school and 2.1% are at university. In the same ward, 25.3% of the children of female-headed households have left school already, 31.2% are in primary school, 16.9% are not in school yet, and 16.2% are in secondary school.

The situation at Hulene B is not very different: the majority of children in male-headed households are in primary school (32.7%), 27.9% have left school already, 22.1% are in secondary school, 13.5% are not in school yet and 2.9% are at university. Most of the children in female-headed households are also in primary school (33.5%), 26.2% have left school already, 19.4% are in secondary school, 11% are not in school yet and 1% of children are at university.

Table 4.8: School-going children

Children	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Not in school yet	21	22.6	26	16.9	14	13.5	21	11.0
In primary school	30	32.2	48	31.2	34	32.7	64	33.5
In secondary school	18	19.4	25	16.2	23	22.1	37	19.4
University	2	2.1	3	1.9	3	2.9	2	1.0
Have left school already	22	23.7	39	25.3	29	27.9	50	26.2
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	0	0.0	13	8.4	0	0.0	17	8.9
Total	93	100	154	100	104	100	191	100

4.9 Highest level of education

In Luis Cabral, the highest level of education amongst males as well as females is primary school (27.2% and 31.8%, respectively). In Hulene B, it was found that 26.9% of males and 30.4% of females had a primary school level of education. In Luis Cabral, 21.4% of males and 22.1% of females had completed their primary school education. In Hulene B, the trend is similar: 16.8% of males and 20.4% of females had completed primary school.

Hulene B males surpass the females when it comes to secondary education with 24.4% males versus 20.9% females having been exposed to secondary education.

It is mostly males that have completed secondary school, particularly in Luis Cabral, where 14.6% of males compared to 8.4% of females have completed secondary school. In Hulene B, 10.1% of males and 5.8% of females have completed secondary school.

Tertiary education is uncommon. In Luis Cabral, only 1% of males and 1.3% of females have a university education. In Hulene B no females have completed university, while only 0.8% of males have. There is one female in Luis Cabral, and one male and one female in Hulene B, with a post-graduate qualification.

Table 4.9: Highest level of education

Highest level of education	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
No formal schooling	2	1.9	0	0.0	14	11.8	0	0.0
Informal schooling	10	9.7	31	20.1	0	0.0	39	20.4
Primary school	28	27.2	49	31.8	32	26.9	58	30.4
Primary school completed	22	21.4	34	22.1	20	16.8	39	20.4
Some secondary school	16	15.5	21	13.6	29	24.4	40	20.9
Secondary school completed	15	14.6	13	8.4	12	10.1	11	5.8
Qualifications other than university	9	8.7	2	1.3	3	2.5	2	1.0
Some university	0	0.0	1	0.6	3	2.5	0	0.0
University completed	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	0	0.0
Post-graduate	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	1	0.5
Do not know	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	3.4	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.10 Mother tongue

Considering that most of the respondents originate from southern Mozambique, mainly from Gaza, it was not surprising to find that the mother tongue of the majority of respondents is Shangaan. Generally, the dominant languages are Shangaan (45%), Ronga (14.5%), Chopi (14.1%), Bitonga (6.7%), Portuguese (2.1%) and other languages (2.1%).

The mother tongue of males in Luis Cabral was as follows: Shangaan (39.8%), Chopi (24.3%), Ronga (13.6%) and Bitonga (9.7%), Portuguese (1.9%), Shona (1%) and others not specified (9.7%). Nhungoe was not classified as anyone's mother tongue in this particular ward. Amongst the females, the mother tongue prevalence was as follows: Shangaan (46.1%), Chopi (21.4%), Ronga (11.7%), Bitonga (7.1%), Portuguese (5.2%), Shona (1.3%) and Sena (0.6%).

The trend in Hulene B is similar and Shangaan appears to be the main mother tongue for both genders (at 66.5% for females and 57.1% for males). The next major language for males is Ronga (21.8%) and so too for females (12.6%) and the third for males is Bitonga (7.6%), while for females it is Chopi (7.9%). The mother tongue fourth in line for males in Hulene B is Chopi and for females it is Bitonga (4.2%). Fifth for males and females of this ward is Sena (at 5% and 2.6%, respectively). Lastly, 0.8% of males' mother tongue is Nhungoe, 0.8% of males speak Portuguese and 0.8% are classified as speaking 'other' languages. Shona is the mother tongue of 0.5% of females, the same percentage speak Portuguese and 5.2% identify with 'other' languages.

Table 4.10: Mother tongue

Mother tongue	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Shangaan	41	39.8	71	46.1	68	57.1	127	66.5
Chopi	25	24.3	33	21.4	7	5.9	15	7.9
Bitonga	10	9.7	11	7.1	9	7.6	8	4.2
Sena	0	0.0	1	0.6	6	5.0	5	2.6
Ronga	14	13.6	18	11.7	26	21.8	24	12.6
Shona	1	1.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	1	0.5
Nhúngoè	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Portuguese	2	1.9	8	5.2	1	0.8	1	0.5
Other	10	9.7	10	6.5	1	0.8	10	5.2
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.11 Description of dwellings

The majority (82.2%) of city dwellers live in a stone house, followed by those living in corrugated iron dwellings (7.4%), shacks (3.2%) and shelters (2.5%). The trend is similar when the data is analysed per ward. In Luis Cabral, the majority of men live in stone houses (74.8%), followed by corrugated iron dwellings (10.7%), other (7.8%), shacks (4.9%) and shelters (1.9%), while the majority of females live in stone houses (70.1%), followed by other (11%), corrugated iron dwellings (10.4%) and shacks (7.8%).

Males of Hulene B live in stone houses (89.9%), corrugated iron dwellings (4.2%), shelters (4.2%), shacks (0.8%) and other (0.8%). Females of that ward live in stone houses (89.5%), corrugated iron dwellings (5.8%) and shelters (4.2%).

Table 4.11: Dwelling description

Type of dwelling	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Shack	5	4.9	12	7.8	1	0.8	0	0.0
Corrugated iron dwelling	11	10.7	16	10.4	5	4.2	11	5.8
Stone house	77	74.8	108	70.1	107	89.9	171	89.5
Shelter	2	1.9	1	0.6	5	4.2	8	4.2
Other	8	7.8	17	11.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.12 Household structure

There are several household structures in the study area as defined by family relationships or consanguineous relations. The general household comprises a nuclear family of parents and their own children (45.1%), or it may be made up of a nuclear family including grandparents (17.5%), or a nuclear family with unmarried relatives or friends (10.6%), a grandparent household (6.0%), a married couple or a couple living together (4.8%), or grandparents and grandchildren (4.4%).

In Luis Cabral, male-headed households are mainly made up of a nuclear family comprising parents and their own children (46.6%), a nuclear family with grandparents (20.4%), grandparents and grandchildren (6.8%), more than one unmarried person sharing a house (4.9%), a married

couple or a couple living together (4.9%), a nuclear family with unmarried relative/s or friend/s (2.9%), single-parent households (2.9%) and one person living alone (1.9%). Female-headed households have the following structure: a nuclear family comprising parents and their own children (33.8%), a nuclear family with grandparents (21.4%), single-parent households (7.8%), grandparent households (5.8%), a nuclear family with unmarried relative/s or friend/s (5.8%), a married couple or a couple living together (3.9%), one person living alone (3.2%), and more than one unmarried person sharing a house (2.6%).

In Hulene B, the same trends occur as in Luis Cabral. Male-headed households comprise mainly a nuclear family with parents and their own children (53.8%), a nuclear family with unmarried relatives together (7.6%), more than one unmarried person sharing a house (2.5%), single-parent households (1.7%), and grandparents and grandchildren (1.7%).

The female-headed households in Hulene B are also mainly structured around a nuclear family comprising parents and their own children (48.2%), a nuclear family with grandparents (16.2%), a nuclear family with unmarried relative/s or friend/s (14.1%), single-parent households (8.9%), a married couple or a couple living together (3.7%), grandparent households (3.1%), and more than one unmarried person sharing a house (2.1%), but no grandparent households were found.

Table 4.12: Household structure

Household structure	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Married couple or couple living together	5	4.9	6	3.9	9	7.6	7	3.7
Nuclear family (Parents and their own children)	48	46.6	52	33.8	64	53.8	92	48.2
Nuclear family plus grandparents	21	20.4	33	21.4	15	12.6	31	16.2
Nuclear family plus unmarried relative/s or friend/s	3	2.9	9	5.8	21	17.6	27	14.1
One person living alone	2	1.9	5	3.2	2	1.7	2	1.0
More than one unmarried person sharing a house	5	4.9	4	2.6	3	2.5	4	2.1
Single-parent households	3	2.9	12	7.8	2	1.7	17	8.9
Grandparent households	0	0.0	9	5.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Grandparents and grandchildren	7	6.8	0	0.0	2	1.7	6	3.1
Other	9	8.7	24	15.6	1	0.8	5	2.6
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.13 Spouse or children under 18 living in another dwelling

Following similar trends in cities elsewhere on the continent, many of the households we interviewed were split and had a spouse or children under 18 living elsewhere. There was a slight difference between the two settlements, with our results showing that more households in Luis Cabral had members of the nuclear family living in another abode than in Hulene B.

Table 4.13: Spouse or children under 18 living in another dwelling

Spouse or children under 18 living in another dwelling?	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	49	47.6	69	44.8	45	37.8	69	36.1
No	54	52.4	85	55.2	73	61.3	121	63.4
Do not know	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.14 Residence of children

The majority of people whose children were living elsewhere specified that they were living in Maputo (21.7%), 6.2% in another city, 3.7% in another province, 2.5% in that particular ward, 0.7% in a rural area and 5.5% in unspecified places.

The majority of males in Luis Cabral said their children were living in Maputo (22.3%), in another city (9.7%), in another province (8.7%), or in that particular ward (1.9%), with none living in a rural area. The females in this ward said their children lived in Maputo (22.1%), another city (6.5%), another province (3.9%), a rural area (2.6%), in that particular ward (1.3%), or in other unspecified areas (57.8%).

In Hulene B, males said their children lived in the city of Maputo (18.5%), in another city (6.7%), in that particular ward (5.0%), in another province (3.4%), or in another place (2.5%) while none said their children lived in a rural area. The females said their children lived in the city of Maputo (22.0%), in another city (3.7%), in that particular ward (2.1%), or another province (1.0%), while none lived in a rural area. However, 64.4% said their children lived in an unspecified place.

Table 4.14: Residence of children

Residence of children	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
In this area	2	1.9	2	1.3	6	5.0	4	2.1
In this city	23	22.3	34	22.1	22	18.5	42	22.0
Another city	10	9.7	10	6.5	8	6.7	7	3.7
Another province	9	8.7	6	3.9	4	3.4	2	1.0
Rural area	0	0.0	4	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	5	4.9	9	5.8	3	2.5	13	6.8
Not applicable	54	52.4	89	57.8	76	63.9	123	64.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.15 Reasons that children do not live with parents

The main reasons for children not living with their parents were that they had to look after the family home (14.3%), they moved away from the parental home to work (5.6%), the parents moved away from the children in search of work (3.7%), the parents are divorced and the children live with the ex-spouse (1.8%), their grandmother looks after them (1.4%), or other (12%).

In Luis Cabral, the males said that their children had to look after the family home (19.4%), that the children had moved away from the parental home to work (5.8%), that the parent had moved away from the children in search of work (3.9%), that the children lived in an area where there were better schools (2.9%), that the current residence did not have sufficient space to accommodate the children (1%), or that the father was divorced and the children living with the ex-spouse (1.9%). Some 12.6% said their children lived elsewhere for other reasons.

The answers given by females were as follows: 9.7% said that the children had to look after the family home, 6.5% that the children moved away from the parental home to work, 4.5% that the mother moved away from the children in search of work, 3.2% that the children's grandmother looked after them, 2.6% that the children lived in an area where there were better schools and 1.9% that the mother was divorced and the children living with her ex-spouse. None cited insufficient space as a reason for their children's absence from the home, while 14.3% cited other reasons.

The males of Hulene B said that their children had to look after the family home (14.3%), the father was divorced and the children lived with his ex-spouse (2.5%), that the children lived in an area where there were better schools (2.5%), that the children moved away from the parental home to work (0.8%) and that the grandmother looked after the children (0.8%). Some 14.35% cited other reasons for their children's absence.

The females said that their children had to look after the family home (14.1%), that they had moved away from the parental home to work (7.3%), that the mother had moved away from the children in search of work (3.7%), that the grandmother looked after the children (1%), that the mother was divorced and the children living with her ex-spouse (1%), and that the children lived in an area where there are better schools (0.5%), but none said there was insufficient space for the children.

Table 4.15: Reasons that children do not live with parents

Reasons that children do not live with parents	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
The parent moved away from the children to work	4	3.9	7	4.5	3	2.5	7	3.7
The children moved away from the parent to work	6	5.8	10	6.5	1	0.8	14	7.3
There are better schools where the children live	3	2.9	4	2.6	3	2.5	1	0.5
The children had to look after the family home	20	19.4	15	9.7	17	14.3	27	14.1
Insufficient space for the children	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The grandmother looks after the children	0	0.0	5	3.2	1	0.8	2	1.0
The parent is divorced and the children live with the ex-spouse	2	1.9	3	1.9	3	2.5	2	1.0
Other	13	12.6	22	14.3	17	14.3	15	7.9
Not applicable	54	52.4	88	57.1	74	62.2	123	64.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.16 Main source of income

Most households acquire an income from a salary (54.9%) or from earnings generated through owning a business or through a farm (33%). Other households mentioned a state grant (4.1%), remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (2.8%), remittances from outside of the household in the form of goods (1.9%), or other sources of income (1.2%). There were a few who mentioned sources such as investments (0.7%), private pensions (0.4%) and private maintenance from an ex-spouse or the father of the children (0.5%), while 0.4% did not know.

4.17 Secondary source of income

Secondary sources of income are usually earnings from an own business or a farm (26.8%), wages (9.5%) or remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (2.6%). Other sources are private maintenance (0.9%), state grants (0.7%), investments (0.2%) or remittances from people outside of the household in the form of goods (0.2%). Only 0.4% refused to answer, 0.7% said they did not know and 57.8% did not have a secondary income.

Males in Luis Cabral declared earnings from an own business or a farm as their secondary source of income (31.1%), wages (8.7%), remittance from outside of the household in the form of money (3.9%), or private pensions (2.9%). Approximately 1% refused to answer this question, 1% did not know and 51.5% had no secondary income.

Females in Luis Cabral declared earnings from an own business or a farm as their secondary source of income (24.7%), from wages (7.8%), from remittances from people outside of household in the form of money (5.2%) and from investments (0.6%). About 1.3% did not know and 60.4% had no secondary income.

Males of Hulene B specified earnings from an own business or a farm as their secondary source of income (24.4%), from wages (10.9%), private pensions (0.8%) and from remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (0.8%). About 0.8% of men did not know and 61.3% had no additional income.

Finally, females in Hulene B specified earnings from an own business or a farm as their secondary source of income (27.7%), from wages (9.9%), state grants (2.1%), remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (1%) and remittances from people outside of the household in the form of goods (0.5%). About 58.1% did not have an additional income and only 0.5% refused to answer.

Table 4.16: Secondary source of income

Secondary source of income	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Wages	9	8.7	12	7.8	13	10.9	19	9.9
Earnings from own business or farm	32	31.1	38	24.7	29	24.4	53	27.7
State grants	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	2.1
Private pensions	3	2.9	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Mining pension – insurance that widows get from Teba	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Investments	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Remittance from people outside the household – money	4	3.9	8	5.2	1	0.8	2	1.0
Remittance from people outside the household – goods	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Private maintenance (From ex-spouse or father of children)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Do not know	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	0	0.0
Refused to answer	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
No further response	53	51.5	93	60.4	73	61.3	111	58.1
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.18 How most of a household's income is generated

The general data reveals that the majority of households have a breadwinner that earns a wage (52.2%), or get earnings from an own business or a farm (34.6%), from state grants (3.5%), from remittances from people outside of household in the form of money (2.8%), or from remittances from people outside of the household in the form of goods (1.1%). Some 1.2% mentioned 'other' sources of income, while 0.4% refused to answer and 2.3% did not know.

Most males in Luis Cabral earn a wage (51.5%), generate earnings from an own business or a farm (32%), get a state grant (5.8%), or accept a remittance from people outside of the household in the form of money (3.9%) or goods (1.9%). There were males who said their income was generated from other sources (1.0%) while 1.9% did not know.

The females of Luis Cabral cited wages (50%) as their main source of income, earnings from an own business or a farm (39%), remittances from people outside of household in the form of money (3.2%), or state grants (1.3%). Some 0.6% received private maintenance from an ex-spouse, or remittances from people outside of the household in the form of goods (0.6%). About 2.6% had other sources of income, 1.3% did not know and 0.6% refused to answer.

Males in Hulene B receive a wage (61.3%), have earnings from an own business or a farm (22.7%), receive a state grant (5%) or private maintenance from an ex-spouse (1.7%), or have investments (1.7%). They also receive remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (0.8%) or goods (0.8%). Other sources of income amounted to 0.8%, 0.8% refused to answer and 4.2% did not know.

The sources that provide the most money per month for the female-headed households of Hulene B are wages (50.8%), earnings from an own business or a farm (38.2%), state grants (3.1%), remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (3.1%) or goods (1%), investments (0.5%) and private maintenance from an ex-spouse (0.5%). About 2.1% did not know and 0.5% cited other sources.

Table 4.17: How most of a household's income is generated

How most of a household's income is generated	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Wages	53	51.5	77	50.0	73	61.3	97	50.8
Earnings from own business or farm	33	32.0	60	39.0	27	22.7	73	38.2
State grants	6	5.8	2	1.3	6	5.0	6	3.1
Private pension	1	1.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mining pension – insurance that widow gets from Teba	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Investments	1	1.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	1	0.5
Remittance from people outside the household – money	4	3.9	5	3.2	1	0.8	6	3.1
Remittance from people outside the household – goods	2	1.9	1	0.6	1	0.8	2	1.0
Private maintenance (from ex-spouse or father of children)	0	0.0	1	0.6	2	1.7	1	0.5
Other	1	1.0	4	2.6	1	0.8	1	0.5
Do not know	2	1.9	2	1.3	5	4.2	4	2.1
Refused to answer	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.19 Total monthly income

The majority of households (30.5%) survive on an income of between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN a month, while 28% earn between 0MZN and 1 800MZN. These households are poor. The numbers of households that earn more are low, and they decrease as the income figures used in the survey increase: only 12.9% of households earn between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN a month, while only 4.2% of households earn between 5 401MZN and 7 200MZN, followed by 2.3% who earn between 9 001MZN and 10 800MZN, and 1.1% who earn between between 7 201MZN and 9 000MZN. Some 3.5% said they earned 12 601 MZN or more, 16.6% said did not know and 0.7% refused to answer the question.

An analysis by gender shows that almost 31% of males in Luis Cabral only earn up to 1 800 MZN. The second largest group of males (22.3%) earn between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN, and the third group (21.3%) between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN. Some 5.3% of male respondents said they earned 12 601MZN or more, and 2.1% said they earned between 9 001MZN and 10 800 MZN. Some 16% said they did not know.

The males in Hulene B are slightly better off than those in Luis Cabral, as almost 43% said they earned between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN, while less than 12% earned only up to 1 800MZN, and the same percentage earned between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN. Some 3.4% said they earned 12 601MZN or more, and 1.7% between 9 001MZN and 10 800 MZN.

Similar to the males of Luis Cabral, the majority of females (32.5%) also only earned up to 1 800MZN, followed by 22.7% who earned between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN and 20.1% who earned between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN. Some 3.9% said they earned between 5 401MZN and 7 200MZN, and the same percentage said they earned between 9 001MZN and 10 800MZN, while 3.2% said they earned 12 601MZN or more. Some 12.3% said they did not know and 1.3% refused to answer.

Where the females of Hulene B are concerned, some 42.8% were recorded as earning between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN, while 40.3% earned only up to 1 800MZN. Some 5% said they earned between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN and 4.4% between 5 401MZN and 7 200MZN, while 3.8% said they earned 12 601MZN or more. Some 0.6% refused to disclose their earnings bracket.

Table 4.18: Total monthly income

Total monthly income	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
0 – 1 800	29	30.9	50	32.5	14	11.8	64	40.3
1 801 – 3 600	20	21.3	35	22.7	51	42.9	68	42.8
3 601 – 5 400	21	22.3	31	20.1	14	11.8	8	5.0
5 401 – 7 200	0	0.0	6	3.9	3	2.5	7	4.4
7 201 – 9 000	1	1.1	0	0.0	3	2.5	2	1.3
9 001 – 10 800	2	2.1	6	3.9	2	1.7	3	1.9
10 801 – 12 600	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
12 601 and more	5	5.3	5	3.2	4	3.4	6	3.8
Do not know	15	16.0	19	12.3	27	22.7	0	0.0
Refused to answer	0	0.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	1	0.6
Total	94	100	154	100	119	100	159	100

4.20 Previous residence

As explained earlier, the Luis Cabral and Hulene B wards were largely formed by inbound migrants; in other words, the people who live in these wards were born in a different area, whether it be a another district, province, or another ward of the city. It was also mentioned earlier that the people in Luis Cabral mainly migrated from the Inhambane province, while the people in Hulene B settled in the ward in an attempt to escape civil war and floods. Thus it was important to ask each respondent from where they originated and their reasons for settling in these wards.

Generally, people in these wards had previously lived in other neighbourhoods (45%) or other provinces (34.2%), while just over 20% were born and raised in the ward in question. This data shows that most residents in Luis Cabral and Hulene B were ‘newcomers’, with almost 80% not having been born in the wards.

It is interesting to observe that the same number of males in Luis Cabral moved from another ward (37.9%) or another province (37.9%). Some 24.3% were born and raised in the ward and none originated from another country.

The majority of females in this neighborhood are originally from other wards (40.9%), while 38.3% are from other provinces and only one individual said she came from another country. This was also the only person recorded in both neighbourhoods who said they came from another country. Just over 20% were born and raised in the ward.

In Hulene B, most of the males said they were originally from another ward (47.1%), and 30.3% said they came from another province, while 22.7% were born and bred in the ward. Some 52.4% of females in Hulene B said they came from another ward; those from other provinces amounted to 30.4%, while 17.3% were born and raised in the ward.

Table 4.19: Previous residence

Previous residence	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Born and raised in the ward	25	24.3	31	20.1	27	22.7	33	17.3
Another ward	39	37.9	63	40.9	56	47.1	100	52.4
Another province	39	37.9	59	38.3	36	30.3	58	30.4
Another country	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

4.21 Independence

Most of the respondents (41.3%) did not live independent of (away from) their parents in their previous place of residence, while 38.3% said they did.

This trend is no different when it comes to those surveyed living in Luis Cabral: 45.6% of males and 46.4% of females did not live independently, away from their parents, in their previous place of residence, while 30.1% of males and 35.1% of females did. In Hulene B, 36.1% of males and 47.6% of females said they lived independently, away from their parents, while 42% of males and 35.1% of females said they did not.

Table 4.20: Independence

Living independently, away from parents, in previous place of residence	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	31	30.1	53	35.1	43	36.1	91	47.6
No	47	45.6	70	46.4	50	42.0	67	35.1
Not applicable	25	24.3	28	18.5	26	21.8	33	17.3
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

4.22 Previous dwelling

Respondents' previous dwellings were mainly stone houses (34.6%), followed by shacks (16%), corrugated iron dwellings (15.3%), shelters (1.8%) and 'other' dwellings (10.8%). In Luis Cabral, 23.3% of males surveyed said they had previously lived in stone houses, 20.4% in corrugated iron dwellings, 11.7% in shacks, 3.9% in shelters and 16.5% in 'other' dwellings. Of the females

surveyed in Luis Cabral, 31.1% had previously lived in stone houses, 11.9% in corrugated iron dwellings, 9.3% in shacks, 2.6% in shelters and 25.2% in ‘other’ dwellings. The Hulene B situation is not very different: 32.8% of males in this neighborhood had previously lived in stone houses, 24.4% in shacks, 16% in corrugated iron dwellings, just under 1% in shelters and 4.2% in ‘other’ dwellings. The majority of females (just over 47%) had previously lived in stone houses. while 18.2% had lived in shacks, 16% in corrugated iron dwellings, 0.5% in shelters and the same percentage in ‘other’ dwellings.

Table 4.21: Previous dwelling

Previous dwelling	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Shacks	12	11.7	14	9.3	29	24.4	34	18.2
Corrugated iron dwellings	21	20.4	18	11.9	19	16.0	30	16.0
Stone houses	24	23.3	47	31.1	39	32.8	88	47.1
Shelters	4	3.9	4	2.6	1	0.8	1	0.5
Other	17	16.5	38	25.2	5	4.2	1	0.5
Do not know	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	25	24.3	28	18.5	26	21.8	33	17.6
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	187	100

4.23 Type of settlement

The main settlement was informal (28.9%), followed by owners of private sector houses (25.9%), tenants of private sector houses (6.6%), rural houses (3.2%), APIE houses, i.e. state housing (3.0%), shacks (0.9%), backyard shacks (0.4%), community land (0.5%), domestic servant quarters (0.2%), hostels (0.2%) and other (8.5%).

The following situation was found in Luis Cabral: males lived in private houses as tenants (27.1%), informal settlements (13.5%), APIE houses (5.2%), rural houses (3.1%), shacks (2.1%), domestic servant quarters (1%) community land (1%) and other (20.8%). None lived in hostels, backyard shacks or owned private sector houses. Females lived in private sector houses as owners (39.6%), informal settlements (18%), private sector houses as tenants (10.8%), rural houses (9.9%), backyard shacks (0.9%) and other (18.9%). None lived in domestic servant quarters,

shacks, on community land, or in APIE houses or state houses. However, 1.8% did not know in what type of settlement they lived.

In the Hulene B ward, it was found that 37% of males were living in informal settlements, 25.2% in private sector houses as owners, 3.4% in private sector houses as tenants, 2.5% in rural houses, 0.8% in backyard shacks, 0.8% in APIE house and 5% in other dwellings. Those that said they did not know amounted to 2.5% and none lived in servant quarters, hostels or on community land.

The majority of females in Hulene B live in informal settlements (45%), others in private sector houses as owners (24.6%), private sector houses as tenants (6.8%), or APIE houses (1.6%). A similar percentage – 0.5% – lived in backyard shacks, shacks, rural houses or other dwellings. There were 2.6% who did not know the type of dwelling in which they lived, while none lived on community land, or in hostels or domestic servant quarters.

Table 4.22: Type of settlement

Type of settlement	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Informal settlements	13	13.5	20	18.0	44	37.0	86	45.0
Backyard shacks	0	0.0	1	0.9	1	0.8	1	0.5
Domestic servant quarters	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Shacks	2	2.1	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Hostels	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Private sector house as owners	0	0.0	44	39.6	30	25.2	47	24.6
Private sector house as tenants	26	27.1	12	10.8	4	3.4	13	6.8
Community land	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
APIE houses/state houses	5	5.2	0	0.0	1	0.8	3	1.6
Rural houses	3	3.1	11	9.9	3	2.5	1	0.5
Other	20	20.8	21	18.9	6	5.0	1	0.5
Do not know	0	0.0	2	1.8	3	2.5	5	2.6
Not applicable	25	26.0	0	0.0	26	21.8	33	17.3
Total	96	100	111	100	119	100	191	100

4.24 Main source of income in previous residence

In the previous place of residence, the main source of income per household per month was wages (53.9%), earnings from an own business or farm (18.8%), state grants (0.7%), private pensions (0.2%), investments (0.2%), remittances from people outside of the household in the form of money (0.2%), remittance from people outside of the household in the form of goods (0.2%), private maintenance from an ex-spouse or father of the children (0.2%), or other (1.9), while 3.9% did not know. It is clear that there is no significant difference in the main source of income (i.e. wages) for respondents in their previous place of residence and their current residence.

The males of Luis Cabral whose main source of income was wages amounted to 44.3%, while those in Hulene B amounted to 62.2%. The latter figure indicates that other sources of income play an insignificant role in these households. The females in Luis Cabral whose main source of income was wages were 47.7% of the group, while in Hulene B they made up 60.7% of the group. It is clear that the people in Hulene B are more reliant on wages than those in Luis Cabral.

Earnings generated from an own business or farm are also an important source of income. However, a slight difference can be observed. While for males (20.6%) and females (25.8%) of Luis Cabral and for females (17.8%) of Hulene B, this was an important secondary source of income, a slightly lower percentage of the males in Hulene B (11.8%) were reliant on their own business or a farm to generate a secondary source of income.

Table 4.23: Main source of income in previous residence

Main source of income in previous residence	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Wages	43	44.3	72	47.7	74	62.2	116	60.7
Earnings from own business or farm	20	20.6	39	25.8	14	11.8	34	17.8
State grants	2	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.0
Private pensions	1	1.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mining pension or insurance that widows get from Teba	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Investments	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Remittance from people outside the household in the form of money	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Remittances from people outside the household in the form of goods	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Private maintenance (from ex-spouse or father of children)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	5	5.2	4	2.6	0	0.0	2	1.0
Do not know	0	0.0	7	4.6	5	4.2	3	1.6
Not applicable	25	25.8	28	18.5	26	21.8	33	17.3
Total	97	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

4.25 Total monthly income in previous residence

The total monthly income per household is predominantly between 0 and 1 800MZN (20.6%). Other households survive on between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN (11%), between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN (4.3%) and between 5 401MZN and 7 200MZN (1.1%). The majority declared they did not know their total monthly income (40.6%).

The majority of Luis Cabral's males said they did not know their monthly income (45.6%). Of those who declared their income, the majority said it was between 0 and 1 800MZN (14.6%), followed by those who said it was between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN (10.7%), and between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN (3.9%). None of the respondents earned between 5 401MZN and 7 201MZN or between 9 001 MZN and 10 800 MZN. One respondent said his earnings were between 10 801MZN and 12 600MZN, and one said his were more than 12 601MZN.

The majority of females in Luis Cabral said they did not know their total monthly income (46.6%). Of those who did declare their total monthly incomes, the majority said they earned

between 0 and 1 800MZN (23.6%). The second largest percentage of those that declared their income said they earned between 3 601MZN and 5 400MZN (7.4%), while 2.7% said they earned between 1 800MZN and 3 600MZN. Only one female said she earned between 9 001MZN and 10 800MZN. None earned between 10 801MZN and 12 600MZN or over 12 601MZN.

In Hulene B the situation does not differ much. The majority of people professed to not know what they earned, but considering the level of income of those that declared their earnings, it is clear that most people earn less than 7 200MZN.

Table 4.24: Total monthly income (MZN) in previous residence

Total monthly income (MZN)	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
0 – 1 800	15	14.6	35	23.6	24	20.5	40	21.2
1 801 – 3 600	11	10.7	4	2.7	18	15.4	31	16.4
3 601 – 5 400	4	3.9	11	7.4	2	1.7	8	4.2
5 401 – 7 200	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	4	2.1
9 001 – 10 800	0	0.0	1	0.7	1	0.9	0	0.0
10 801 – 12 600	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.9	0	0.0
12 601 or more	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	24	23.3	28	18.9	26	22.2	33	17.5
Do not know	47	45.6	69	46.6	41	35.0	72	38.1
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	1	0.5
Total	103	100	148	100	117	100	189	100

4.26 Conclusion

This section covers the data pertaining to population numbers, age, education, language, household structure, typical dwellings, monthly income and source of income, amongst other details.

The data reveals that the majority of city dwellers are females. Most of the respondents in this survey were born before Mozambique's independence in 1975 and they mostly originate from Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. The dominant mother tongue is Shangaan, and the highest level of education attained by respondents is some primary school education. The households are made up of nuclear families comprising parents and their own children while others consist of a nuclear

family as well as the grandparents. The majority of households are headed by males with generally more than four children whose parents are either married or living together.

Generally, the people in the wards surveyed had previously lived in other wards. Their dwellings are mostly stone houses followed by shacks, corrugated iron dwellings and shelters. The majority of people have settled in informal settlements followed by those in private sector houses as owners or tenants. Thereafter, respondents are also living in rural houses, APIE houses, shacks, backyard shacks, community land, domestic servant quarters and hostels.

Maputo city is a mix of city and rural areas, in which about 55% of the city dwellers are poor. The poverty increases toward the periphery areas of the city (UNDP 2006; INE 2003). It was not surprising to find that most of the poor were females living on the outskirts of the city. The majority of respondents who declared their income earned between 1 801MZN and 3 600MZN, mostly in the form of wages, which is between \$50 and \$100 per month.

The profile of the people living in the poorer areas of the wards surveyed is captured by the remarks of one of the respondents “*We moved here to escape civil war and the threat of death. This is why my family suggested I move to the city. My initial idea was to reach South Africa, but I don’t have enough money to get there.*” (MM, Maputo, 15 March 2011).

5. Motives for Moving to Luis Cabral and Hulene B

The section discusses the history of migration, the motives for moving to a new area, how people have adapted to their different lifestyles and whether their living conditions have improved or deteriorated.

5.1 Motives for moving

As mentioned before, the majority of respondents were not born in the study areas. It was therefore important to determine the motivation for moving to those areas. It was revealed that most of the respondents had moved between 1991 and 2000, followed by those who moved between 1981 and 1990, 2001 and 2010, 1971 and 1980, 1961 and 1970, 1951 and 1960, 1940 and 1950. However 3.9% of respondents did not know when they had moved to their ward and 0.2% could not answer the question. It can be concluded that the neighbourhood dwellers are new arrivals. Luis Cabral was established in the 1960s, while Hulene B was established in the 1980s due to the influx of people fleeing from civil war and floods.

The majority of males in Luis Cabral moved to the area between 1981 and 2000. This was followed by those who moved between 1971 and 1980, then between 1961 and 1980, 2001 and 2010 and finally those who had moved between 1951 and 1960. None settled in Luis Cabral between 1940 and 1950. Some 1.9% of respondents said they did not know when they moved to the area.

The majority of females migrated to the area during the same period as the males, i.e. between 1981 and 2000. This was followed by those who arrived between 2001 and 2010, then those who moved to the area between 1961 and 1970, between 1971 and 1980 and the smallest group arrived between 1940 and 1960.

Most of the males in Hulene B moved to the area between 1971 and 2010. The majority arrived in 1991 and 2000, and thereafter between 1981 and 1990. The majority of females arrived between

1981 and 2010. None arrived between 1940 and 1950, and only one female (and one male) settled in Hulene B between 1951 and 1950.

Table 5.1: Date of migration

Date of migration	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1940 – 1950	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
1951 – 1960	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	1	0.5
1961 – 1970	11	10.7	16	10.6	5	4.2	5	2.6
1971 – 1980	14	13.6	15	9.9	16	13.4	19	9.9
1981 – 1990	21	20.4	29	19.2	25	21.0	30	15.7
1991 – 2000	21	20.4	29	19.2	28	23.5	57	29.8
2001 – 2010	9	8.7	26	17.2	14	11.8	35	18.3
Not applicable	24	23.3	28	18.5	26	21.8	33	17.3
Do not know	2	1.9	4	2.6	4	3.4	11	5.8
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.2 Change within family or community as a contributing factor to moving

When the respondents were asked whether specific changes within the family or community contributed to the decision to move, 50.4% agreed, while 28% disagreed. Only 0.3% did not know and 0.2% refused to answer. The issue was not applicable to the remaining respondents. If the issue is considered per ward, there are only minor differences: For instance, 38.8% of males in Luis Cabral replied in the affirmative, while 42% of males from Hulene B were of the same opinion. Females of Luis Cabral who agreed came to 53.6% compared to 61.3% in Hulene B.

Table 5.2. Change within family or community

Change within the family or community as a contributing factor to moving	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	40	38.8	81	53.6	50	42.0	117	61.3
No	36	35.0	41	27.2	41	34.5	40	20.9
Not applicable	25	24.3	29	19.2	27	22.7	33	17.3
Refused to answer	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.3 Main changes within family or community

The main changes that contributed to the respondents' move to their area were marriage (28.7%), the birth of a new family member (5%), divorce (3.5%), a death in the family (1.6%), conflict in the family (2.5%), invitation to move to the area (2.1%), inheritance of another property (1.2%), enrolment as a student (0.5%), expulsion from the community (0.2%) and other (5.7%).

Where the males of Luis Cabral are concerned, the motivation for moving was marriage (24.3%), loss of previous house (2.9%), or inheritance of another property (1.9%), while 1% of respondents each mentioned death in the family, divorce, enrolment as student, or conflict in the family, and 6.8% said 'other' reasons were at play. None mentioned getting older, conflict with the landowner or landlord, expulsion by the community, or relationship with the local leaders, or being invited to live in the area.

In Hulene B the main changes amongst males that motivated their move were marriage (19.3%), while 33% of females cite it as their motivation for the move. The second major change amongst males was the birth of a new family member (8.4%), whilst 7.9% of females mentioned the same factor. However, the level of divorce among females (6.8%) of Hulene B ward was higher than that of their male counterparts (1.7%). Conflict in the family was also slightly higher amongst females (3.7%) than males, with only 1.7% of males citing this as a factor. Males who were invited to live in the area came to 3.4%, females to 2.6%. Males who gave other reasons for moving amounted to 6.7% and females 3.1%. None of the males cited losing a previous house, death in the family, conflict with the landowner, expulsion from the community or relationship with the local leader as factors in their move. The females did not mention getting older, conflict with the landowner, expulsion from the community or relationship with local leaders as factors in their move.

Table 5.3: Main changes within family or community as a motivating factor to move

Main changes in family or community as a motivating factor to move	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Birth of a new family member	0	0.0	5	3.3	10	8.4	15	7.9
Loss of previous house	3	2.9	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.5
Death in the family	1	1.0	5	3.3	0	0.0	2	1.0
Divorce	1	1.0	5	3.3	2	1.7	13	6.8
Marriage	25	24.3	50	33.1	23	19.3	63	33.0
Getting older	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Enrolment as a student	1	1.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.5
Conflict in the family	1	1.0	4	2.6	2	1.7	7	3.7
Inheritance of another property	2	1.9	1	0.7	1	0.8	3	1.6
Conflict with the landowner / landlord / host	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Expulsion from the community	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Relationship with local leaders	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Invitation to live in the area	0	0.0	2	1.3	4	3.4	5	2.6
Other	7	6.8	9	6.0	8	6.7	6	3.1
Do not know	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	2	1.0
Not applicable	61	59.2	67	44.4	68	57.1	73	38.2
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.4 Secondary changes within family or community

When the respondents were asked what the second main change was that motivated them to move, marriage (4.1%) was still high on the list in relation to the other responses, although the main secondary reason, at 5.1%, was an invitation to move to the area..About 32.6% of interviewers did not have a response to this question.

In Luis Cabral, 7.8% of males and 9.2% of females were invited to live in the area, while 23.3% of males and 37.5% of females did not have a further response other than the main reason for moving.

In Hulene B, the situation is slightly different, with marriage (10.1%) high amongst females as a secondary reason for moving, while only 0.8% of male fell into this category. The main secondary change for males was an invitation to move to the area (2.5%), while 2.1% of females fell into this category. In total, 60.5% of males did not have a secondary reason for their move and 49.2% of females gave the same response.

Table 5.4: Secondary changes within family or community

Secondary changes within family or community contributing to moving	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Birth of a new family member	1	1.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	4	2.1
Loss of previous house	1	1.0	1	0.7	1	0.8	0	0.0
Death in the family	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Divorce	0	0.0	1	0.7	1	0.8	1	0.5
Marriage	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	19	10.1
Enrolment as student	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Conflict in the family	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	3	1.6
Inheritance of another property	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Conflict with the landowner / landlord / host	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Expulsion from community	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Relationship with local leaders	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Invitation to move to the area	8	7.8	14	9.2	3	2.5	4	2.1
Other	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
No further answer	24	23.3	57	37.5	40	33.6	65	34.4
Not applicable	66	64.1	71	46.7	72	60.5	93	49.2
Total	103	100	152	100	119	100	189	100

5.5 Economic changes

Respondents were asked whether the economic situation motivated their move to the area. The majority (50.4%) answered 'no', while 24.8% answered in the affirmative, 2.7% of the respondents did not know and 0.5% refused to answer.

In both wards, there were more females (52.3% of females in Luis Cabral and 60.2% in Hulene B) than males (39.8% of males in Luis Cabral and 42.9% of males in Hulene B) who cited the economic situation as a factor influencing their move.

Considering that a fairly large percentage of people in Luis Cabral and Hulene B were motivated to move so as to improve their economic situation, it is clear that the move did not bring about a significant change in their standard of living.

Table 5.5: Economic changes

Changes in economic situation as a contributing factor to moving	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	29	28.2	38	25.2	35	29.4	37	19.4
No	41	39.8	79	52.3	51	42.9	115	60.2
No further answer	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	27	26.2	30	19.9	28	23.5	35	18.3
Refused to answer	1	1.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	5	4.9	1	0.7	5	4.2	4	2.1
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.6 Main changes in economic situation

The main changes that the people in these wards wanted to make to their economic situation by moving included applying for a new job (8.9%), making money and wanting another option (3.5%), the sale of previous property (2.5%), the high cost of living (2.3%), losing a job (1.2%), or ‘other’ reasons (6.9%). About 0.4% said they did not know.

The males of Luis Cabral said that the main economic changes that motivated their move were the desire to get a new job (15.5%) and the cost of living that became too high (1.9%), or they had lost their job (1%). The males in Hulene B said they needed to make money and wanted another option (6.8%), they had applied for a new job (5.9%), or they had sold their previous property or it had become too expensive to stay where they were (2.5%). None of the males in Luis Cabral said they had sold their property, while 2.5% of those in Hulene B mentioned this as a reason, and 1.7% of males in the same ward said they had lost their jobs.

For the females of Luis Cabral the main economic driver was to get a new job (13.9%), others said it had become too expensive to stay where they were (3.3%), or that they had lost their job (1.3%), sold their previous property (1.3%) or had ‘other’ reasons (5.3%). In Hulene B females needed to make money and wanted another option (4.7%), had sold their previous property (4.7%), wanted a new job (3.1%), had lost their job (1%) or mentioned ‘other’ reasons (5.2%).

Table 5.6: Main changes in economic situation

Main changes in economic situation that contributed to the move to this area	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Losing a job	1	1.0	2	1.3	2	1.7	2	1.0
Getting a new job	16	15.5	21	13.9	7	5.9	6	3.1
Making money and wanting another option	2	1.9	1	0.7	8	6.8	9	4.7
The expense of staying in the previous area and the wish to reduce costs	2	1.9	5	3.3	3	2.5	2	1.0
Sale of previous property	0	0.0	2	1.3	3	2.5	9	4.7
Other	9	8.7	8	5.3	12	10.2	10	5.2
Do not know	0	0.0	0	0.0	83	70.3	1	0.5
Not applicable	73	70.9	112	74.2	0	0.0	152	79.6
Total	103	100	151	100	118	100	191	100

5.7 Secondary change in economic situation

The main secondary reason in the economic situation that motivated a move was not much different from the main reason, with getting a new job appearing as the first priority (2.5%). Losing a job is second on the list (2.1%), followed by the high cost of living in the previous area (1.2%), sale of the previous property (0.5%) and needing to make money and wanting another option (0.2%). About 6.9% of respondents had no further answer other than their main reason for moving and 5.5% said they did not know.

Some 2.9% of males in Luis Cabral cited the main secondary reason that motivated their move was getting a new job, while 2.5% in Hulene B said theirs was losing a job. Where the females of Luis Cabral were concerned, 2.6% cited the main secondary reason for moving as getting a new job, while in Hulene B 3.1% of females each cited losing their job and getting a new job as the main secondary reason for moving.

Table 5.7: Secondary change in economic situation

Main secondary change in economic situation contributing to the move to the area	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Losing a job	1	1.0	2	1.3	3	2.5	6	3.1
Getting a new job	3	2.9	4	2.6	1	0.8	6	3.1
Needing to make money and wanting another option	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
High cost of living and a need to reduce costs	2	1.9	1	0.7	2	1.7	2	1.0
Sale of previous property	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	2	1.0
Other	1	1.0	1	0.7	1	0.8	0	0.0
Do not know	8	7.8	10	6.6	9	7.6	4	2.1
No further answer	11	10.7	12	7.9	10	8.4	6	3.1
Not applicable	77	74.8	120	79.5	92	77.3	165	86.4
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.8 Changes in socio-political conditions

When the respondents were asked whether socio-political changes motivated their move, 68.3% did not agree and 7.6% agreed, while 3.2% did not know. In Luis Cabral, only 4% of the males agreed, while 65% disagreed and 4.9% did not know. In the same ward, 70.2% of the females disagreed and 9.9% agreed, while none said they did not know. In Hulene B the situation was not much different, with 63.9% of males disagreeing and 9.2% agreeing, while 4.2% did not know. In the same ward, 71.7% of the females disagreed and 6.3% agreed, while 4.2% did not know.

Table 5.8: Changes in socio-political conditions

Changes in socio-political conditions	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	5	4.9	15	9.9	11	9.2	12	6.3
No	67	65.0	106	70.2	76	63.9	137	71.7
Not applicable	26	25.2	30	19.9	27	22.7	34	17.8
Do not know	5	4.9	0	0.0	5	4.2	8	4.2
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.9 Main changes in socio-political conditions

When the respondents were asked about the main changes in socio-political conditions that contributed to their move to the current neighborhood, it was found that they did not play a significant role. Only 3.9% of the respondents said that the armed conflict of the civil war was a contributing factor. This is followed by those who cited forced removal by the government (1.2%). Both neighborhoods referred to displacement due to floods, excessive violence (0.9%) excessive crime (0.7%) and resettlement by the government (0.4%). Only 0.5% cited ‘other’ reasons.

The males (1.9%) of Luis Cabral and those of Hulene B (5%) cited armed conflict, while 1.7% of males in Hulene B cited excessive crime. The females of Luis Cabral (4.6%) and those of Hulene B (3.7%) cited that armed conflict of the civil war as a motivating factor in their move.

Table 5.9: Main changes in socio-political conditions

Main changes in socio-political conditions	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Excessive crime	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	2	1.0
Excessive violence	0	0.0	3	2.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Resettlement by the government	1	1.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.5
Forced removal by the government	1	1.0	4	2.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
Displacement by floods	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Armed conflict of the civil war	2	1.9	7	4.6	6	5.0	7	3.7
Other	1	1.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	0	0.0
Do not know	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Not applicable	98	95.1	136	90.1	106	89.1	179	93.7
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.10 Secondary change in socio-political conditions

As mentioned earlier, socio-political conditions did not contribute significantly to the decision to move to another area. It goes without saying that this factor did not feature prominently as a secondary reason for moving. However, armed conflict was still mentioned (1.6%). Very few mentioned excessive crime (0.5%) or displacement due to floods (0.2%), and 6.7% gave no further response.

The males of Luis Cabral cited excessive violence (1%), whilst the males of Hulene B cited forced removal by government (1.7%). Females in Luis Cabral (4.6%) and those in Hulene B (1%) mentioned the armed conflict of the civil war as a motivating secondary factor for moving. The Luis Cabral females (0.7%) and those in Hulene B (0.5%) also mentioned excessive crime, while females from Hulene B also mentioned forced removal by government (1%).

Table 5.10: Secondary changes in socio-political conditions

Secondary changes in socio-political conditions	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Excessive crime	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.5
Excessive violence	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Resettlement by government	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Forced removal by government	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	2	1.0
Displacement due to floods	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Armed conflict of the civil war	0	0.0	7	4.6	0	0.0	2	1.0
Do not know	1	1.0	0	0.0	3	2.5	1	0.5
Not applicable	96	93.2	134	88.7	102	85.7	170	89.0
No additional answer	5	4.9	8	5.3	12	10.1	15	7.9
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

5.11 Conclusion

This section discusses the motivation for moving. The majority of respondents moved to their specific ward between 1991 and 2000, followed by those who moved between 1981 and 1990, 2001 and 2010, between 1971 and 1980 and before 1971. Considering the events that occurred in the country over the years, it is clear that people arrived in the ward mainly between 1991 and 2000, a period corresponding to the civil war, the signing of the General Peace Agreement (GPA), repatriation and the return of people to their place of birth. The second period (2001 - 2010) corresponds to the escalation of the civil war; the great floods and the deterioration of living conditions in rural areas. The period before 1980 coincides with the migration of settlers to Luis Cabral.

The changes that occurred within the family or community to motivate the move included: marriage, birth of a new family member, divorce, death in the family, conflict in the family, an

invitation to move to the area, inheritance of another property, enrolment as a student and eviction from a community. However, living conditions did not change after the move in comparison to the previous place of residence.

As the majority of the respondents confirmed, the socio-political situation in the area did not so drastically change that it motivated a move to a different area.

6. Finding a New Place to Live, Expectations and Networks

This section analyses the history of moving, the networks forged, the expectations of the move, and how people found a place to live.

6.1 Source of information on the area

Family played an important role as a source of information as to the benefits of living in the study area. In fact the majority of respondents (31.6%) said that they had heard from family about the place where they live. Thereafter, friends (13.5%), work colleagues (5%), neighbours (4.8%), and community members (1.6%) served as a source of information. Other replies included community meetings (1.2%), municipal officers (1.1%), newspaper (0.5%) and counselors (0.5%). Employers, radio, newspaper and television did not play any role in passing along information about prospective neighbourhoods.

The data shows that 35.3% of males in Luis Cabral and 23.5% in Hulene B had heard about the ward from family. The male respondents in Luis Cabral also mentioned friends (8.8%), work colleagues (4.9%), neighbours (2.9%), community members (2%) and community meetings (2.0%), while 11.8% mentioned other sources.

About 39% of females in Luis Cabral and 29.3% in Hulene B had heard about the ward from family. The Luis Cabral respondents also mentioned neighbours (8.6%) and then friends (7.9%) and colleagues (4%) as sources of information on the area, while in Hulene B friends (14.7%) were more prominent, then colleagues (5.8%) and neighbours (3.7%).

Neither males nor females mentioned employers, radio or even television as a source of information on the ward. Only the females in Hulene B mentioned the newspaper as their source of information on their ward. It seems as if municipal officers play a small role as a source of information as to the availability of property for residential purposes.

6.2 Finding a place to live

The data shows that people looking for a place to stay moved to the area in order to be independent (28.7%), shared accommodation with family (12.6%), inherited the property (8.1%), were allocated accommodation by the municipality or district administration (2.8%), enquired door-to-door (2.5%), were assisted by the head of the housing block (2.1%), shared accommodation with a friend (1.8%), received an introduction by a friend (1.8%), did not know (8.9%), or gave other reasons (8.3%).

The males in Luis Cabral said that on arrival at the ward they shared accommodation with a family member (18.4%), found the place independently (15.5%), inherited the property (6.8%), were allocated accommodation by the Municipality (4.9%), enquired door-to-door (3.9%), were assisted by the ward secretary (1.9%), were introduced by a friend (1.0%) and responded to an advertisement (1.0%). However, there were 7.8% who did not know and 13.6% who cited other means.

The females in Luis Cabral said that on arrival at the ward they shared accommodation with family (22.5%), found the place independently (14.6%), inherited the property (7.3%), were allocated accommodation by the Municipality (6%), were assisted by the chief of the block (3.3%), shared accommodation with friend (2.6%), were introduced by a friend (1.3%), enquired door-to-door (1.3%) and were assisted by the ward secretary (0.7%). However 7.9% did not know while quite a high number of respondents cited other means (13.9%).

The males of Hulene B said they had found their accommodation independently (40.3%), inherited the property (12.6%), shared accommodation with a family member (5.9%), enquired door-to-door (2.5%), were introduced by a friend (2.5%), were assisted by the chief of the block (1.7%) and shared accommodation with a friend (0.8%). However, 7.6% did not know, 1.7% refused to answer and 2.5% cited other means.

The majority of females in Hulene B found accommodation independently (39.3%), inherited the property (7.8%), shared accommodation with a family member (6.3%), were assisted by the chief of the block (3.1%), enquired door-to-door (2.6%), shared accommodation with a friend (2.1%),

were introduced by a friend (1.6%), responded to an advertisement (1%), were allocated accommodation by the municipal officer (1%), or were assisted by the ward secretary (0.5%). However, 10.5% did not know, 2.1% refused to answer and 4.7% cited other means.

6.3 Alternative accommodation

When the respondents were asked whether they would prefer alternative accommodation if they had a choice, 40.6% said they would, 13.8% mentioned going back to a rural area, 9.4% wanted to move back to town and 4.3% would prefer to share a place with family. To a lesser extent, 0.9% would prefer to share with a friend and 0.7% would move to a hostel, while 10.1% did not know and 0.2% refused to answer.

There were 43.7% of males in Luis Cabral who said they would prefer to move to other premises, 9.7% would prefer to move to town, 6.8% mentioned moving back to a rural area, 2.9% wanted to share with family, 1 individual said he would share with a friend and 11.7% did not know. Of the females in this ward, 46.4% said they would prefer an alternative place to live, 9.3% would prefer to move to town, 7.3% mentioned moving back to a rural area, 4.6% wanted to share with family and 1.3% wanted to move to a hostel. Only one said she preferred to share with a friend (0.7%) and 11.9% said they did not know.

Of the males in Hulene B, 40.3% said they would prefer an alternative place to live, 16.8% mentioned moving back to a rural area, 9.2% would prefer to move to town, 2.5% wanted to share with friend, 1.7% wanted to share with family, 0.8% wanted to move to a hostel and 6.7% did not know. Of the females in this ward, 42.4% would prefer an alternative place to live, 25.3% would prefer to go back to a rural area, just over 10% wanted to move to town, 7.6% wanted to share with family, and just under 2% wanted to move to a hostel. Just less than 10% did not know and 0.6% refused to answer.

Table 6.1: Alternative accommodation

Alternative accommodation	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Return to rural area	7	6.8	11	7.3	20	16.8	40	25.3
Move to town	10	9.7	14	9.3	11	9.2	16	10.1
Move to a hostel	0	0.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	3	1.9
Share with a friend	1	1.0	1	0.7	3	2.5	0	0.0
Share with family	3	2.9	7	4.6	2	1.7	12	7.6
Other	45	43.7	70	46.4	48	40.3	67	42.4
Do not know	12	11.7	18	11.9	8	6.7	19	12.0
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Not applicable	25	24.3	28	18.5	26	21.8	0	0.0
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	158	100

6.4 Time spent finding accommodation

The time respondents spent finding their current residences varied from months (19%) to days (16%) to years (8.3%), and some spent no time on the issue (3.4%). Just under 30% did not know and 3.4% refused to answer.

Of the males in Luis Cabral, 16.5% spent months looking for a place to live, followed by 12.6% who spent days looking for accommodation, while 7.8% spent no time at all and 6.8% spent years looking for a place. However, just over 30% said they did not know and 1.9% refused to answer. As with their male counterparts, some 16.6% of females spent months looking for a place to live. Others spent days (14.6%) and years (6%) looking for a place to live, while 6.6% spent no time at all. Just over 33% did not know and 4.6% refused to answer.

The males in Hulene B (21%) were also more likely to have spent months looking for a place to stay, followed by those who spent days (16.8%), years (10.1%) and no time at all (0.8%) looking for accommodation. The majority of females of this ward also spent months (22.5%) looking for a place to live, followed by those who spent days (18.8%) and years (11%) doing so. About 27% said they did not know and 3.1% refused to answer.

Table 6.2: Time spent finding a place to live

Time spent finding a place to live	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Less than one day	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Days	13	12.6	22	14.6	20	16.8	36	18.8
Months	17	16.5	25	16.6	25	21.0	43	22.5
Years	7	6.8	9	6.0	12	10.1	21	11.0
Did not spend time	8	7.8	10	6.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
Not applicable	25	24.3	28	18.5	26	21.8	33	17.3
Refused to answer	2	1.9	7	4.6	3	2.5	6	3.1
Do not know	31	30.1	50	33.1	32	26.9	52	27.2
Total	103	100	151	100	119	100	191	100

6.5 Conclusion

Family members seem to be the first point of contact when it comes to locating accommodation opportunities within a specific neighbourhood. This is why the majority of the respondents had moved to the study area. Thereafter, friends, colleagues, neighbours, and community members provided the respondents with information on the neighbourhood, as well as other sources such as community meetings, municipal officers, newspapers and counselors. However, employers, radio and television did not play any role in this process.

The data shows that first and foremost, people located their accommodation independently, others shared accommodation with family, inherited the property, were allocated property by the municipality or district administration, enquired door-to-door, were assisted a friend, in that order.

If the respondents were given a chance to move, a high percentage would take that opportunity, return to a rural area, move to town or share with family. The time spent by respondents looking for a place to live varied from months to successive days or years, while some found a place easily with no time spent looking.

7. Value Attributed to Space in Luis Cabral and Hulene B

Since people were asked about their residential history and reasons for moving, it was also important to determine what value they placed on their current place of residence.

7.1 Value of current space

The respondents said that they valued their current residence because it provided them with independence (18.5%), proximity to schools (16%), safety and a social network (13.2%), proximity to transport (11.5%), proximity to jobs (10.9%), affordability (6.2%), and access to water (1.8%) and electricity (1.2%). Some 16% of respondents gave other reasons and 4.6% did not know.

The males in Luis Cabral considered proximity to schools as the most valuable aspect of their residence (19%) followed by 18% who said proximity to transport and 16% who mentioned proximity to jobs, while 10% said they valued safety and a social network 6% independence, 5% affordability and 1% access to water. About 24.% gave other reasons and 2.9% did not know.

Females of this ward (18.8%) also considered proximity to schools as a valuable aspect of their place of residence. This is followed by safety with the addition of a social network (18.2%), proximity to transport (16.2%) and jobs (11%). It is important to note that females, more so than males, regard affordability to be important as this response came in fourth (4.5%) on the list. Access to electricity (3.2%) was listed next while an equal number of respondents cited independence (3.2%). There were 20.1% who cited other reasons and 3.9% refused to answer.

Males of Hulene B responded that their place of residence primarily provided them with independence (33.6%), proximity to jobs (13.4%) affordability (10.9%), proximity to schools (7.6%), safety with social networks (5.9%), proximity to transport (7.6%), access to water (0.8%) and access to electricity (0.8%). Furthermore, 10.9% cited other reasons and 8.4% did not know. Females in this ward considered independence to be the most important aspect associated with their place of residence (28.3%), followed by those who said proximity to schools (17.8%), safety

and social networks (16.2%), proximity to jobs (7.9%), proximity to transport (7.3%) and affordability (5.2%). Interestingly enough, in both wards, access to water and electricity do not seem to be aspects that they considered of vital importance when selecting a place to stay. In Hulene B, 3.1% of females cited access to water as important and 0.5% cited access to electricity. Those who cited other reasons amounted to 9.9% and 3.7% did not know.

Table 7.1: Value of current space

Value of current space	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Proximity to jobs	16	16.0	17	11.0	16	13.4	15	7.9
Proximity to schools	19	19.0	29	18.8	9	7.6	34	17.8
Proximity to transport	18	18.0	25	16.2	9	7.6	14	7.3
Affordability	5	5.0	7	4.5	13	10.9	10	5.2
Access to water	1	1.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	6	3.1
Access to electricity	0	0.0	5	3.2	1	0.8	1	0.5
Independence	6	6.0	5	3.2	40	33.6	54	28.3
Safety (e.g. through access to social networks, family, church, etc.)	10	10.0	28	18.2	7	5.9	31	16.2
Other	25	25.0	31	20.1	13	10.9	19	9.9
Do not know	0	0.0	6	3.9	10	8.4	7	3.7
Total	100	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

7.2 Value of the area to the municipality

The majority of respondents think that the municipality values this area (46.4%) while 37.9% did not think so, 14.6% did not know and 1.1% refused to answer.

Interestingly enough, an equal number of males in Luis Cabral said the municipality valued the area or did not (45.6%) and only 8.7% did not know. However, there are slight differences pertaining to the views of the females of this neighborhood since 44.8% said the municipality valued the area while 42.9% did not think so and only 1.9% did not know.

In Hulene B, 46.2% of males said the municipality valued the area, while 37.8% did not think so and 16% did not know. There was a more substantial difference amongst the females: 48.2% said

the municipality valued the area, while 29.8% did not agree, 20.4% did not know and 1.6% refused to answer.

Table 7.2: Value of the area to the municipality

Value of the area to the municipality	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	47	45.6	69	44.8	55	46.2	92	48.2
No	47	45.6	66	42.9	45	37.8	57	29.8
Refused to answer	0	0.0	3	1.9	0	0.0	3	1.6
Do not know	9	8.7	16	10.4	19	16.0	39	20.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

7.3 Reasons the municipality values the area

Respondents felt that the municipal value of the area was based on proximity to the airport (18.5%), good management of solid waste (12%), the provision of basic services (7.6%) and availability of land (5.3%). About 11% said they did not know.

In Luis Cabral it was found that males considered that the municipal value of their neighbourhood was due to its proximity to the airport (19.4%), good management of solid waste (12.6%), provision of basic services (7.8%) and availability of land (4.9%), while 4.9% did not know. For females of this neighborhood, the pattern is similar, with proximity to the airport (16.2%), good management of solid waste (11%), provision of basic services (9.1%) and availability of land (7.8%) mentioned. About 6.5% said they did not know.

The male respondents of Hulene B cited proximity to the airport (18.5%), good management of solid waste (11.8%), provision of basic services (6.7%) and availability of land (4.2%), while 13.4% did not know. Females of this neighborhood also cited proximity to the airport (19.5%), followed by good management of solid waste (13.7%), provision of basic services (6.8%) and availability of land (4.2%). About 15% of female respondents did not know.

Table 7.3: Reasons the municipality values the area

Reasons the municipality values the area	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Proximity to the airport	20	19.4	25	16.2	22	18.5	37	19.5
Availability of land	5	4.9	12	7.8	5	4.2	8	4.2
Good management of solid waste	13	12.6	17	11.0	14	11.8	26	13.7
Provision of basic services	8	7.8	14	9.1	8	6.7	13	6.8
Not applicable	52	50.5	76	49.4	54	45.4	77	40.5
Do not know	5	4.9	10	6.5	16	13.4	29	15.3
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

7.4 Reasons the municipality may not value the area

The respondents felt that the municipality did not place sufficient value on the neighbourhood because the garbage was not collected (14.5%), basic services were not provided (7.8%), there was a lack of transport (6.9%) and no concern for living conditions (5.8%). Only 0.7% of respondents refused to answer and 9% did not know.

The males of Luis Cabral cited lack of transport (13.6%), uncollected garbage (10.7%), no concern for living conditions (9.7%) and lack of basic services (6.8%). Only one male respondent refused to answer and the 7.8% of the respondents did not know. In contrast to the male views, females cited uncollected garbage (13.6%), the lack of basic services (11%), the lack of transport (10.4%) and a lack of concern for living conditions (5.8%). There were 1.9% of females who refused to answer and 7.1% who did not know.

The males of Hulene B cited uncollected garbage (20.2%), lack of basic services (6.7%), lack of transport (4.2%) and a lack of concern for living conditions (4.2%). There were 7.6% who did not know. Likewise, the females also cited uncollected garbage (13.1%) and lack of basic services (6.3%) as the main reasons for the perception that the municipality does not place a high value on the neighbourhood. About 11.5% of female respondents in Hulene B said they did not know.

Table 7.4: Reasons the municipality may not value the area

Reasons the municipality may not value the area	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Uncollected garbage	11	10.7	21	13.6	24	20.2	25	13.1
Lack of transport	14	13.6	16	10.4	5	4.2	4	2.1
Lack of basic services	7	6.8	17	11.0	8	6.7	12	6.3
Unconcern for living conditions	10	9.7	9	5.8	5	4.2	10	5.2
Not applicable	52	50.5	77	50.0	68	57.1	118	61.8
Refused to answer	1	1.0	3	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	8	7.8	11	7.1	9	7.6	22	11.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

7.5 Value of the property to the landowner

When respondents were asked whether the landowner valued the property, they cited the importance of the value of the land and the house (32.6%), the standard of living in the ward (28.4%), the fact that it was the only space that he/ she owned (7.25), availability of transport facilities (4.9%), location of the land (3.2%), proximity to the hospital (2.6%), peaceful co-existence with neighbours (1.9%). Only 1.2% had nothing to say, 2% of respondents refused to answer and 16.8% did not know.

The males of Luis Cabral said that the landowners placed particular value on the land and the house (28.2%), high value of the land (22.3%), the fact that it was the only space that he/she owned (9.7%), availability of transport facilities (8.7%) and proximity to the hospital (3.9%). The same number of males respondents cited location of the land (1.0%) and peaceful co-existence with neighbours (1.0%) and some said nothing (1.0%). One refused to answer and 23.3% did not know.

The same number of females of this ward gave the same answer for the first and second response: 27.3% said the landowner valued the land and the house and 27.3% said the land in the ward was good. Proximity to the hospital (5.2%), location of the land (3.9%) and availability of transport facilities (3.9%) were also important. Furthermore, 1.3% cited peaceful co-existence with neighbours and 1.3% had nothing to add, while 18.2% did not know.

The males of Hulene B cited the value of the land and the house (35.2%) and then the good standard of living (32.8%), followed by the availability of transport facilities (9.2%), the fact that it is the only space the landowner owns (3.45%), location of the land (2.5%) and peaceful co-existence with the neighbors (1.7%), while only 1 respondent had nothing to say. Only 2.5% refused to answer and 11.8% did not know. Like their male counterparts, the females cited the value of the land and the house was very important (36.1%). Thereafter they mentioned the good standard of living in the ward (29.35), the fact that it is the only space the landowner owns (5.8%), the location of the land (4.2%), peaceful co-existence with the neighbours (3.1%) and availability of transport facilities (1.6%). Only 1.0% had nothing to say, 1% refused to answer and 15.7% did not know.

Table 7.5: Value of the property to the landowner

Value of the property to the land owner	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Value of the land and the house	29	28.2	42	27.3	42	35.3	69	36.1
The good standard of living	23	22.3	42	27.3	39	32.8	56	29.3
The only space that he/she owns	10	9.7	18	11.7	4	3.4	11	5.8
Proximity to the hospital	4	3.9	8	5.2	0	0.0	3	1.6
Location of the land	1	1.0	6	3.9	3	2.5	8	4.2
Peaceful co-existence with neighbours	1	1.0	2	1.3	2	1.7	6	3.1
Availability of transport facilities	9	8.7	6	3.9	11	9.2	3	1.6
Nothing to say	1	0.9	2	1.3	1	0.8	3	1.6
Refused to answer	1	0.9	0	0.0	3	2.5	2	1.0
Do not know	24	23.3	28	18.2	14	11.8	30	15.7
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

7.6 Value of the area to the neighbours

The respondents feel that the neighbours value the area because of access to transport (13.4%), safety and social networks (8.5%), proximity to jobs (8.3%) and proximity to schools (8.1%). Freedom (4.6%), independence (3.9%) and access to water (0.9%) were also mentioned. Furthermore, 4.2% of respondents cited other reasons, 1.1% refused to answer and 43.9% did not know.

The males of Luis Cabral said that the neighbours value the area because of access to transport (26.2%), followed by proximity to jobs (11.7%), proximity to schools (8.7%), safety and social networks (7.8%), freedom (4.9%), independence (3.9%), access to electricity (1.9%) and access to water (1.0%). There were respondents who cited other reasons (3.95%), 1.05% refused to answer and 29.1% did not know. The females' answers followed the same pattern as those of the males: i.e. they cited proximity to transport (23.4%) as the most important aspect. However there was a slight difference when it came to proximity to schools (11.7%) and proximity to jobs (11.0%). They also said that independence (5.2%), safety with social networks (4.5%), access to electricity (1.9%) and access to water (1.3%) were also important. However, 2.6% of respondents refused to answer and 30.5% did not know.

In Hulene B, the males consider proximity to jobs (7.6%) as the primary reason that neighbours value the area, followed by access to electricity (6.7%), proximity to schools (5.9%) and proximity to transport (5.0%). Other important issues were safety (5.0%) and freedom (3.4%). Independence (1.7%) and access to water (0.8%) did not feature prominently. There were 2.5% of males who mentioned other reasons and 61.3% did not know. The females considered safety to be very important (14.1%), followed by freedom (8.9%), proximity to jobs (6.8%), schools (5.8%) and transport (4.2%) as well as independence (4.2%). Access to water (0.5%) did not feature prominently, while 0.5% refused to answer. There were 2.6% of females who cited other reasons and 49.7% did not know.

Table 7.6: Value of the area to the neighbours

Value of the area to the neighbours	Luis Cabral				Hulene			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Proximity to jobs	12	11.7	17	11.0	9	7.6	13	6.8
Proximity to schools	9	8.7	18	11.7	7	5.9	11	5.8
Proximity to transport	27	26.2	36	23.4	6	5.0	8	4.1
Freedom	5	4.9	0	0.0	4	3.4	8	4.2
Access to water	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	1	0.5
Access to electricity	2	1.9	3	1.9	8	6.7	5	2.6
Independence	4	3.9	8	5.2	2	1.7	17	8.9
Safety	8	7.8	7	4.5	6	5.0	27	14.1
Other	4	3.9	12	7.8	3	2.5	5	2.6
Do not know	30	29.1	47	30.5	73	61.3	95	49.7
Refused to answer	1	1.9	4	2.6	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

7.7 Conclusion

Respondents value their place of residence because it provides them with independence, it is close to schools, it is safe and has a social network, close to transport, close to jobs and affordable. They also mentioned that access to water and electricity was also important.

It was found that respondents felt the municipality valued the ward to a certain extent, primarily due to its proximity to the airport, good management of solid waste, provision of basic services and availability of land. Those who did not believe the municipality valued the area mentioned uncollected garbage, lack of basic services, lack of transport and unconcern for living conditions as the primary reasons.

When respondents were asked if landowners valued the area, they responded that they did, particularly with regard to the value of the land and the house, the standard of living in the ward, the fact that the property was the only space the landowner owned, availability of transport facilities, location of the property, proximity to the hospital, and peaceful co-existence with the neighbours. Other aspects mentioned were safety and social networks, proximity to job and schools, freedom and independence.

8. Contract Pertaining to Land Access in Luis Cabral and Hulene B

8.1 Contracting

A contract is an agreement made between two or more people. This can be among dealers and buyers, employer and employees, parents and children, etc. The agreement can either be verbal or signed and witnessed on paper by one or two people. Furthermore, a contract can be either public or private. A signed document proves or validates the contract. However, in many circumstances a verbal agreement can serve as a substitute for a signed document, especially in situations when the agreement is informal, particularly pertaining to the issue of land.

In rural or informal urban settlements, most of the agreements pertain to possession of land and are mostly informal, which means they are verbally witnessed by neighbours, family, friends or colleagues. The local leadership plays an important role in this process, such as the ward secretary, the chief of the *quarteirão* and the chief of the housing blocks (10 blocks or 10 houses). Politicians do not seem to play a role in land transactions since few respondents referred to their involvement. The local officials recognise or certify the ‘legal’ existence of the purchaser and the buyer and they can issue a *declaração* or document that proves the land has been sold by a resident from that particular ward or neighborhood. This *declaração* can be shown to the municipality on application for a title deed or DUAT, since the DUAT is the legal document that proves land tenure.

Table 8.1 indicates that in both neighbourhoods it is the *declaração* that proves ownership of land. In Hulene B, it is mostly females that are able to produce these *declarações* to prove land tenure. However, a verbal agreement is considered important with regard to land tenure. But in Luís Cabral, most females did not have a verbal agreement in place, in contrast with females in Hulene B who declared to have such an agreement.

Generally, 28.9% of respondents were given a *declaração*, while 19% had a verbal agreement in place. Such an agreement was witnessed by a third party (5.3%), a provisional document was received (2.6%), a municipality title deed was issued (2.6%) or the respondents were given

permission by a family member to use the land (2.5%). However, there were also those who said they did not have an agreement in place (6.3%).

It was assumed that these agreements were private since only a few males in Luis Cabral (1%) and 2.3% of females of the same neighborhood said they had a public agreement in place. This situation is similar to that in Hulene B where 1.7% of males and 1.6% of females gave the same response.

In land transactions less importance is placed on a title deed, as well as permission from the family who owns the land.

Even though some respondents declared to have an agreement in place pertaining to the land on which they lived, others had no agreement: in Luis Cabral, 3.9% of males and 4.5% of females had no agreement. In Hulene B, the number is slightly higher than Luis Cabral since 7.6% of males and 8.9% of females who responded did not have an agreement in place.

Table 8.1: Land agreement

Land agreement	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Public agreement	1	1.0	3	2.3	2	1.7	3	1.6
<i>A declaração</i> was drawn up	22	21.4	38	28.6	40	33.6	67	35.1
Verbal agreement	19	18.4	0	0.0	27	22.7	41	21.5
The agreement was witnessed by others	10	9.7	9	6.8	5	4.2	4	2.1
The agreement was witnessed by a politician	2	1.9	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
A title deed was issued	0	0.0	4	3.0	2	1.7	9	4.7
Permission granted by family who owns the land	3	2.9	7	5.3	0	0.0	4	2.1
The municipality issued a title deed	3	2.9	10	7.5	0	0.0	2	1.0
The title deed is pending	1	1.0	2	1.5	1	0.8	0	0.0
No agreement in place	4	3.9	6	4.5	9	7.6	17	8.9
Other	19	18.4	23	17.3	11	9.2	5	2.6
Do not know	19	18.4	30	22.6	22	18.5	39	20.4
Total	103	100	133	100	119	100	191	100

8.2 Validity of land agreements

In Luis Cabral, those respondents who had received a receipt or similar document with regard to a land transaction comprised 9.8% of the male respondents and 9.3% of the female respondents, while in Hulene B, these percentages were 11.3% for males and 9.5% for females. It is interesting to note that 8.9% of females in Hulene B had signed official papers, a much higher percentage than the males (0.9%) in the same ward, and also higher than the 3.3% of males and 1.3% of females in Luis Cabral who had signed such papers.

When respondents were asked if they were confident to move into a new place with an informal (verbal) agreement in place without any formal witnesses, in the absence of a title deed or DUAT the respondents gave varying responses. In Luis Cabral, 7.6% of males and 8.7% of females, and in Hulene B, 10.4% of males and 1.1% of females said that although the ward secretary refused to give them permission to move to their new place, they decided to go ahead and move because a friend or family member confirmed the trustworthiness of the people who owned the premises.

Furthermore, 1.3% of females in Luis Cabral and 3.2% of females in Hulene B mentioned that although the head of their housing block had not given them permission to move in, family or friends had urged them to do so since they vouched for the landowner's trustworthiness. The latter motivation was given by 10.9% of males and 8.4% of females in Luis Cabral, as well as 4.3% of males and 2.6% of females in Hulene B. Only a few respondents declared to have moved because the municipality had given them permission to do so: i.e. 6.5% of males and 0.7% of females in Luis Cabral, and 0.5% of females in Hulene B, while none of the males in this ward had had this experience.

An introduction by a friend or family member also gave the respondents the confidence to move into a new place without formal documents. This response was given by 6.5% of males and 6% of females in Luis Cabral, as well as 8.7% of males and 13.7% of females in Hulene B. Compared to the respondents in Luis Cabral and the males in Hulene B, females in Hulene B were in the majority when it came to moving to a new place based on an introduction by a friend or family member. It was also the option that held the most weight compared to all the other issues listed in the questionnaire.

Some 5.4% of males and 8% of females in Luis Cabral, as well as 0.9% of males and 2.1% of females in Hulene B, said family had given the respondents permission to move into a new place. The response from 3.3% of males and 4% of females in Luis Cabral, as well as 3.5% of males and 6.8% of females in Hulene B, was that they had to introduce themselves to negotiate to move into a new place. The committee system was only important for dwellers in Luis Cabral, with 4.3% of males and 4.7% of females giving this response. None of the males in Hulene B and only 0.5% of females mentioned this. In Luis Cabral, 4.3% of males and 2% of females, as well as 1.7% of males in Hulene B but none of the females there said they moved in without an agreement as other people were doing the same. The fact that the land was empty motivated some of the respondents to move in: 2% of females in Luis Cabral, and 5.2% of males and 2.1% of females in Hulene B.

Table 8.2: Validity of land agreements

Validity of land agreements	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Introduction by friend/family member	6	6.5	9	6.0	10	8.7	26	13.7
A friend/family member confirmed the trustworthiness of the people	10	10.9	13	8.7	5	4.3	5	2.6
Committee system	4	4.3	7	4.7	0	0.0	1	0.5
A receipt/document was received	9	9.8	14	9.3	13	11.3	18	9.5
Family gave permission to move in	5	5.4	12	8.0	1	0.9	4	2.1
The municipality numbers the houses	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The head of houses/ward secretary numbers the houses	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The head of houses/head of the quarteirão numbers the houses	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	1.1
Respondent introduced himself/herself	3	3.3	6	4.0	4	3.5	13	6.8
The land was empty	0	0.0	3	2.0	6	5.2	4	2.1
Other people were doing it	4	4.3	3	2.0	2	1.7	0	0.0
The municipality granted permission	6	6.5	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.5
An identity document had to be submitted	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The head of the housing block refused to give permission for the move	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	6	3.2
The ward secretary did not give permission for move	7	7.6	13	8.7	12	10.4	2	1.1
The councilor refused to give permission for the move	5	5.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The respondent signed official papers	3	3.3	2	1.3	1	0.9	17	8.9
The respondent received official papers	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	12	6.3
The respondent took a chance	4	4.3	5	3.3	6	5.2	8	4.2
Other	0	0.0	21	14.0	10	8.7	12	6.3
Do not know	19	20.7	26	17.3	24	20.9	40	21.1
Not applicable	6	6.5	9	6.0	21	18.3	19	10.0
Total	92	100	150	100	115	100	190	100

8.3 Time spent negotiating agreements

The time spent negotiating land agreements is influenced by the availability of money, documentation, witnesses, the influence of the family, etc. Furthermore, the intervention of officials such as the ward secretary, the chief of the housing blocks or *quarteirão* can accelerate or reduce the time spent on the process.

The males of Luis Cabral spent months (16.5%), days (12.6%) and years (6.8%) finalising their land agreements. However, there were also respondents who said they had not spent any time on the process (7.8%), some refused to answer (1.9%) and others did not know (30.1%). The females spent months (16.6%), days (14.6%) and years (6.6%) finalising their land agreements, while some respondents spent no time on the process (6.6%), some did not know (33.1%) did not know and others (4.6%) refused to answer.

The majority of respondents in both wards spent weeks negotiating their land agreements: 18.4% of males and 16.9% of females in Luis Cabral, and in Hulene B, 25.2% of males and 34% of females. Some 14.6% of males and 11% of females in Luis Cabral, and in Hulene B, 19.3% of males and 14.1% of females responded that they spent months negotiating. A small percentage spent years negotiating, while more than half the respondents in Luis Cabral and just under half the respondents in Hulene B did not know.

Table 8.3: Time spent negotiating agreements

Time spent negotiating agreement	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Weeks	19	18.4	26	16.9	30	25.2	65	34.0
Months	15	14.6	17	11.0	23	19.3	27	14.1
Years	5	4.9	13	8.4	4	3.4	7	3.7
One day	4	3.9	6	3.9	5	4.2	6	3.1
Not applicable	1	1.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
Do not know	59	57.3	91	59.1	56	47.1	86	45.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

8.4 Property ownership

Approximately half the respondents had bought their properties (49.6%) and the other half had not (43.6%). Those who did not know amounted to 6.9%.

Within the specific wards, 54.4% of males and 50% of females in Luis Cabral had not bought their properties, while 38.7% of males and 35.6% of females in Hulene B had not bought theirs.

In contrast to Luis Cabral where only 36.9% of males owned their properties, more than half the males (53.8%) in Hulene B owned theirs. It is interesting to note that a high percentage of females (61.3%) in Hulene B owned their properties, unlike the females (40.3%) in Luis Cabral. Across the board, the females in Hulene B had the highest percentage of ownership.

Table 8.4: Property ownership

Property ownership	Luís Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	38	36.9	62	40.3	64	53.8	117	61.3
No	56	54.4	77	50.0	46	38.7	68	35.6
Do not know	9	8.7	15	9.7	9	7.6	6	3.1
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

8.5 Alternative options to ownership

Those who had not bought the property said that they had inherited it (19.8%), were renting (8.8%), occupied the premises (5.8%), had been allocated the premises by the municipality (3.7%), or were looking after the property (2.3%), while some 3% said they did not know and just under 5% cited other reasons.

In Luis Cabral, 18.4% of males said they had inherited the property, or they occupied the premises (11.7%), were renting (8.7%), had been allocated the premises by the municipality (7.8%), or were looking after the property (1%), while just less than 4% said they did not know and 11.7% cited other reasons. Almost 17% of females in the same ward said they had inherited the property, were renting (10.4%), occupied the premises (6.5%), were allocated the premises by the

municipality (5.8%) or were looking after the property (1.9%). There were 7.8% who cited other reasons, while the same number said they did not know.

In Hulene B, 26.1% of males had inherited the property, 10.9% were renting, 5% occupied the premises, 1.7% were looking after the property and 0.8% cited other reasons. None said they did not know. In this ward, 18% of females said they had inherited the property, 5.8% were renting, 3.2% occupied the premises, and 2.1% said they were allocated the premises. Just more than 1% of these females cited other reasons.

Table 8.5: Alternative options to ownership

Alternative options to ownership	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Renting	9	8.7	16	10.4	13	10.7	11	5.8
Allocation of premises by municipality	8	7.8	9	5.8	1	0.8	4	2.1
Inheritance	19	18.4	26	16.9	31	25.6	34	18.0
Looking after the property	1	1.0	3	1.9	2	1.7	9	4.8
Occupying the premises	12	11.7	10	6.5	6	5.0	6	3.2
Other	12	11.7	12	7.8	1	0.8	2	1.1
Do not know	4	3.9	12	7.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	38	36.9	66	42.9	65	53.7	123	65.1
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	189	100

8.6 Property purchase price

Where this question is concerned, 16% of respondents (16.1%) paid less than 2 000MZN, while 14% paid 2 000MZN or more. Some of the respondents paid for construction material (2.3%), while others exchanged goods (0.7%). Just less than 1% refused to answer.

The purchase price of property differs from one ward to the other since Luis Cabral is an old ward compared to Hulene B. Thus it is understandable that respondents in Luis Cabral paid less than 2 000MZN for their properties. Those in Hulene B paid 2 000MZN or more for their properties even though the standard of living there is lower. As mentioned by the ward administration, Hulene B is as yet unstructured and it is not considered to be an urban area. Therefore, there is no water, electricity, roads or other social infrastructure.

In Luis Cabral, 1.9% of male respondents said they paid less than 2 000MZN, while 1% said they paid 2 000 or more. More than 40% said they did not know. Some 14.3% of females in this ward paid less than 2 000MZN, 7.1% paid 2 000 MZN or more, 1.3% paid for construction material, and 22.1% said they did not know.

The situation in Hulene B seems to be different, with 22.7% of males interviewed saying they paid 2 000MZN or more, while 17.6% said they had paid less than 2 000MZN, 2.5% paid for construction material and 1.7% exchanged goods. Just more than 15% said they did not know. The majority of females in Hulene B also paid more than 2 000MZN (18.3%), while 17.8% paid less than 2 000MZN. One female said she had paid for construction material, while 2.6% said they had exchanged goods. Almost 22% of these females, similar to the number in Luis Cabral, said they did not know.

Table 8.6: Property purchase price

Property purchase price	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Less than 2 000 MZN	2	1.9	22	14.3	21	17.6	34	17.8
2 000 MZN or more	1	1.0	11	7.1	27	22.7	35	18.3
Goods exchanged	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	5	2.6
Construction material	0	0.0	2	1.3	3	2.5	1	0.5
Not applicable	57	55.3	82	53.2	47	39.5	71	37.2
Refused to answer	0	0.0	3	1.9	1	0.8	4	2.1
Do not know*	43	41.7	34	22.1	18	15.1	41	21.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	102

* Those interviewed may not have been involved in the purchase and negotiation of the property, which could explain why there is such large number of people responding that they “do not know” to this question. This is a potential area for further research.

8.7 What is included in the cost of the property

The majority of respondents paid for land only (33%), while 11.7% paid for both the land and the house, 5.8% paid for the house only, 3.9% did not know and 0.2% did not respond. In Luis Cabral, (9.4% of the males said they had paid for the land while 12.6% said they paid for both the land and the house, and 2.9% said they paid for the house alone. Some 18.2% of the women in

this Bairro paid for land only, while 14.3% responded that they paid for the house and the land, and 4.5% said they had paid for the house alone.

In Hulene B 39.5% of the males paid for the land only, 10.1% paid for the house only, 9.2% paid for both the land and the house, and 4.2% did not know. Of the females, 48.4% paid for the land only, 10.5% paid for both the land and the house, 5.8% paid for the house only and 2.6% did not know.

Table 8.7: What is included in the cost of the property

What is included in the cost of the property	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
House	3	2.9	7	4.5	12	10.1	11	5.8
Land	20	19.4	28	18.2	47	39.5	92	48.4
Both house and land	13	12.6	22	14.3	11	9.2	20	10.5
Not applicable	64	62.1	87	56.5	44	37.0	62	32.6
Do not know	3	2.9	9	5.8	5	4.2	5	2.6
Refused to answer	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

8.8 Did the neighbours pay for their property?

Asked whether the neighbours paid for their property, 23% said they did while 8.8% said they did not. A large number of respondents (67.5%) did not know.

In Luis Cabral, 33% of males said the neighbours paid for their property while 15.5% said they did not and 49.5% did not know. In the same ward, 20.8% of females said they did, 14.9% said they did not and 64.3% did not know.

In Hulene B, 18.5% of males said the neighbours paid for their property, 4.2% said they did not, but the majority (76.5%) did not know. In the same ward, 21.6% of females said they did, 3.2% said they did not and 74.7% said they did not know.

Table 8.8. Did the neighbours pay for their property?

Did the neighbours pay for their property	Luís Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	34	33.0	32	20.8	22	18.5	41	21.6
No	16	15.5	23	14.9	5	4.2	6	3.2
Do not know	51	49.5	99	64.3	91	76.5	142	74.7
Not applicable	2	1.9	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

8.9 How much did the neighbours pay for their property?

This question was also poorly answered since of the 2.1% respondents who could respond, 1.2% said the neighbours paid less than 2 000MZN and 0.9% said they paid more than 2 000MZN, while 39% said they did not know.

Interestingly enough, when the data is disaggregated per gender, it is clear that the males of Luis Cabral did not answer, but the females did. Yet, of these females, 3.2% said the neighbours paid less than 2 000 MZN and 31.8% did not know.

In Hulene B, the situation was not much different to the previous ward since only the females answered. In this case, 2.1% of females said the neighbours paid less than 2 000MZN and 46.3% did not know.

Table 8.9: How much did the neighbours pay for their property?

How much did the neighbours pay for their property?	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Less than 2 000MZN	0	0.0	5	3.3	0	0.0	4	2.1
Do not know	0	0.0	49	31.8	0	0.0	88	46.3
Not applicable	0	0.0	100	64.9	81	100	98	51.6
Total	0	0	154	100	81	100	190	100

8.10 Paying a fair price

Respondents were asked how they knew that they were paying a fair amount for their properties. Most respondents felt the amount was fair (3%), there were witnesses (1.6%), or they had a receipt (1.1%). Others did not know (94.0%) and some refused to answer (0.4%).

In Luis Cabral, 5.8% of the males interviewed responded positively, saying they had witnesses, followed by those who said that they felt the amount was fair (2.9%). Some had a receipt (1%), but most said they did not know (90.3%). The females responded as follows: 5.8% said the amount was fair, 1.9% said they had a receipt (1.9%), and 91.6% said they did not know

In Hulene B, 1.7% of males said they had a receipt, while 0.8% said they felt the amount was fair and the same number said they had witnesses. However, almost 97% said they did not know. The situation for females was a little different since the majority said that the amount was fair (2.1%), followed by those who had witnesses (1.1%). None had a receipt and 96.3% did not know.

Table 8.10: Paying a fair price

Checking whether the correct amount is being paid	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
The amount is fair	3	2.9	9	5.8	1	0.8	4	2.1
A receipt was issued	1	1.0	3	1.9	2	1.7	0	0.0
Witnesses were present	6	5.8	0	0.0	1	0.8	2	1.1
Do not know	93	90.3	141	91.6	115	96.6	183	96.3
Refused to answer	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

8.11 Conclusion

Contracts are important documents since they protect people's rights, particularly with regard to securing land or property. Most of the respondents said they had secured their land or house through a *declaração*, followed by verbal agreement. Respondents said that the agreement had been witnessed by others, that they had received a provisional document, a title deed had been issued by the municipality or they had been given permission to use the land by a family member. However, there were those who did not have an agreement in place.

It seems that respondents were fairly confident about moving into a new property in cases when there was only an informal (verbal) agreement in place without a title deed or DUAT or witnesses. Even when the authorities had not given permission for the move, some of the respondents went ahead with the move. Only a few respondents declared that the municipality had given them permission to move into their new place.

The time spent negotiating the land agreement and the duration of the process is influenced by the availability of money, documentation, witnesses, the influence of the family, etc. Furthermore, the intervention of officials such as the ward secretary, the chief of the housing block or *quarteirão* can accelerate or reduce the process.

There was not a major difference between respondents who had bought their property and those who had not. If they had not bought the property, then they had inherited it, were renting, occupied the premises, were allocated the premises by the municipality, or they were looking after the place.

Although it is illegal to buy and sell property, there is an active land market in the city. Whether it is done openly or behind closed doors, people do buy and sell property. Depending on the ward, the respondents either paid less than or more than 2 000MZN. There were others who paid for construction material or exchanged goods for property. The cost of the property sometimes was for land only, the house only or both the land and the house.

The majority of respondents do not know what their neighbours paid for their property. Those respondents that did know said that their neighbours paid less than 2 000MZN. Very few said their neighbours paid more than 2 000MZN.

Generally people were happy that they paid a fair amount for their property. Some of the respondents said they had witnesses and a receipt for payment.

Finally, respondents were asked whether they had a land agreement in place, what type of an agreement this was and whether they were confident that the agreement was valid. These are sensitive questions and it can be concluded that land tenure is precarious and people can be easily removed. As a matter of fact, the ward secretary of Hulene B said in an interview (October 2010) that this particular neighborhood is not considered an urban area. There are not plot divisions and thus no title deeds, no roads, nor electricity. This means that people living in this ward have no security of tenure. Water is supplied by private distributors or churches, for example, the Catholic Church.

9. Protection of Land Rights in Luis Cabral and Hulene B

9.1 Protection of land rights or interests

The issue of land rights is an important one, but there is a discrepancy between responses in the survey as reflected in Table 9.1 and the feedback from the qualitative interviews. These interviews revealed that the respondents felt their rights had weakened, particularly where the females were concerned, while the survey data shows otherwise. This is due to the fact that property owners do not necessarily recoup the cost of their property when it is sold. It is important to note that people feel their rights are protected if they are in possession of an official document issued by the head of the housing block, the head of the *quarteirão* or the ward secretary, or if their names or house numbers are on a list held by these officials.

The data reveals that the majority feel their rights are firm (46.1%), followed by those who feel their rights are very strong (21.6%), about the same (12.4%), weak (8.1%), extremely weak (0.4%) and others did not know (3.5%).

The males of Luis Cabral responded somewhat differently. Some 34% said their rights were firm, followed by those who said they were about the same (20.4%), very firm (19.4%), extremely tenuous (14.6%), tenuous (8.4%) and some did not know (1%). The females said their rights were firm (31.8%), followed by those who said about the same (22.1%), very firm (19.5%), tenuous (11.7%) and extremely tenuous (11%). There were 3.9% of females who did not know.

In Hulene B, the number of males who said their rights were firm was high at 52.9%, while the others said very firm (27.7%), tenuous (8.4%), extremely tenuous (5.9%), about the same (3.4%) and some did not know (1%). The females followed the same trend as their male counterparts as the majority said their rights were firm (57.6%), followed by those who said very firm (20.4%), about the same (6.3%), tenuous (4.2%) and extremely tenuous (3.1%). There were 5.2% who did not know.

Table 9.1: Protection of land rights

Are the respondents' rights in this area more firmly entrenched or more tenuous?	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very firm	20	19.4	30	19.5	33	27.7	39	20.4
Firm	35	34.0	49	31.8	63	52.9	110	57.6
About the same	21	20.4	34	22.1	4	3.4	12	6.3
Tenuous	9	8.7	18	11.7	10	8.4	8	4.2
Extremely tenuous	15	14.6	17	11.0	7	5.9	6	3.1
Not applicable	2	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	3.1
Do not know	1	1.0	6	3.9	2	1.7	10	5.2
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

9.2 Firmer land rights

Those who responded that their rights were firm or very firm were asked to specify why they believed it was so. Some of the respondents said it was because the neighbours could prove that the property belonged to them (18.6%), they have a document that proves the property belongs to them (12.9%), they have a number from the municipality (9.2%), they have a house number allocated by the ward (5.5%), or their names are on the head of the *quarteirão's* list (5.5%), their names are on the head of the housing block's list (3%), they can see that people are not being evicted (3%), the municipality was not demolishing the houses erected (1.9%), and development or *parcelamento* had been promised (0.4%), while some did not know (1.9%) and just under 6% cited other reasons.

The males in Luis Cabral said they felt their rights were protected because their neighbors could prove that the property belonged to them (16.5%), followed by those who said they had a ward number on their house (8.7%), they had a document that proved the property belonged to them (5.8%), their name was on a list with the head of the housing blocks (4.9%), people were not being evicted (1.9%), the municipality was not demolishing houses (1%) and development or *parcelamento* had been promised (1%). None of the males or female said their names were on the ward secretary's list. Some 7.8% of males cited other reasons, while 1% said they did not know.

Some 15.6% of female respondents in Luis Cabral said their neighbors could prove that the property belonged to them, others said they had a municipality number on their house (8.4%), they had a ward number on their house (7.1%), they had a document that proved the property belonged to them (4.5%), and development or *parcelamento* had been promised (0.6%). None of the females said that the municipality was not demolishing houses or that people were not being evicted. Nevertheless, 8.4% did cite other reasons.

In Hulene B, 25.2% of males felt their rights were protected because their neighbours could prove the property belonged to them, which is a higher percentage than in Luis Cabral, followed by those who said they had a document that proved the property belonged to them (19.3%). Others said their names were on the ward secretary's list (8.4%), they had a municipality number on their house (6.7%), or a ward number (5%). Some said the municipality was not demolishing houses (4.2%), their names were on a list held by the head of the housing block (1.7%), and people were not being evicted (1.7%). None said development or *parcelamento* (land parceling) had been promised. Almost 6% cited other reasons.

Females of this ward responded as follows: the majority had a document that proved the property belonged to them (20.4%) followed by those who said their neighbours could prove that the property belonged to them (17.3%). Some said they had a municipality number (14.1%) or their names were on a list held by the head of the housing block (11.5%). Others said people were not being evicted (6.8%), they had a ward numbers on their house (3.7%), and their names were on the ward secretary's list (3.7%). Some 2.6% said the municipality was not demolishing houses, but none responded that development or *parcelamento* had been promised, and 1.6% cited other reasons.

Table 9.2: Firmer land rights

Firmer land rights	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Neighbours can prove to whom the property belongs	17	16.5	24	15.6	30	25.2	33	17.3
The house has a municipality number	4	3.9	13	8.4	8	6.7	27	14.1
The house has a ward number	9	8.7	11	7.1	6	5.0	7	3.7
The respondent is on the municipality or district list	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
The respondent is on a list held by the head of the housing block	5	4.9	8	5.2	2	1.7	22	11.5
The respondent is on the ward secretary's list	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	8.4	7	3.7
A document proves the respondent owns the property	6	5.8	7	4.5	23	19.3	39	20.4
Development/ <i>parcelamento</i> is promised	1	1.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
The municipality is not demolishing	1	1.0	0	0.0	5	4.2	5	2.6
People are not being evicted	2	1.9	0	0.0	2	1.7	13	6.8
Other	8	7.8	13	8.4	7	5.9	3	1.6
Do not know	1	1.0	3	1.9	3	2.5	3	1.6
Not applicable	49	47.6	72	46.8	23	19.3	32	16.8
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

9.3 Weak land rights

When respondents said their land rights had become weaker, the reasons they gave for this situation were disagreements with neighbours, family or landlord (4.2%), a long wait for development (2.3%), evictions (0.9%), people had lost their documents (0.7%), relocations (0.5%), shacks were being demolished (0.4%), the committee had changed (0.2%), other reasons (7.1%) and some did not know (1.2%).

Males of Luis Cabral cited disagreements with neighbours, family or landlord (8.7%), waiting too long for development (5.8%), relocations (2.9%), evictions (1.9%) and shacks were being demolished (1.0%). None said the committee had changed or that they had lost their documents. However, 3.9% of respondents gave other reasons. The majority of females also mentioned disagreements with neighbors, family or landlord (7.1%), waiting too long for development (3.9%), evictions (1.9%) and loss of documents (0.6%). None responded and the committee had changed. However a large number of respondents gave other reasons (9.1%).

In Hulene B few respondents answered the question; only 0.8% cited disagreements with neighbours, family or landlord and the same percentage said they had lost their documents.

Meanwhile, 11.8% gave other reasons. The majority of females cited disagreements with neighbours, family or landlord (1.6%), waiting too long for development (0.5%), shacks were being demolished (0.5%), the committee had changed (0.5%) and some gave other reasons (3.7%).

Table 9.3: Weak land rights

Weak land rights	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Relocations	3	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Waiting too long for development	6	5.8	6	3.9	0	0.0	1	0.5
Demolition of shacks	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Disagreements with neighbours, family or the landlord	9	8.7	11	7.1	1	0.8	3	1.6
The committee had changed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Loss of documents	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	1	0.5
Evictions	2	1.9	3	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	4	3.9	14	9.1	14	11.8	7	3.7
Not applicable	76	73.8	116	75.3	101	84.9	177	92.7
Do not know	2	1.9	3	1.9	2	1.7	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	191	100

9.4 Improvements to property

The majority of respondents had made improvements to their property (72.3%) and a small number had not (25.4%), while 1.8% did not know.

Males in Luis Cabral did make improvements (73.8%), others did not (23.3%) while some did not know (2.9%). The females also made improvements (66.9%), and a slightly higher number did not (31.2%), while 1.3% did not know.

A slightly higher percentage of males in Hulene B made improvements (75.6%), others did not (20.2%), while 3.4% did not know. The females also made improvements (73.7%), and 25.3% did not, while 1.1% did not know.

Table 9.4: Improvements to property

Did the respondents make improvements to their properties	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	76	73.8	103	66.9	90	75.6	140	73.7
No	24	23.3	48	31.2	24	20.2	48	25.3
Do not know	3	2.9	1	0.6	4	3.4	2	1.1
Not applicable	0	0.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

9.5 Access to money for improvements

Respondents who made improvements to their property acquired money as follows: through a *stokvel* or *xitique* (45.2%), borrowing from the bank (7.2%), borrowing from family or accessing their savings (2.3%), borrowing from an informal lender (1.8%), or through a mortgage from the bank (0.9%). Some of the respondents cited other sources (15.2%). It was surprising to discover that some of the respondents had borrowed money from the bank, which begs the question where they acquired the guarantees required by the bank. That guarantee could either be the existing house or a godfather who stood surety. Although most respondents acquired money through their *stokvel*, a significant number borrowed money from someone they knew, an informal lender or an institution.

The males in Luis Cabral acquired money through their *stokvel* or *xitique* (27.2%), others borrowed money from the bank (14.6%), from an informal lender (2.9%), from family or they used their savings (2.9%), while 23.3% cited other sources. The majority of females also accessed money through their *stokvel* or *xitique* (22.7%), others borrowed money from the bank (10.4%), from family or they used their savings (3.9%). Some borrowed money from an informal lender (3.2%), applied for a mortgage from the bank (2.6%) and some did not know (0.6%). However, 24.7% did say other sources.

In Hulene B, the main source of money for improvements came from the *stokvel* or *xitique*. The males represent the largest number of respondents who borrowed from their *stokvel* or *xitique* (59.7%). This situation is unusual since, in southern Mozambique, it is mainly females that belong

to a *stokvel* or *xitique*. The other sources of money were banks (4.2%), informal lenders (0.8%) and others (12.65). Females accessed money through a *stokvel* or *xitique* (65.3%), from the bank (2.1%), from family (1.6%) and others (4.7%).

Table 9.5: Access to money for improvements

Access to money for improvements	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Borrow money from the bank	15	14.7	16	10.4	5	4.2	4	2.1
Borrow money from an informal lender	3	2.9	5	3.2	1	0.8	0	0.0
Borrow money from family	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.6
Apply for a mortgage from the bank	2	2.0	4	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Borrow money from family or use savings	3	2.9	6	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Access money through a <i>stokvel/xitique</i>	28	27.5	35	22.7	71	59.7	124	65.3
Other	24	23.5	38	24.7	15	12.6	9	4.7
Do not know	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	27	26.5	49	31.8	27	22.7	50	26.3
Total	102	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

9.6 Time spent making improvements

Respondents were asked how much time they had spent making improvements to their property and their responses were as follows: still making improvements (21.4%), years (14.1%), months (10.6%), days (5.1%) and weeks (4.8%). But 0.4% refused to answer and 16.8% did not know.

In Luis Cabral, the males said they had taken years (18.4%), followed by those who said they were still making improvements (10.7%), others had taken days (8.7%) and months (8.7%). Some refused to answer (2.9%) and others did not know (18.45). The females said they had taken years (14.9%), months (11%), days (8.4%) and some were still making improvements (8.4%). However, 17.5% of respondents did not know.

The males in Hulene B said they were still making improvements (39.5%), some had taken years (9.2%) and months (9.2%), days (2.5%) and weeks (2.5%), while others did not know (15.1%). The response from females did not vary much since 25.3% said they were still making improvements, followed by those who had taken years (14.7%), months (13.2%), weeks (4.2%), and days (2.1%), while some did not know (14.7%).

Table 9.6: Time spent making improvements

Time spent making improvements	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Days	9	8.7	13	8.4	3	2.5	4	2.1
Weeks	6	5.8	11	7.1	3	2.5	8	4.2
Months	9	8.7	17	11.0	11	9.2	25	13.2
Years	19	18.4	23	14.9	11	9.2	28	14.7
Still making improvements	11	10.7	13	8.4	47	39.5	48	25.3
Not applicable	27	26.2	50	32.5	26	21.8	49	25.8
Refused to answer	3	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	19	18.4	27	17.5	18	15.1	28	14.7
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

9.7 Cost of improvements

Generally, the majority of respondents did not know how much the improvements had cost them (50.7%). However, the highest amount paid was 5 000MZN (5.5% of respondents), followed by those who said the improvements had cost 2 000MZN (2.8%), less than 1 000MZN (2.5%), 4000MZN (1.6%), 3 000MZN (1.4%), while some were still making improvements (1.45%). Furthermore, 1.2% of respondents refused to answer.

In Luis Cabral, the majority of males said they had spent 5 000MZN or more (12.6%), followed by those who said 2 000MZN (6.8%), 3 000MZN (1.9%), 4 000MZN (1.9%), less than 1000MZN (1.9%), while others were still making improvements (1.9%). Furthermore, 2.9% refused to answer and 42.7% did not know. The majority of female were still in the process of making improvements (8.45%), followed by those who had spent less than 1 000MZN (3.9%), 2 000MZN (0.6%), 3 000MZN (0.6%) and 4 000MZN (0.6%). Furthermore, 2.6% refused to answer and 48.7% did not know.

The situation in Hulene B is as follows: 4.2% of males paid 4 000MZN, followed by 2.55% who paid 2 000MZN, 1.7% who paid 5 000MZN, 0.8% who paid 3 000MZN and 0.8% who paid less than 1 000MZN. Furthermore, 1.7% were still making improvements, 0.8% refused to answer and 49.6% did not know. The females said they had paid 2 000MZN for improvements (2.6%),

3000MZN (2.1%), less than 1 000MZN (1.6%) 5 000MZN (1.6%). However, 0.5% of females said they had paid 4 000MZN and 58.4% did not know.

Table 9.7: Cost of making improvements

Cost of making improvements	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Less than 1 000MZN	2	1.9	6	3.9	1	0.8	3	1.6
2 000MZN	7	6.8	1	0.6	3	2.5	5	2.6
3 000MZN	2	1.9	1	0.6	1	0.8	4	2.1
4 000MZN	2	1.9	1	0.6	5	4.2	1	0.5
5 000MZN or more	13	12.6	13	8.4	3	2.5	3	1.6
Still making improvements	2	1.9	4	2.6	2	1.7	0	0.0
Not applicable	28	27.2	49	31.8	44	37.0	63	33.2
Refused to answer	3	2.9	4	2.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
Do not know	44	42.7	75	48.7	59	49.6	111	58.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

9.8 Improvement or deterioration in situation

Respondents who had moved to a new place were asked whether their situation had improved or deteriorated. Generally, the situation had improved (46.5%), with minor differences between those who felt their situation was about the same (18.6%) or had deteriorated considerably (16.8%). Some 9% said it had improved considerably, while just less than 5% said they did not know.

Some 45.6% of the males of Luis Cabral said their situation had improved, while 17.5% said it had deteriorated, 16.5% said it, was about the same (16.5%) and 9.7% said it had improved considerably and 5.8% said it had deteriorated considerably. Just under 3% of males said they did not know. The females said their situation had deteriorated (22.7%) and deteriorated considerably (5.2%). Those who said it had improved amounted to 36.4%, followed by 20.8% who said it was about the same, 8.4% said it had improved considerably, while 1.3% refused to answer and 3.2% said they did not know.

Just over 50% of the males of Hulene B said their situation had improved, while 17.6% said it was about the same and 12.6% said it had improved considerably. Those who gave a negative answer said it had deteriorated (9.2%) or deteriorated considerably (0.8%). The females had similar

replies: 54.4% said it had improved, 6.6% said it had improved considerably or was about the same (20.3%). Others said it had deteriorated (16.5%) or deteriorated considerably (2.2%).

Table 9.8: Improvement or deterioration of situation

Improvement or deterioration of situation on moving to the study area	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Improved considerably	10	9.7	13	8.4	15	12.6	12	6.6
Improved	47	45.6	56	36.4	60	50.4	99	54.4
About the same	17	16.5	32	20.8	21	17.6	37	20.3
Deteriorated	18	17.5	35	22.7	11	9.2	30	16.5
Deteriorated considerably	6	5.8	8	5.2	1	0.8	4	2.2
Do not know	3	2.9	5	3.2	11	9.2	0	0.0
Refused to answer	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	2	1.9	3	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	182	100

9.9 Improvements in living conditions

Those respondents who said their situation had improved gave the following reasons: a reduction in the cost of living (14.1%); the family stayed together (11.5%); the household had made improvements made to the house (6.7%); had built extensions to their house (4.9%); access to water (2.5%); access to electricity (1.9%); and the value of the property had increased (1.6%). Other answers were given, but with low statistical significance such as the cost of transport decreased (0.9%), the property could be inherited by the family (0.4%) and the house was subdivided and rented out (0.5%).

In Luis Cabral, the males said their cost of living had been reduced (2.9%), they had access to water (2.9%) and the family had stayed together (2.9%). They also said they had access to electricity (1%) and they had extended the house (1%). The females said the family stayed together (2%), their cost of living had decreased (0.7%), they had access to water (0.7%) and electricity (0.7%), and they had extended the house (0.7%).

In Hulene B, the response from the males was much higher in terms of numbers in comparison to Luis Cabral: they said the cost of living had decreased (16.8%), the family stayed together (14.3%), they had improved the house (6.7%), they had access to electricity (4.2%) and had extended the house (3.4%). Likewise, the females in this ward said their cost of living had decreased (15%), they had improved the house (10.7%), they had extended the house (10.2%), the family had stayed together (8.6%), and they had access to electricity (2.1%) and to water (1.6%).

Table 9.9: Improvements to living conditions

Improvements to living conditions	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Decrease in the cost of living	3	2.9	1	0.7	20	16.8	28	15.0
Increase in the value of the property	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.1
Access to water	3	2.9	1	0.7	3	2.5	3	1.6
Access to electricity	1	1.0	1	0.7	5	4.2	4	2.1
Decrease in transport costs	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Improvements to the house	0	0.0	1	0.7	8	6.7	20	10.7
Extensions to the house	1	1.0	1	0.7	4	3.4	19	10.2
Family can inherit the property	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
The family can stay together	3	2.9	3	2.0	17	14.3	16	8.6
Not applicable	92	89.3	139	93.9	61	51.3	92	49.2
Do not know	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
No further answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.1
Total	103	100	148	100	119	100	187	100

9.10 To what extent had the situation deteriorated

The respondents who said that their situation had deteriorated referred specifically to the increasing cost of living (12%), the fact that the family could not be together (2.3%) and that their health had deteriorated (1.1%). Furthermore, the property had deteriorated (0.5%), the cost of transport had increased (0.2%) and the property's value had not increased (0.2%).

The males of Luis Cabral only mentioned the increasing cost of living (1.9%) or gave other reasons (2.9%), while the females mentioned the increasing cost of living (15.6%), the fact that the family could not stay together (3.9%) and that their health has deteriorated (1.9%).

The males of Hulene B only mentioned the increased cost of living (8.4%) while the females referred to the increased cost of living (12.2%) and deterioration in health (1.1%).

Table 9.10: To what extent had the situation deteriorated

To what extent had the situation deteriorated	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Increase in cost of living	2	1.9	24	15.6	10	8.4	23	12.2
Decrease in property value	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
No access to water	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
No access to electricity	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The family cannot inherit the property	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The property cannot be subdivided and rented out	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The property cannot be sold	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The property cannot be rented out	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Deterioration in health	0	0.0	3	1.9	0	0.0	2	1.1
Increase in transport costs	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
The house is too small for the family	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The property is a great distance from job opportunities	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The house cannot be renovated	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
The family cannot stay together	0	0.0	6	3.9	0	0.0	1	0.5
Other	3	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	3	1.6
Not applicable	98	95.1	117	76.0	108	0.8	160	84.7
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	189	100

9.11 Conclusion

People felt that their rights were protected because they were in possession of a document issued by the head of the housing block, the chief of the *quarteirão* or the ward secretary. They were confident that if their names or house numbers were on a list held by the authorities, they had security of tenure. Only a few people did not answer this question. The data reveals that the majority of the respondents felt that their rights were strong, followed by those that said they were very strong, some said they were about the same, and then others said they were weak and lastly very weak.

These rights were felt to be protected because the neighbors could prove that the property belonged to them, others had a document to prove that the property belonged to them, they had a municipality number, the house had a ward number, or their names were on a list held by the head of the *quarteirão* or the head of the housing block, people were not being evicted, the municipality was not demolishing houses, and development or *parcelamento* had been promised.

Those who said their rights had weakened attributed this to disagreements with neighbours, family or the landlord, waiting too long for development, people being evicted, loss of official documents, relocations, shacks being demolished and change in the committee.

In the meantime, some of the respondents had made improvements to their new homes. The money for these renovations was sourced from a *stokvel* or *xitique*, borrowed from the bank, family or savings or an informal lender, or they had applied for a mortgage from the bank. These improvements mostly took weeks, but some took days, months and years, and some were still ongoing.

Generally, the respondents did not know how much the improvements cost. However, the highest amount paid was 5 000MZN. There were respondents who said they had paid 2 000MZN or less, or 1 000MZN, 4 000MZN or 3 000MZN.

On moving to their new house, some respondents felt their situation had improved considerably while a few said it had deteriorated. However, they responded poorly to the question as to what extent their situation had improved. Those who responded said their family could stay together, the value of their property had increased, they had improved or extended their house, and they had access to water or electricity. Those who felt their situation had deteriorated said it was because the cost of living had increased, the family could not be together, their health had deteriorated, the property had deteriorated, the cost of transport had increased and the house's value had not increased.

10. Land Dispute Resolution in the Study Area

10.1 The arbitrators

This section discusses the issue of conflict dispute and resolution, which is crucial with regard to property and relationships with neighbours. Respondents were asked who the arbitrators were during such disagreements. Several people or institutions were mentioned such as local authorities, the municipality, police and the court. However the main arbitrators were the local authorities. This function is usually performed by the ward secretary, the chief of the housing block or the chief of the *quarteirão*. Respondents mentioned the ward secretary (30%), the head of a housing block (27.6%), neighbours (9.4%), the municipality (5.8%), family (3.2%), court (2.1%) and friends (4.9%). Some did not know (1.6%) and some mentioned other people or institutions (16.4%).

When the data is disaggregated by ward and gender, it was found that the males of Luis Cabral went to the ward secretary (30.1%) with their disputes, the head of the housing block (17.5%), the neighbours (8.7%), the municipality (6.8%), the police (2.9%), family (1.9%), friends (1.9%) and others (28.2%). The females also took their disputes to the ward secretary (31.4%), head of the housing block (14.4%), neighbours (10.5%), the municipality (7.8%), family (5.9%), the courts (2%) and others (22.2%).

In Hulene B, the situation was different as the males took their disputes to the head of the housing block (37.8%) then to the ward secretary (28.6%), the neighbors (14.3%), the municipality (2.5%), the police (2.5%) and the courts (2.5%). Furthermore, the family (0.8%) and others (10.1%) were also an option. Females took their disputes to the head of the housing block (37.4%), the ward secretary (30.5%), neighbours (5.8%), the police (3.7%), the courts (3.2%) family (3.2%) and others (8.9%).

Table 10.1: The arbitrators

Arbitrators in land dispute resolution	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Neighbours	9	8.7	16	10.5	17	14.3	11	5.8
Friends	2	1.9	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Family	2	1.9	9	5.9	1	0.8	6	3.2
Head of the housing block	18	17.5	22	14.4	45	37.8	71	37.4
The municipality	7	6.8	12	7.8	3	2.5	11	5.8
The police	3	2.9	4	2.6	3	2.5	7	3.7
The courts	0	0.0	3	2.0	3	2.5	6	3.2
The ward secretary	31	30.1	48	31.4	34	28.6	58	30.5
Other	29	28.2	34	22.2	12	10.1	17	8.9
Do not know	2	1.9	3	2.0	1	0.8	3	1.6
Total	103	100	153	100	119	100	190	100

10.2 Personal experience of conflict

When respondent were asked whether they had had any personal conflict with regard to land tenure, the majority (92%) had not, and a minority (7.4%) reported to have experienced conflict. However, 0.2% refused to answer and 0.4% did not know. The majority of males in Luis Cabral (91.3%) had experienced no personal conflict, while 8.7% had had conflict. An even higher majority of females had experienced no conflict (95.5%) and 4.5% said they had. In Hulene B, the situation was not much different: 87.4% of males had not experienced conflict and 10.9% had, while 93.2% of females said they had had conflict and 6.3% had not.

Table 10.2: Personal experience of conflict

Personal experience of conflict	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	9	8.7	7	4.5	13	10.9	12	6.3
No	94	91.3	147	95.5	104	87.4	177	93.2
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Did not know	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

10.3 Description of land disputes

Land disputes were related to someone trying to take a portion of a respondent's land (2.7%) and eviction (2.7%). Other issues included problems with neighbours because of the land boundary (1.8%)

The males in Luis Cabral experienced conflict relating to problems with neighbours because of land boundaries (2.9%), someone trying to take a portion of their land (2.9%) and eviction (2.9%). The females gave the same answers: someone trying to take a portion of their land (2%), eviction (2%) and problems with neighbors because of land boundaries (0.7%).

In Hulene B, the males responded as follows: someone tried to take a portion of their land (4.2%), they had problems with neighbors because of land boundaries (3.4%) and the prospect of eviction (3.4%). The females of this ward answered as follows: someone tried to take a portion of their land (2.1%), the prospect of eviction (2.1%) and problems with neighbours because of land boundaries (1.1%).

Table 10.3: Description of land disputes

Description of land disputes	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Problems with neighbours because of land boundaries	3	2.9	1	0.7	4	3.4	2	1.1
Someone tried to take a portion of land	3	2.9	3	2.0	5	4.2	4	2.1
Eviction	3	2.9	3	2.0	4	3.4	4	2.1
Not applicable	93	90.3	144	94.1	104	87.4	179	94.2
Do not know	1	1.0	2	1.3	2	1.7	1	0.5
Total	103	100	153	100	119	100	190	100

10.4 Reasons for moving away from current location if necessary

When respondents were asked if they were to move, what would the reason be for moving away from their current location, the majority said they would not move (37.8%). Those who would move would do so to move in with their children who would take care of them (18%), due to relocation by the municipality (11.7%), to be closer to social networks (9.4%), to earn more

money (7.8%), to move into another property they owned (7.4%), or to find a cheaper place (1.9%). Only one respondent refused to answer.

In Luis Cabral, 18.4% of the males interviewed said they would not move. However those who responded in the affirmative said they would do so to move in with their children who would take care of them (30.4%), if the municipality were to relocate them (20.6%), to move to an alternative property where they could stay (9.8%), or if the government would allocate a house to them (6.9%). Others said they would move if they found a cheaper place (5.9%), some said they would only move when they died (4.9%) and some would move to earn more money (2.9%).

The females in Luis Cabral who would not move amounted to 18.8%. If they had to move it would be due to the government providing them with a house (24.7%), having another property available where they could stay (16.2%), moving in with children who would take care of them (14.9%), the potential to earn more money elsewhere (10.4%), to move closer to social networks (7.1%), relocation by the municipality (5.8%) or finding a cheaper place (1.3%).

In Hulene B, a greater number of males (53.8%) and females (53.2%) than in Luis Cabral said they would not move. Those males who would move would do so to move in with their children who would take care of them (16.2%), to be closer to social networks (10.3%), if there was the potential to earn more money (6%), or in the case of relocation by the municipality (5.1%). Those females who would move said they would do so to move in with their children who would take care of them (15.3%), to be closer to social networks (14.2%), if the government would provide them with a house (1.6%), if the municipality relocated them (1.1%), or to move into an alternative property they owned (1.1%).

Table 10.4: Reasons for moving away from current location if necessary

Reasons for moving away from current location if necessary	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Refuse to move	19	18.4	29	18.8	63	53.8	101	53.2
To earn more money	3	2.9	16	10.4	7	6.0	19	10.0
To find a cheaper place	6	5.9	2	1.3	1	0.9	2	1.1
To move to another property owned by the respondent	10	9.8	25	16.2	0	0.0	2	1.1
To move closer to social networks (e.g church)	0	0.0	11	7.1	12	10.3	27	14.2
Only on death, retirement or emigration	5	4.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
In the case of relocation by the municipality	21	20.6	9	5.8	3	5.1	2	1.1
If the government were to provide a house	7	6.9	38	24.7	1	0.9	3	1.6
To move in with children who would take care of them	31	30.4	23	14.9	19	16.2	29	15.3
Other	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.9	1	0.5
Do not know	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	5.1	4	2.1
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.9	0	0.0
Total	102	100	154	100	117	100	190	100

10.5 Fate of the current home if the respondent were to move

If they were to move from their current home, the majority of respondents said they would offer it to a family member (33.6%), they would leave the place as is (14.0%), they would sell the house and the land (7.6%), they would rent out the house (4.9%), they would rent out the house and land (2.3%), or the house would be demolished (1.9%). Some 0.4% of respondents refused to answer, 18.7% did not know and 15.0% gave other answers.

The males of Luis Cabral answered as follows: they would offer the house to a family member (33.0%), they would leave the place as is (19.4%), they would sell the house (2.9%), they would sell the house and the land (8.7%), they would rent out the house (6.8%) or the house would be demolished (3.9%). Some 14.65% did not know while 9.6% gave other answers. The females said that would offer the house to a family member (31.8%), they would leave the place as is (24.7%), they would sell the house and the land (7.8%), they would rent out the house (6.5%), they would rent out the house and the land (3.9%), or the house would be demolished (3.2%). Others did not know (3.9%) and 14.9% gave other answers.

In Hulene B, the males said they would offer the house to a family member (26.1%), they would leave the place as is (7.6%), they would sell the house (1.7%), they would sell the house and the land (5%), they would rent out the house (4.2%), or the house would be demolished (0.8%). Some 0.8% refused to answer, 33.6% did not know and 20.2% gave other answers. The females in Hulene B said they would offer the house to a family member (40.6%), they would leave the place as is (5.8%), they would sell the house (2.1%), they would sell the house and the land (7.9%), they would rent out the house (3.2%), or they would rent out the house and the land (1.6%). Furthermore, 0.55% refused to answer, 23.2% did not know and 21.2% gave other answers.

Table 10.5: Fate of the current home if the respondent were to move

Fate of the current home if the respondent were to move	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Male	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Leave the place as is	20	19.4	38	24.7	9	7.6	11	5.8
Offer it to a family member	34	33.0	49	31.8	31	26.1	79	41.6
Sell the house	3	2.9	5	3.2	2	1.7	4	2.1
Sell the house and the land	9	8.7	12	7.8	6	5.0	15	7.9
Rent out the house	7	6.8	10	6.5	5	4.2	6	3.2
Rent out the house and the land	1	1.0	6	3.9	0	0.0	3	1.6
The house would be demolished	4	3.9	5	3.2	1	0.8	0	0.0
Other	10	9.7	23	14.9	24	20.2	27	14.2
Do not know	15	14.6	6	3.9	40	33.6	44	23.2
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

10.6 Other alternatives for the place if they should move

The respondents who gave 'other' responses (15%), said if they left their home they would take the windows, doors and zinc (2.8%), return the house to the owner (2%), leave the property to their children (1.4%), leave to acquire more space (0.9%), that the government would know what to do with the house (0.6%) or that it would depend on the situation (0.6%).

The males of Luis Cabral said they would take the windows, doors and zinc (5.4%), leave to acquire more space (4.3%), return the house to the owner (2.9%), leave the property to their children (2.9%) or the government would know what to do with the house (1.8%). The females

said they would take the windows, doors and zinc (8.6%), each respondent had a unique motive (5.7%), to acquire more space (4.3%), move to a more peaceful ward (4.3%), return the house to the owner (2.9%), leave the house to their children (2.9%) and the government would know what to do with the house (1.4%).

Meanwhile the males of Hulene B said they would return the house to the owner (1%) or it would depend on the situation (0.8%), while females said it would depend on the situation (0.5%).

10.7 Factors that drove people to the area

Respondents said that they were driven to the area because they were looking for a job (9.5%), an additional household had been created (7.4%), there were jobs close by (6.7%), people were moving from rural areas to the ward (6.4%), war had forced them to move (5.5%), better health services were offered (3.5%), a growing household needed more space (3.5%), electricity was available (1.6%), the municipality has installed a water supply (1.6%), or water was available from the private sector (0.4%). Some 0.4% refused to answer and 46.8% did not know.

The males in Luis Cabral had arrived in the area because they had lost their jobs (20.4%), war had forced them to move (7.8%), better health services were offered (7.8%), they had married and created a new household (6.8%), people were moving from rural areas to Luis Cabral (5.8%), there were jobs close by (3.9%), a growing household needed more space (3.9%), floods forced them to move (1.9%), water was available (1%), electricity was available (1%), water was available from private suppliers (1%), or for other reasons (5.8%).

Females mentioned they were looking for a job (18.8%), war had forced them to move (8.4%), they had moved from a rural area (6.5%), better health services were offered (6.5%), there were jobs close by (6.5%), the household had split up (3.2%), the municipality has installed water (1.9%) and electricity was available (1.3%). Furthermore, 1.9% cited other reasons and 35.7% did not know.

In Hulene B, the males said there were jobs close by (11.8%), the household had split up (6.7%), a growing household needed more space (5.9%), or war had forced them to move (5%). They also

said that water was available from private suppliers (0.8%), electricity was available (0.8%), and better health services were offered (0.8%) and some did not know (3.4%). The females said there were jobs close by (5.4%), war had forced them to move (2.7%) and the municipality had installed water (2.2%). Some 56.5% said they did not know and 5.4% gave other reasons.

Table 10.6: Factors that drove people to the area

Factors that drove people to the area	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
People were moving from rural areas to the ward	6	5.8	10	6.5	5	4.2	14	7.5
An additional household had been created	7	6.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	21	11.3
The household had split up	0	0.0	5	3.2	8	6.7	0	0.0
Losing a job	21	20.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Looking for a job	0	0.0	29	18.8	1	0.8	5	2.7
Growing households needed more space	4	3.9	0	0.0	7	5.9	11	5.9
Fleeing from floods	2	1.9	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Fleeing from war	8	7.8	13	8.4	6	5.0	5	2.7
The municipality had installed water	1	1.0	3	1.9	1	0.8	4	2.2
Water was available from private suppliers	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0
Electricity was available	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	0	0.0
Better health services were offered	8	7.8	10	6.5	1	0.8	0	0.0
There were jobs close by	4	3.9	10	6.5	14	11.8	10	5.4
Other	6	5.8	14	9.1	4	3.4	10	5.4
Do not know	33	32.0	55	35.7	69	58.0	105	56.5
Refused to answer	1	1.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	186	100

10.8 Space constraints

Generally, 87.1% of respondents felt that there was not enough space available, while 4.4% said there was enough space, and 8.5% did not know.

In Luis Cabral, 89.3% of males said there was not enough space in the ward, 6.85% said there was sufficient space and 3.9% did not know. In the same ward, 87% of the females said there was not enough space, 2.6% said there was sufficient space and 10.4% said they did not know.

In Hulene B, 89.1% of the males felt there was not sufficient space in the ward, 3.4% said there was enough space and 7.6% did not know. In the same ward, 85.3% of the females said there were space constraints, while 4.7% said there was sufficient space, and 10% did not know.

Table 10.7: Space constraints

Is there sufficient space for people in this area?	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	7	6.8	4	2.6	4	3.4	9	4.7
No	92	89.3	134	87.0	106	89.1	161	85.3
Do not know	4	3.9	16	10.4	9	7.6	19	10.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	189	100

10.9 Reasons for space constraints

The reasons given as to why there were space constraints were as follows: there is no more space (82.5%), there are few available spaces for sale (1.8%), the spaces are small (1.6%), the space belongs to the municipality (0.5%) and others did not know (5.8%).

In Luis Cabral, the 82.5% of males and 81.2% of females agreed that there were space constraints in the ward: 3.9% of males and 7.1% of females said the spaces were too small, 1.9% of males and 1.3% of females mentioned that there were few available spaces for sale. Furthermore, two females said the space belonged to the municipality, while none of the males considered this reason. Of the males, 2.9% did not know and 5.8% of females gave the same answer.

In Hulene B, 84% of males and 83.2% of females said there was no more space available in the ward. Of the males, 3.4% said there were few available spaces for sale and 1.1% of females gave the same answer. However, none of the males said the space belonged to the municipality, but 0.5% of females gave this reason. There were 5.9% of males and 7.4% of females who did not know.

Table 10.8: Reasons for space constraints

Reasons for space constraints	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
There is no more space	85	82.5	125	81.2	100	84.0	158	83.2
The space belongs to the municipality	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	1	0.5
There are few available spaces for sale	2	1.9	2	1.3	4	3.4	2	1.1
The spaces are small	4	3.9	5	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	9	8.7	11	7.1	8	6.7	15	7.9
Do not know	3	2.9	9	5.8	7	5.9	14	7.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

10.10 Conclusion

Generally, conflict over land issues can arise with relatives, employers, employees, neighbours, and friends, etc. These disputes are dealt with by arbitrators that could be institutions or local authorities such as the ward secretary, the chief of the housing block or the chief of the *quarteirão*. In other cases, the municipality, family, the court or friends took on the role of arbitrator. These conflicts arose because people tried to take a portion of the respondent's land or there were plans to evict the respondent. The respondents also mentioned problems with neighbours because of the land boundaries.

Generally, respondents did not want to move from where they stayed, but if they were forced to do so it would be to move in with their children who would take care of them, the municipality had to relocate them, move closer to social networks, earn more money, stay in another property owned by the respondent or to find a cheaper place.

If they moved away from where their current homes, the majority of respondents (33.6%) said they would offer their house to a family member, or they would leave the place as is (14.0%), they would sell the house and the land (7.6%), they would rent the house (4.9%), they would rent out the house (2.3%), the house would be demolished (1.9%) or they would rent out the house and the land (1.6%). Furthermore, 0.4% of respondents refused to answer, 18.7% did not know and 15.0% gave other answers.

People were driven to move to the area because of job opportunities, the creation of an additional household, jobs close by to the ward, people moving to the ward from rural areas, war forced them to move, better health services were offered, growing households needed more space, electricity was available, the municipality had installed water or water was available from a private supplier.

The respondents felt that there were space constraints in their ward for further construction, there were few available spaces for sale, the spaces were small or the spaces belonged to the municipality.

11. The Land Process in Luis Cabral and Hulene B

11.1 Role players who could speed up the land process

This section covers the issues associated with the land process and the role players involved who could speed up the process. Generally, 8.3% of respondents felt that it was the head of the *quarteirão* that could speed up the land process. Other important role players included the family (4.8%), the ward secretary (4.4%), the seller (2.7%), municipality officials (1.9%), neighbours (1.2%), the police (0.7%), the committee (0.5%), the previous occupant (0.5%) and friends (0.2%). However, the majority of respondents did not know who could help to speed up the land process. There could be a number of reasons for this, including the fact that there is a general confusion around the authorities responsible for land; the existing authorities do not respond speedily to land processes; or those interviewed had not been responsible for accessing and negotiating the land. This is clearly an area in which further research is needed to elicit more nuanced responses.

In Luis Cabral, the majority of males gave other means (42.7%) that could speed up the land process, then mentioned the head of the *quarteirão* (3.9%) and the ward secretary (3.9%). They also cited neighbours (1.0%), family (1.0%), friends (1.0%) and the previous occupant (1.0%). Furthermore, 23.3% did not know, and none had mentioned the police, the head of the housing block, colleagues, employers or the committee. While the majority of females (42.2%) did say others and the head of the *quarteirão* (5.2%) could speed up the land process, they also mentioned family (2.6%), the ward secretary (2.6%) municipality officials (1.9%), the previous occupant (0.6%), the seller (0.6%) and some did not know (26.0%). None of the females mentioned the police, friends, colleagues, employers or the committee.

In Hulene B, the males identified the following role players that could speed up the land process: the head of the *quarteirão* (16.0%), the seller (5.9%), the ward secretary (4.2%), neighbours (3.4%), family (3.4%), municipality officials (1.7%) the committee (1.7%) and the previous occupant. Furthermore, 11.8% of respondents cited other role players and 50.4% did not know. None of the respondents mentioned employers, the head of the housing block, friends or

colleagues. The females in this ward answered as follows: the head of the *quarteirão* (7.9%), family (9.5%), the ward secretary (6.8%), the seller (3.7%), the police (1.6%), and the committee (0.5%). Furthermore, some cited others (5.8%), some did not know (62.1%) and others refused to answer (1.1%). The females did not mention the head of the housing block, friends, colleagues, employers or the previous occupant.

Table 11.1: Role players who could speed up the land process

Role players who could speed up the land process	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
The police	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	3	1.6
The head of the <i>quarteirão</i>	4	3.9	8	5.2	19	16.0	15	7.9
The head of the housing block	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Neighbours	1	1.0	1	0.8	4	3.4	1	0.5
Family	1	1.0	4	2.6	4	3.4	18	9.5
Friends	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Colleagues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Employers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
The ward secretary	4	3.9	3	2.6	5	4.2	13	6.8
Municipality officials	5	3.9	3	1.9	2	1.7	1	0.5
The committee	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.7	1	0.5
The seller	0	0.0	1	0.6	7	5.9	7	3.7
The previous occupant	1	1.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	0	0.0
Other	44	42.7	65	42.2	14	11.8	11	5.8
Do not know	24	23.3	40	26.0	60	50.4	118	62.1
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.1
Not applicable	18	17.5	28	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.2 Role players that could make the land process more affordable

Respondents felt that the following role players could make the land process more affordable: the head of the *quarteirão* (10.2%), the ward secretary (5.8%), family (2.7%), municipality officials (1.2%), neighbours (0.4%), the employer (0.4%), the police (0.4%) and friends (0.2%). Furthermore, some refused to answer (0.5%), others did not know (44.9%) and some mentioned others (25.6%).

The males in Luis Cabral answered as follows: the police (9.7%), the ward secretary (2.9%), municipal officials (1%) and the family (1%). Furthermore, some mentioned others (39.8%), and

some did not know (25.2%). The females mentioned the head of the *quarteirão* (5.2%), the family (2.6%), the ward secretary (1.9%), municipal officials (1.9%), neighbours (0.6%), the employer (0.6%), the previous owner (0.6%) and the seller (0.6%). Some 41.6% said others.

The males of Hulene B considered the head of the *quarteirao* (16%), the ward secretary (6.7%), and municipal officials (1.7%), while some 60.5% said they did not know. Furthermore, there were those who mentioned others (12.6%), the police (0.8%), neighbours (0.8%) and the family (0.8%). None of the females mentioned the employer, the previous owner, the seller or the committee. The females said the family (10%), the head of the *quarteirão* (8.3%), the ward secretary (7.2%), the seller (3.9%) and the police (1.7%). They also mentioned neighbours (0.6%) and municipality officials (0.6%), while 5.8% mentioned others.

Table 11.2: Role players who can make the land process more affordable

Role players who can make the land process more affordable	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
The police	10	9.7	0	0.0	1	0.8	3	1.7
The head of the <i>quarteirão</i>	0	0.0	8	5.2	19	16.0	15	8.3
Neighbours	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.8	1	0.6
Family	1	1.0	4	2.6	1	0.8	18	10.0
Employer	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
The ward secretary	3	2.9	3	1.9	8	6.7	13	7.2
Municipality officials	1	1.0	3	1.9	2	1.7	1	0.6
The previous owner	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
The seller	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	7	3.9
The committee	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Other	41	39.8	64	41.6	15	12.6	1	0.6
Not applicable	20	19.4	28	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	26	25.2	40	26.0	72	60.5	118	65.6
Refused to answer	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.1
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	180	100

11.3 Suggestions to facilitate the process

Generally respondents felt that making available more land or negotiating with key people would facilitate the land process (7.2%), while 5.3% thought localising the process would be beneficial,

2.3% said the municipality should compile an inventory of the available land and 0.9% of respondents refused to answer.

In Luis Cabral, 6.8% of males said the municipality should compile an inventory of the available land, 3.9% said information should be provided on available land and 2.9% said processes of documents should be localised, but none suggested making available more land for negotiation or negotiating with key people. Furthermore, 1% of male respondents refused to answer and 67% did not know. Some 5.8% of females in this ward said the municipality should compile an inventory of the land available and 3.2% mentioned localising processes or documents. Some 68.2% said they did not know.

Some 20.2% of males in Hulene B suggested making available more land for negotiation or negotiating with key people, and 2.5% said the municipality should compile an inventory of the land available, while 76.5% did not know. Almost half of all females in this ward suggested making available more land for negotiation or negotiating with key people (48.9%), while 3.2% of them said the municipality should compile an inventory of the land available (3.2%). Others refused to answer (1.1%) while some did not know (73.7%).

Table 11.3: Suggestions to facilitate the land process

Suggestions to facilitate the land process	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Make available more land for negotiation / negotiating with key people	0	0.0	0	0.0	24	20.2	42	22.1
Localising the processes or documents	3	2.9	5	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Knowing the area	4	3.9	5	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Municipality should compile inventory of land available	7	6.8	9	5.8	3	2.5	6	3.2
Information should be provided on land available	4	3.9	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	15	14.6	28	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Refused to answer	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	2	1.1
Do not know	69	67.0	105	68.2	91	76.5	140	73.7
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.4 The urban land market in Luis Cabral and Hulene B

Based on the interviews with respondents, including land managers and local authorities, it is clear that there is an urban land market in the city. The majority of respondents had paid for their land (31.0%), others had paid for the land and the house (9.5%), while some had paid for the house only (6.0%). This urban land market is an active and dynamic environment, but it has as yet not been documented as it involves illegal dealings, which the municipality prefers to avoid addressing.

The ward secretaries are aware of the land transactions, which take place outside the local administrative system. These business dealings are between the owner and the new occupant only and do not involve official legal processes. Generally, the transaction involves buying or selling the house, and not the land, since according to the law, land in Mozambique may not to be sold as it belongs to the state. The cost of the property is determined between the buyer and seller without the involvement of those responsible for managing the ward. The new owner is obliged to apply for registration of the house at the municipality, following the steps determined by the ward. This process entails the issue of a *declaração* confirming that the “buyer” is the new occupant of that specific house. However, property transactions are influenced by a number of non-market factors. In some cases, people are not willing to leave the city or sell their homes there unless there are exceptional circumstances such as illness, accusations of witchcraft, divorce or separation.

11.5 Making a profit from selling property

When respondents were asked whether it was fair for someone to make a profit from selling his/her property, the majority disagreed (75.4%), while 13.8% agreed. However, 0.2% refused to answer and 10.4% did not know.

The majority of males in Luis Cabral did not think it was fair to make a profit on land transactions (78.8%) and 14.6% said it was fair, while 83.8% of the females disagreed and 11% agreed and some did not know (5.2%).

In Hulene B, the situation was not much different: 68.9% of the males disagreed and 16.0% agreed, while 70.5% of the females disagreed and 14.6% agreed. A further 13.7% did not know and 1.1% refused to answer.

Table 11.4: Making a profit from selling property

Is it fair for someone to make a profit from selling property	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	15	14.6	17	11.0	19	16.0	28	14.7
No	81	78.8	129	83.8	82	68.9	134	70.5
Refused to answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.1
Did not know	7	6.8	8	5.2	18	15.1	26	13.7
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.6 When it is unfair to make a profit from selling property

When respondents were asked when they felt was it unfair to make a profit from selling property, they answered as follows: because land is valuable (27.6%), if the sellers have nowhere to go (14.5%), because land should not be sold (12.2%), if the sellers cannot move in with their children (7.4%) and the law specifies land must not be sold (3.2%). Furthermore, there were 34.6% who did not know and 0.5% who refused to answer.

The males in Luis Cabral felt it was not fair to make a profit from selling property because land is valuable (31.1%), land should not to be sold (14.6%), if sellers have nowhere to go (13.6%), if the sellers cannot move in with their children (7.8%), the law specifies land must not to be sold (4.9%) and others did not know (28.2%).

The females had slightly different opinions to the males in terms of the weight lent to the answers: it is unfair to make a profit from selling property because land is valuable (24.8%), because land must not be sold (19%), if the sellers cannot move in with their children (12.4%), when sellers have nowhere to go (9.2%), the law says land must not be sold (5.2%) and others did not know (29.4%).

The males in Hulene B gave the following reasons: because land is valuable (31.1%), when sellers have nowhere to go (17.6%), because land must not be sold (12.6%) and if sellers cannot move in with their children (5.0%). There were very few males (0.8%) who said the law decrees that land must not be sold, while some did not know (32.8%).

Where the females were concerned, 25.5% said the land is valuable, if sellers had nowhere to go (17.6%), because land should not be sold (6.4%), if sellers cannot move in with their children (4.3%), the law decrees that land must not be sold (2.1%) and some did not know (44.1%).

Table 11.5: When it is unfair to make a profit from selling property

When it is unfair to make a profit from selling property	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Because land is valuable	32	31.1	38	24.8	37	31.1	48	25.5
If sellers have nowhere to go	14	13.6	14	9.2	21	17.6	33	17.6
Land should not be sold	15	14.6	29	19.0	15	12.6	12	6.4
The law decrees that land must not be sold	5	4.9	8	5.2	1	0.8	4	2.1
If sellers cannot move in with their children	8	7.8	19	12.4	6	5.0	8	4.3
Do not know	29	28.2	45	29.4	39	32.8	83	44.1
Total	103	100	153	100	119	100	188	100

11.7 Personal experience of the land process

When respondents were asked about the processes they had to go through to be able to move into their house, some respondents said the process was easy (39.6%), very easy (10.6%) or moderately easy (3.0%). However, 12% said it was difficult and 34.8% did not know.

In Luis Cabral some males said the land process was easy (45.6%) and very easy (13.8%), while the same number said it was moderately easy or difficult (3.9%) and others did not know (33.0%). Where the females were concerned, 39.6% said it was easy, 13.6% said it was very easy, 2.6% said it was moderately easy, 6.5% said it was difficult and 37.7% did not know. In Hulene B the trend was not much different: 36.1% of males and 40% of females said the land process was easy, 7.6% of males and 8.4% of females said it was very easy, 3.4% of males and 2.6% of females said

it was moderately easy. Finally, 18.5% of males and 16.8% of females in this ward said it was difficult, while 34.5% of males and 32.1% of females did not know.

Table 11.6: Personal experience of the land processes

Personal experience of the land processes	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very easy	14	13.8	21	13.6	9	7.6	16	8.4
Easy	47	45.6	61	39.6	43	36.1	76	40.0
Moderate	4	3.9	4	2.6	4	3.4	5	2.6
Difficult	4	3.9	10	6.5	22	18.5	32	16.8
Do not know	34	33.0	58	37.7	41	34.5	61	32.1
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.8 Checking the identity of the seller, previous occupant or landlord

Generally, checking the identity of the seller, previous occupant of the house or the landlord was easy (40.5%), very easy (8.7%), or moderately easy (3.9%), while 44% said it was difficult, 1.4% said it was very difficult and 41.2 did not know.

Males of Luis Cabral said this process was easy (47.6%), very easy (9.7%) or moderately easy (3.9%). None said it was difficult, but 1% found it was very difficult, while 37.9% did not know. Where the females of this ward were concerned, 37.7% said it was easy, 11.7% said it was very easy, 3.2% said it was moderately easy, 1.9% said it was difficult, 0.6% said it was very difficult, while 44.8% did not know.

Males in Hulene B said this process was easy (39.55), very easy (6.7%) or moderately easy (3.4%), while 8.4% said it was difficult, 2.5% said it was very difficult and 39.5% did not know. The females of this ward said this process was easy (40.55), very easy (6.35%) or moderately easy (4.7%). However, 6.3% said it was difficult, 1.6% said it was very difficult and 40.5% did not know.

Table 11.7: Checking the identity of the seller, previous occupant or landlord

Checking the identity of the seller, previous occupant or landlord	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very easy	10	9.7	18	11.7	8	6.7	12	6.3
Easy	49	47.6	58	37.7	47	39.5	77	40.5
Moderate	4	3.9	5	3.2	4	3.4	9	4.7
Difficult	0	0.0	3	1.9	10	8.4	12	6.3
Very difficult	1	1.0	1	0.6	3	2.5	3	1.6
Do not know	39	37.9	69	44.8	47	39.5	77	40.5
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.9 Calculating the value of property

Calculating the value of the property was easy (23.6%), easy (8.9%) moderately easy (12.5%), and difficult (9.25), while some did not know (47.75).

Males of Luis Cabral said checking the value of the property was easy (21.4%), moderately easy (21.4%), very easy (10.7%), or difficult (1.9%), and some did not know (44.7%). Where the females were concerned, 20.8% said it was easy, 14.3% said moderately easy, 11% said it was very easy (11.0%), 6.5% said it was difficult and 47.4% did not know.

Males in Hulene B said it was easy (26.8%), moderately easy (8.4%), very easy (2.5%), difficult (16.8%), while 46.2% did not know. Females said it was easy (26.8%), moderately easy (8.9%), and very easy (3.7%). However, 10.5% said it was difficult and 50.0% did not know.

Table 11.8: Calculating the value of property

Calculating the value of property	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very easy	11	10.7	17	11.0	3	2.5	7	3.7
Easy	22	21.4	32	20.8	31	26.1	51	26.8
Moderately easy	22	21.4	22	14.3	10	8.4	17	8.9
Difficult	2	1.9	10	6.5	20	16.8	20	10.5
Do not know	46	44.7	73	47.4	55	46.2	95	50.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.10 Degree of difficulty in coming to a property agreement

Respondents said that coming to an agreement with the seller, previous occupant or landlord was easy (32.3%), moderately easy (9.7%), very easy (6.2%), difficult (3.7%) and very difficult (2.8%), while some refused to answer (0.25) and others did not know (45.1%).

The males in Luis Cabral said that coming to an agreement with the seller, previous occupant, or landlord was easy (25.2%), moderately easy (10.7%) and very easy (8.7%). Only 1% said it was difficult while 3.9% said it was very difficult and 50.5% did not know. The females said it was easy (24.0%), moderately easy (10.4%), very easy (7.1%) and difficult (6.5%). None said it was very difficult, but 51.3% did not know and 0.6% refused to answer.

The males in Hulene B said it was easy (38.7%), moderately easy (10.1%), very easy (5.9%), difficult (1.7%), very difficult (3.4%) and many did not know (40.3%). Females said it was easy (38.9%), moderately easy (9.5%), very easy (3.7%), difficult (4.2%), very difficult (4.2%) and many did not know (39.5%).

Table 11.9: Degree of difficulty in coming to a property agreement

Degree of difficulty in coming to an agreement with the seller, previous occupant or landlord	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very easy	9	8.7	11	7.1	7	5.9	7	3.7
Easy	26	25.2	37	24.0	46	38.7	74	38.9
Moderately easy	11	10.7	16	10.4	12	10.1	18	9.5
Difficult	1	1.0	10	6.5	2	1.7	8	4.2
Very difficult	4	3.9	0	0.0	4	3.4	8	4.2
Do not know	52	50.5	79	51.3	48	40.3	75	39.5
Refused to answer	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.11 Degree of difficulty in protecting land rights

Respondents in the study areas felt that protecting their land rights was generally easy (25.9%), moderately easy (12.5%) and very easy (8.1%). However, some said it was difficult (7.6%), very difficult (1.9%), while others refused to answer (0.2%) and some did not know (43.6%).

In Luis Cabral, the males felt this issue was easy (30.1%), moderately easy (8.7%), very easy (11.7%), difficult (5.8%), very difficult (1.9%), while many did not know (41.7%). Females said it was easy (25.3%), moderately easy (11.7%), very easy (7.8%), difficult (5.8%) and very difficult (2.6%), while some refused to answer (0.6%) and many did not know (46.1%).

The males in Hulene B said it is easy (26.1%), moderately easy (10.1%), very easy (5.9%), difficult (10.9%) and very difficult (2.5%), while many did not know (44.5%). Females said it was easy (24.7%), moderately easy (17.45), very easy (6.8%), difficult (7.9%), or very difficult (1.1%), while and many did not know (42.1%).

Table 11.10: Degree of difficulty in protecting land rights

Degree of difficulty in protecting land rights	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very easy	12	11.7	12	7.8	7	5.9	13	6.8
Easy	31	30.1	39	25.3	31	26.1	47	24.7
Moderately easy	9	8.7	18	11.7	12	10.1	33	17.4
Difficult	6	5.8	9	5.8	13	10.9	15	7.9
Very difficult	2	1.9	4	2.6	3	2.5	2	1.1
Do not know	43	41.7	71	46.1	53	44.5	80	42.1
Refused to answer	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.12 Terminating the property agreement

Respondents said that terminating the property agreement so that they could move on was easy (30.2%), moderately easy (10.4%) and very easy (7.6%). Meanwhile some said it was difficult (5.3%), or very difficult (1.9%), while many did not know (44.5%).

The males in Luis Cabral said it was easy (29.1%), very easy (10.45), moderately easy (9.7%), difficult (2.9%) and very difficult (1.9%), while many did not know (37.9%). Females said it was easy (31.2%), very easy 911.7%), moderately easy (6.5%), difficult (5.8%), very difficult (2.6%) and many did not know (42.2%). In Hulene B, the males said it was easy (30.3%), moderately easy (17.6%), very easy (1.7%), difficult (1.7%), or very difficult (0.8%), while many did not know (47.9%). Finally, females said it was easy (31.1%), moderately easy (10.0%, very easy (91.6%), difficult (7.9%), very difficult (2.1%) and many did not know (47.4%).

Table 11.11: Terminating the property agreement

Protecting your interests in this place	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Very easy	19	18.4	18	11.7	2	1.7	3	1.6
Easy	30	29.1	48	31.2	36	30.3	59	31.1
Moderately easy	10	9.7	10	6.5	21	17.6	19	10.0
Difficult	3	2.9	9	5.8	2	1.7	15	7.9
Very difficult	2	1.9	4	2.6	1	0.8	4	2.1
Do not know	39	37.9	65	42.2	57	47.9	90	47.4
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.13 Making the process more affordable

When asked who could make the process more affordable, respondents identified the head of the *quarteirão* (9.5%), the ward secretary (6.8%), family (4.7%), municipality officials (1.6%), the police (0.5%), friends (0.5%) and employers (0.5%). However, many did not know (63.3%), others refused to answer (1.1%) and some gave other answers (11.6%).

In Luis Cabral, the males identified the head of the *quarteirão* (9.7%), the ward secretary (2.9%), family (1.0%) and municipal officials (1.0%). Others did not know (25.2%), some refused to answer (1.0%) and some gave other answers (39.8%). Females identified the head of the *quarteirão* (7.1%), followed by the ward secretary (5.2%), family (2.6%), neighbours (0.6%) and employers (0.6%). About 23% did not know and 43.5% gave other answers.

In Hulene B, males mentioned that the head of *quarteirão* could make the process more affordable (16%), others said the ward secretary (6.7%), the municipal officials (1.7%), the police (0.8%), neighbours (0.8%) and family (0.8%). However, 60.5% did not know and 12.6% gave other answers. Females in this ward also mentioned the head of the *quarteirão* (9.5%), the ward secretary (6.8%), family (4.7%), the municipal officials (1.6%), the police (0.5%) and friends (0.5%). Nevertheless, there were those who refused to answer (1.1%), some did not know (63.2%) and some gave other answers (11.6%).

11.14 Other means of dealing with the land process

Respondents who gave other reasons as to how they dealt with the land process, said that they had to argue to become the owner of the house (17.3%), some said they did nothing further (17.3%), others said they appealed to the state (0.9%) and 1.1% did not know.

The males in Luis Cabral said they appealed to the owner of the house (32.1%), some said they did nothing further (30.4%) and others did not know (1.8%). Females said they did nothing further (48.6%), they appealed to the owner of the house (24.3%), or the state (1.4%), while some did not know (1.4%).

The males in Hulene B, said they appealed to the owner of the house (8.2%), they did nothing further (6.25), they appealed to the state (1.0%), while some did not know (2.1%). Females said they appealed to the owner of the house (14.3%), some said they did nothing further (2.4%) or they appealed to the state (0.8%).

11.15: Suggestions to make the process more affordable

This section presents the respondents' suggestions for making the process of land acquisition more affordable in the "other, please specify" category. Respondents felt that the following could make the process more affordable: negotiating with people (7.2%), helping people in negotiations (5.3%), making available more land for negotiation (4.8%) and compiling an inventory of available lands (2.3%). About 1% of respondents refused to answer and 73% did not know.

In Luis Cabral, the males mentioned helping people in negotiations (6.8%), negotiating with people (4.9%), compiling an inventory of available land (2.9%) and making available more land for negotiation (1.0%). However, 70.9% of respondents did not know. The females said negotiating with people (5.2%), helping people to negotiate (4.5%), making available more land for negotiation (1.9%) and compiling an inventory of available land (0.6%). Lastly, 1.3% refused to answer and 70.1% did not know.

Table 11.12: Suggestions to make the process more affordable

Making the process more affordable	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Making land available for negotiation	0	0.0	3	1.9	4	3.4	19	10.0
Facilitating negotiations with people	0	0.0	8	5.2	15	12.6	13	6.8
Helping people with negotiations	0	0.0	7	4.5	5	4.2	10	5.3
Localising the processes	3	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Knowing the place	4	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Municipality should compile inventory of available land	7	6.8	0	0.0	3	2.5	6	3.2
Compile an inventory of available land	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Indicating the areas where land is still available	4	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not applicable	15	14.6	25	16.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Refused to answer	1	1.0	2	1.3	1	0.8	2	1.1
Do not know	69	67.0	108	70.1	91	76.5	140	73.7
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.16 Participation in follow-up survey

The majority of respondents were willing to participate in a future survey (94.9%), while only 2.1% did not want to participate, 0.4% refused to answer and 2.7% did not know.

In Luis Cabral, 96.1% of the males were willing to participate, 1% were not willing, 1% refused to answer and 1.9% did not know. Of the females in this ward, 92.9% were willing to participate in a future survey, 3.2% did not, 0.6% refused to answer and 3.2% did not know.

In Hulene B, 96.1% of the males were willing to participate, 1% were not willing, 1% refused to answer and 1.9% did not know. Of the females, 96.8% were willing to participate in the future, 1.6% were not and 1.6% did not know.

Table 11.13: Participation in follow-up survey

Participation in follow-up survey	Luis Cabral				Hulene B			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Yes	99	96.1	143	92.9	112	94.1	184	96.8
No	1	1.0	5	3.2	3	2.5	3	1.6
Refused to answer	1	1.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Do not know	2	1.9	5	3.2	4	3.4	3	1.6
Total	103	100	154	100	119	100	190	100

11.17 Conclusion

Generally, it was felt that the head of the *quarteirão* could speed up conflict resolution and other issues. In this context, respondents also mentioned family, the ward secretary, the seller, municipal officials, neighbours, the police, the committee, the previous occupant and friends.

The role players who could make the process more affordable included the head of the *quarteirão*, the ward secretary, family, municipal officials, neighbours, employers, the police and friends.

In order to facilitate the land process, respondents felt that the following could be done: making available more land for negotiation, negotiating with key people, localising the process, and the municipality should compile an inventory of the available land.

The majority of respondents said that it was not fair to make a profit from selling property because they felt that land is valuable, the sellers may have nowhere to go, land must not be sold, the sellers may not be able to move in with their children and the law decrees that land may not be sold.

Respondents were asked to rate the degree of difficulty of the land processes, i.e. finding a place to live; verifying the identity of the seller, previous occupant or landlord; calculating the value of the land; reaching an agreement with the seller, previous occupant or landlord; protecting their land rights; and terminating the contract. Most respondents said these processes were easy, very easy or moderately easy. Few said the processes were difficult.

Finally, the majority of respondents were willing to be interviewed for future surveys, which will clarify some of the open-ended questions revealed by the study.

12. Conclusion and Policy Implications

12. 1. Conclusion

This study was structured in terms of households, and its purpose was to determine how the inhabitants of Luis Cabral and Hulene B acquired access to land in the city of Maputo.

The first step in this study was to characterise the demographics, determine the socio-economic conditions of the city dweller as well as the ways in which they acquired access to land and to what extent their land rights and interests were protected. Various issues were discussed in this document, including land policy and legislation, demographic characteristics of ward dwellers, motivation for living in the study wards, the process of acquiring land and the value placed on property. Other issues analysed were the contracting process, land rights and how they are protected. Conflict resolution and land access processes were also placed under the spotlight. Finally, the report analysed the conditions in which poor people live and how they access land within a more capitalistic structure. Views from municipal officers, land managers and local communities were also considered in order to form an accurate view of the land issues in urban areas.

As has been mentioned, the Mozambican Land Act was drawn up in order to benefit all Mozambicans – of low, medium and high income – and without distinction based on party affiliation, religion, race, tribe, gender or place of birth. Furthermore, the Act includes foreigners registered in Mozambique and willing to invest in the country. It also recognises customary laws pertaining to land access through occupation and inheritance, and it also facilitates opportunities for partnerships between nationals and foreigners investors. The Act also allows community representatives to register land by making provision for oral witnesses. Finally, the Act recognises the land equity rights of possession between men and women.

The survey confirmed that there is an active informal urban land market in Luis Cabral and Hulene B. The study revealed that 48.1% of the respondents had purchased property in the study area: 58.7% of respondents in Hulene B and 34.5% of those in Luis Cabral had bought property.

This occurs because of the increase in the cost of living, insecurity of land tenure, and more importantly, because people want to live closer to the city centre to take advantage of job opportunities, access to schools, etc.

The study identified the following issues related to the property market:

- Lack of implementation of legal instruments
- Lack of completion of the urban management tools, such as urban planning and re-settlement policy
- Lack of transparency in the mechanisms of land access in the city and the attribution of title deeds
- Delays in issuing title deeds as well as uniformity in property prices forcing people to buy and sell property on an informal basis
- Lack of communication about the new Land Regulation Act
- A surplus of legislation exists covering formal, written, consuetudinary or traditional rights
- The growth of the informal urban land market as well as the growth of informal settlements have contributed to further activity in the property market, even though land cannot be sold legally.

It has been mentioned that both formal and informal land transactions coexist in Mozambique. As Negrao (2004) points out, this situation creates opportunities for corruption, as the processes are not clear. Although there are different procedures for acquiring land, both the formal and informal methods are not clearly structured. This creates situations where land speculation is encouraged. On the other hand, the land market is defined by those who have money, particularly people who are involved in business, or the new middle classes. It thus happens that within this system, poor people sometimes buy land that is already sold to someone else, or they buy a house without any guarantee of ownership.

The most interesting finding of this study is that despite poor environmental conditions in the study wards, such as high-risk swamp areas alongside the highway in Luis Cabral, the dump and landfill zone in Hulene B, or the land alongside the Hulene cemetery, people still buy and sell

parcels of land in these areas, while some share small portions of land here since there is very little space to accommodate newcomers. This situation has developed due to accelerated urbanisation that is characterised by growth in periphery areas and the ever-increasing lack of housing.

The study has demonstrated that there are different ways of accessing land. As a matter of fact, these methods are very similar to those in other wards of the city, as shown by the study of Chilundo et al. The difference is at the level of purchase price, as the wards in this study area are located in the poorest areas of the city.

It is important to note that the process of accessing land becomes increasingly complex within urban areas, particularly in peri-urban areas. As Araújo (2005) points out, the space is densely populated, thus posing greater challenges to city planners, and eventually the local administrative structure, on which people tend to be more reliant.

The high concentration of population in urban areas not only becomes challenging for city planners, but also for the local chiefs such as the ward secretary, the head of the *quarteirão*, the head of the housing blocks in their capacity as managers of the constant influx of people and the ongoing demand for housing.

The wards that made up the study area are located in an area of Maputo that is constantly ravaged by environmental hazards, such as floods and cyclones. This aspect contributes to the cycle of poverty in this location. Currently, approximately 75% of those living in the city of Maputo are poor. Instead of being a place of opportunity, it is a place of deprivation where there is a constant lack of employment and lack of housing space, while land for urban agriculture is diminishing rapidly.

Access to land in urban areas is a constant challenge due to rapid urbanisation, related particularly to rural migration. Araújo (1990) states that urbanisation comprises various demographic,

economic, social and spatial components. The demographic and spatial issues are the most relevant since this implies a territory and a given growing population.

The peri-urban areas are those that have not been affected by rampant urbanisation due to the lack of service delivery systems such as piped water, roads, electricity, sewage collection, security. Furthermore, people settled in these areas are not permitted to improve their houses since construction of new buildings or enlarging current structures are not permitted because the area is classified as “unplanned”.

According to the Land Regulation Act, only the planned areas can be used for housing, while unplanned areas are either classified as ‘reserved areas for the city’ for future economic activities or road construction, or simply for environmental reserves. However, a long term of ‘non-land use’ led to the expansion of periphery areas and the concentration of a largely impoverished population that live in poor houses within a limited space.

Managing these spaces is also a challenge managed by the local administration comprising the ward secretary, the head of the *quarteirão*, and the head of the housing block (10 houses). Since they stay in the neighbourhood they are able to identify the inhabitants of the area; identify the space available for new settlers; and more importantly, determine accurately the needs of the people. These administrators are able to monitor their territories with the support of the community police.

The peri-urban areas show an irregular distribution of population, as well as irregular occupation, which makes it difficult to improve living conditions, unless some of the inhabitants are relocated. This has happened in these specific study wards. Also, each ward has its specific history trajectory like the examples coming from these wards under analysis.

Each ward has its specific problems and therefore solutions are required that are designed to address these pertinently and effectively.

Land registration follows the process of acquiring the right to land use or the mechanism for being granted land rights according to the DUAT (Law No 19/97, Articles 10 to 18). The DUAT (Land Use and Benefit Rights) is the right that individuals or corporate persons and local communities can acquire over the land within certain requirements. However, the Municipality provides the “By-law on Land Use Rights”, which recalls the relevant legal content concerning municipal land and its use, and establishes norms to discipline the reception, analysis and decision on requests and complaints about land that are approved by the Municipal Assembly. The By-law makes it possible to present a certificate of provisional authorisation to erect a building, or for the purpose of obtaining building loans or to possibility build at least walls and annexes. This study has revealed that the land registration process is not accessible to people in the particular wards investigated, for the following reasons:

- Lack of information
- No one has ever seen a title deed
- Bureaucracy
- High costs (the cost of the entire process could vary from 5 000MZN to even more than this)
- The municipality must still demarcate the areas.

Apart from the feedback from the inhabitants, the ward secretaries mentioned that some of the occupants in the wards are “lazy and careless”. The most important factor for people moving to the area is to find a place to settle. The study shows that the population of the low-income group is increasing and they are constantly in search of cheaper spaces to live and to build their houses.

Mozambique’s economy has grown year by year after the civil war, which provides a stimulus for property development and land transactions. Article 3 of the Land Act (No 19/97 of 1 October 1997) stipulates that: “land is state property and cannot be sold or, for any reason, be transferred, mortgaged or pawned. Land can solely be acquired through solicitation and attributed the Land Right Use or DUAT”.

However, a situation has developed where an urban land market has continued to develop despite the law, and unequal social development has provided opportunities for those who are able to pay any price for property at the expense of the poor, who cannot even afford to pay 1 000MZN. Furthermore, the increase in demand for land and higher purchase prices have led to the development of new housing structures and reduced property sizes. Some of the poor are obliged to sell their parcel of land to be able to rent or buy a house.

As stated by da Silva (2011), Plano de Estrutura da Cidade de Maputo (2009) and Negrão (2004), this situation has developed because there is no social housing policy that covers the periphery areas. Furthermore, inadequate state intervention on the housing issue affects the poor who cannot compete with the affluent or the emerging rich class. On the other hand, rapid urbanisation in a period of reconstruction after a long civil war, the destruction caused by natural hazards and the impact of the global crisis have not ‘allowed’ a proper interlude to find solutions to address these issues.

There is a need for a partnership between the state, the private sector and low-income communities so as to create a development policy that will improve the living condition of the poor while creating employment opportunities. The Land Act was implemented 10 years ago. Nevertheless, there is a discrepancy between “land that belongs to the state and cannot be sold” and the reality in the city as people do buy and sell property, particularly people in low-income groups, whether it be formally or informally. Urgent interventions are required as follows:

- Clarity on the means to accessing land, that is, reducing the number of procedures specified by the Law of Local Structures (Lei de Orgaos Locais – LOLE¹²)
- Social assistance from the state in the form of low-cost housing
- The perpetuation of urban poverty is partly due to the fact that the state has relinquished its duties with respect to intervention on social housing and improvements on existing structures.

¹² The LOLE (Law 8/2003) establishes the principles and norms, competences and functionality of Local State Structures at the provincial, district and administrative level and the localities; Act No 11/2005 regulates the specific Law.

Trustworthy role players in the land process (social network)

Friends and relatives play an important role in the process of moving into a particular neighbourhood. Some moved to the area because they were given a receipt or document and they were allowed to live there by permission from the relatives. Interestingly, the ward secretary told some of the migrants not to move in, but they said that relatives had guaranteed them a plot. For this reason it is common to find more than one family sharing a plot and its facilities such as sewage, water and electricity.

Time taken to reach an agreement

Since land transactions are a family matter, it usually takes weeks or months to reach an agreement. However, a title deed may take years to acquire. As a matter of fact, none of the inhabitants in the study area had received a title deed (known as DUAT).

Land tenure and land security

Some of the respondents were confident that they had paid a fair price for their property, regardless of whether this amount was correct. Those who responded to the question said they were confident they had paid a fair price because they had a receipt (4.2%). However, the people in Hulene B were more confident about the purchase price than those in Luis Cabral. Where land rights were concerned, 59% of the people in Hulene B people said that their rights were firmly in place and 14.4% said they were very firm, while 37% of the people in Luis Cabral said their rights were firm while 14.4% said they were very firm.

They believed their land rights are firm because neighbours can prove the space belongs to them (25.7%). There was not much difference in response between Luis Cabral (25.7%) and Hulene B (25.8%) in terms of a firm belief in their land rights. It is believed that those who were not as confident (10.7%) felt this way because of the re-allocation process.

The ward secretaries confirmed that although many of the occupants did not possess a DUAT, this was not problematic since the administrative structures recognized their claim to the land. However, some of the respondents living in flood or cyclone areas were told that they could not

build permanent houses since they would be demolished. However, the municipality confirmed they would settle these inhabitants in other neighborhoods. The newcomers usually settle in family plots while waiting for their parcel of land to be allocated or for occupants to vacate their allocated house.

Improvements to the current residence

About 73 of the respondents said they had made some improvements to their houses. They acquired money to do so from the *xitique* (31.2%), similar to the *stokvel* system in South Africa; through a loan from the bank (25.9%); and others borrowed money from relatives (5.1%). Interestingly, a large number of respondents in Luis Cabral borrowed money from the bank (44.7%), while in Hulene B the majority of respondents had turned to the *stokvel* or *xitique* (55.5%) for money.

The period of time taken to make improvements varies: some were still in the process of making improvements (17.6%), others took months (11.6%) and still others weeks (7.6%). There were a greater number of people in Hulene B who were in the process of making improvements (23.5%), while most in Luis Cabral took months to do so (12.5%). In Hulene B, the lesser period is weeks (5.2%) while in Luis Cabral it is years (9.3%).

Living conditions in the study wards

Generally, respondents felt that their living conditions had improved since their move to the wards. The majority (45.0%) said they had improved, while only 2.5% said it had deteriorated. In Hulene B, 52.9% declared that their living conditions had improved, while 36.2% in Luis Cabral responded in the affirmative. About 22% said their living conditions had neither improved nor deteriorated, the greater number being in Luis Cabral. About 19.5% of people in Luis Cabral said their living conditions had deteriorated, while 11.6% of those in the Hulene B gave the same response.

Respondents said they felt their living conditions had improved because their cost of living had decreased (8.8%), they had improved the house (8.5%), there was access to water (4.4%) and the

value of the land had increased (3.0%). On the other hand, some felt the situation had deteriorated because their cost of living had increased (9.2%) and the family had to separate (4.0%). While in Luis Cabral 11.7% mentioned a decrease in the cost of living, 6.8% in Hulene B mentioned the same issue. The issue of separation of the family was the most important for those in Luis Cabral (5.1%) while only 2.9% of those in Hulene B mentioned this issue.

Dispute resolution

In the case of land dispute resolution, respondents relied on the head of the housing block (23.7%), the ward secretary (17.2%), friends (16.8%), neighbours (13.2%) and family (8.5%). Only a few go to court (2.8%), the police (4.0%) and the municipality (10.7%). In fact, it is clear that the local authorities are the main structure that resolves community problems. It is therefore important that the people in these structures live in the neighbourhood and are available on a daily basis.

The head of the housing block (10 houses) has a high standing in Hulene B as 34.5% of respondents seek him/her out for dispute resolutions, while those in Luis Cabral rely on friends (26.8%) to do so. In Hulene B, the respondents also identified the ward secretary as another important role player in this regard (21.6%), while the respondents in Luis Cabral said that neighbours were next in line (14.0%), followed by the municipal officials (13.2%) and the head of the housing block (12.8%). In Hulene B, neighbours were also important in dispute resolution (8.4%) as well as family (8.4%) and the municipality (8.1%). Generally, the police and the courts did not carry much weight in either ward.

Conflict experiences

Most respondents did not have personal experience of land disputes, as 82.7% of the group confirmed. Those who had experienced conflict (14.3%) said it was related to problems with neighbours about land boundaries (2.8%), people trying to take part of their land (2.8%). There were slight differences in responses in both wards. In Hulene B, respondents' experiences of conflict were mostly related to disputes with neighbours about land boundaries (3.2%) and in Luis Cabral it was mostly about the threat of removal from their land (4.3%).

Reasons for moving

About 24.8% of respondents claimed that they would never move from their place – 12.5% of those in Luis Cabral and 34.5% of those in Hulene B. However, some said they would move if they could earn more money in another area (12.3%), or if the municipality relocated them (11.4%). Respondents in both Luis Cabral (25.3%) and in Hulene B (21.9%) said they would move in with their children if need be.

If they were to move, 29.9% of the respondents would leave their house to a family member, and 16% would rent out the house or leave it as is. In Hulene B, 33.2% of the group said they would leave it to a family member and 26.1% of those in Luis Cabral gave the same answer. In Luis Cabral, 17.9% considered the renting option, while 14.5% of those in Hulene B would do the same.

Based on these responses, it can be concluded that respondents would never abandon their properties nor return them to the original owners or the municipality. As one respondent said, *”Land is the only item of wealth for the poor. If a man loses his land it would be as if he were naked”*.

Factors driving people to these wards

Respondents had moved to the study areas in search of a job (8.1%), because they had a new family (7.0%), they were newcomers (6.7%), they were fleeing from a war-torn area in search of safety (5.5%) or the family had expanded and they needed more space (3.9%). In Luis Cabral, 14.0% of respondents said they were searching for a job, while only 2.3% of those in Hulene B gave this response. Those in Hulene B, cited a new family as reason to move (9.0%) followed by the expansion of the family and the need for more space (6.1%).

Available space in the area

About 82.9% of the respondents said there was no more space available in the area. Some said there was further space (72.7%), others said there was still some land that could be sold (4.6%),

the spaces are very small (3.3%) or the space belongs to the municipality (1.6%). Both wards gave more or less the same responses, giving them the same weight.

Degree of difficulty in acquiring a place to stay

Generally, respondents felt it was easy to get a place to stay (37.7%), very easy (12.5%) or moderately easy (3.7%). Only 9.5% said it was difficult and 4% said it was very difficult. In Luis Cabral, 40.9% said the process was easy and 34.8% in Hulene B said the same, while 17.9% of respondents in Luis Cabral and 8.1% in Hulene B said it was very easy. However, 12.3% in Hulene B said it was difficult and 6.1% said it was very difficult to access a plot of land, while 6.2% in Luis Cabral said it was difficult and 1.9% said it was very difficult.

Respondents were requested to rate the degree of difficulty in finding a place to stay; verifying the identity of the previous seller, occupant or landlord; calculating the value of the property; reaching an agreement with the seller, previous occupant or landlord; protecting their land rights; and terminating a land agreement.

It was reported that the most difficult part of the process was dealing with the people in charge of the process. The easiest route was to approach the head of the *quarteirão*; thereafter it became more difficult from the ward secretary, to family, the seller and neighbours, with the most difficult being the municipal official. It was interesting to note the feedback on dealings with the head of the *quarteirão* and the ward secretary since, according to the respondents, they could be “angels or devils”. The positive aspects of these officials is that they facilitate the issue of documents such as the *declaração*; they speed up the process by bypassing red tape; and they live in the neighbourhood, thus making them accessible. However, the negatives include that they can refuse to issue the required documents because they are aware of the illegality of the process; or they take their time because they have to ensure that the space is available so as to avoid double occupancies of the same space.

Respondents felt that officials could facilitate the process by providing more space for negotiation (6.0%), helping with the negotiations (3.7%) and making an inventory of the available land (2.8%). These answers did not differ from ward to ward.

Attitudes toward making a profit from property

The majority of respondents felt it was not fair to make a profit from selling property because land is valuable (27.6%), land should not be sold (12.2%), the seller may have nowhere to go (14.5%) and the law says that land may not be sold (3.2%). The differences between the two wards were very slight. Some 6.2% of the respondents in both Luis Cabral and Hulene B said land should not be sold as the sellers would have no place to go. In Luis Cabral, 17.9% of respondents said that land cannot be sold because it is valuable, while 18.4% of those in Hulene B gave the same response. About 15.2% of those in Luis Cabral and 9.0% in Hulene said that land could not be sold. Furthermore, 8.9% of the respondents in Luis Cabral and 3.2% in Hulene B mentioned that land should not be sold because the sellers may not have a place to stay with their children. Finally, 5.4% of people in Luis Cabral and 4.8% in Hulene B said the law stipulates that land may not be sold.

12.2 Urban land policy implications

Chilundo et al (2005) has defined the land market as transactions in goods and acquired land rights undertaken through voluntary agreement between two people or groups of people represented by agents. Thus the market in land arises whenever there are potential buyers who enter into contact with potential sellers, who agree upon a means of exchange, which may be money or anything else agreed upon through negotiation. The market is a place of an ideal, abstract meeting between sellers and buyers, where the price of goods is fixed by agreement. The study ascertained the existence of an urban land market that works through internal systems, as confirmed by the ward secretaries and the heads of the *quarteirões* since they issue the *declaração* for a new arrival or occupant. However, respondents also view these officials negatively.

It is clear that the *bairros* are no longer able to cope with the influx of more people. None of the occupants has a *declaração* that proves that a specific place belongs to him or her. In the case of

road construction for instance, the people who are settled in reserved areas can be evicted without any indemnity. This took place at the time of the construction of Joaquim Chissano Avenue, during which people were evicted from the area without any indemnity.

Although the Land Act protects informal agreements and takes into account consuetudinary law, the lack of legal documents renders people insecure in terms of their land rights. This situation renders land tenure insecure for the people in these wards and elsewhere since it cannot be predicted whether the next government will accept the current way of dealing with land issues, or for how long it will be prepared to do so. The municipality must take charge of the land issue, it needs to become more organised and ensure that the DUAT is issued without fail with every land transaction.

The dynamic urban growth taking place in Maputo is characterised by transformation and rapid population growth. People who live in Maputo's urban areas need access to land for housing, urban agriculture and leisure, etc. The most important issue for urban dwellers is access to land where they can build a house for their families.

Although people understand that the DUAT is a legal instrument available to them for purposes of securing land tenure, in practice this legal instrument seems to be useless as people use informal methods to secure property. As has been mentioned, only about 5% of Maputo city dwellers possess a DUAT. What about the remaining 95%? Clearly the 95% who do not possess a DUAT are the poor of the area. They either live in the unplanned urban areas, or they occupied the land illegally.

A legal system such as the DUAT should be implemented effectively so as to ensure that roads, clinics, schools, transport, water and sanitation are accessible for poor people. Most of the periphery areas are in dire need of improvement and urgent action is needed to do so, such as:

- The creation of an inclusive government in which everybody participates in decision-making related to issues affecting the future of the city

- Reclaiming land for all activities
- Rehabilitation and improvement of the peripheral wards.

Finally, the DUAT must be transformed into a workable instrument, i.e. it cannot only be a piece of paper that only the privileged can access. It needs to be a document that protects everyone's land rights, including those of the poor.

Bibliography

Allen, C. and Dupont, C. 2006. *Study of IPCCs: case studies in Nampula province* Nampula.

Ammering, U. 2009. *Habitar nos bairros informais: exemplo para um planeamento urbano*. A paper presented in a workshop on urban poverty in Southern Africa. Maputo, 16 April 2009.

Araújo, M.G.M. 2005. *A População das Cidades da Matola e Maputo: espaços urbanos multifacetados*. Centro de Estudos da População. Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais. Imprensa Universitária. Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M., et al. 2004. *Condições de vida da população refugiada de Maratane, Nampula e cidade de Maputo*. Unpublished report. Centro de Estudos de População, Centro Episcopal para o Migrante e Refugiados and Jesuit Refugee Services. Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M. 2003. Os Espaços Urbanos em Moçambique. *GEOUSP – Espaço e Tempo*, nº 14. São Paulo. pp. 165-182.

Araújo, M.G.M. 1999. *Cidade de Maputo, Espaços contrastantes: Do urbano ao rural*. In FINISTERRA, XXXIV, Lisbon. pp 175-190.

Araújo, M.G.M. 1997. *Geografia dos Povoamentos, Assentamentos Humanos Rurais e Urbanos*, Livraria Universitária, UEM/Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M. 1996. *Urban Settlements: National Report to Habitat II, Maputo*. Comissão Nacional para os Assentamentos Humanos, Ministério das Obras Públicas e Habitação, Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M. 1992. *Distribuição Geográfica da População e Processo de Urbanização*, UPP/DNE, Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M. 1990. “Migrações Internas e o Processo de Urbanização”. Direcção Nacional de Estatística (org.). In *Dinâmica demográfica e processos económicos, sociais e culturais*. Comissão Nacional do Plano. pp. 72-66. Maputo.

Araújo, M.G.M. 1988. *O Sistema das Aldeias Comuns em Moçambique: Transformações na Organização do Espaço Residencial e Produtivo*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Lisbon. University of Lisbon.

Chilundo, A., Cau, B. Mubai, M, Malauen, D and Muchanga, V. 2005. *Land registration in Nampula, and Zambezia provinces, Mozambique*. Securing Land Rights in Africa. Research Report 6.

Chilundo, A., Malauene, D., Cau B. and Mubai, M. 2005. *Land registration in Maputo and Matola cities, Mozambique*. Securing Land Rights in Africa. Research Report 7.

Christie, F. and Hanlon, J. 2001. *Mozambique and the Great Flood of 2000*. London.

Conselho Municipal de Maputo. 2009. *Plano de Estrutura da Cidade de Maputo*. Maputo.

Covane, L. 2001. *O Trabalho Migratório e a Agricultura no sul de Moçambique (1920-1992)*. Promédia. Coleção Identidades. Maputo.

Covane, L.A. 1996. Migrant Labour and Agriculture in Southern Mozambique with Special Reference to the Lower Limpopo Valley. (1920-1992). Unpublished PhD dissertation. London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London.

Das Neves, J.M. 1998. Economy, Society and Labour Migration in Central Mozambique, 1930-1965: A Case Study of Manica Province. Unpublished PhD dissertation. London, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Da Silva, A.N. 2011. *Dinâmica socioespacial e produção habitacional na periferia de Maputo – Moçambique a partir da década de 1970: Destaque para os bairros Polana Caniço A e B*. Unpublished MA dissertation presented to the Federal University of Santa Catarina, Brazil.

INE 2006(a). O sector informal em Moçambique: Resultados do primeiro inquérito nacional (2005), Maputo.

INE 2006(b). Inquérito integrado à força de trabalho, Maputo.

INE 2004(a). Inquérito Nacional aos Agregados Familiares Sobre Orçamento 2002/3. Maputo.

INE 2004(b). *Actualização das Projecções Anuais da População por Província 1997-2015*. Série de estudos N°2 - 2ª Edição. Maputo.

INE. 2003. Inquérito mensal à indústria hoteleira. Maputo.

INE. 2002. Estatística do Turismo: Movimento de Turista- Ensaio Piloto 2001, Maputo.

INE. 2001. Perfil das províncias. Maputo

INE. 1999(a). Moçambique: II Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação 1997: Moçambique, Resultados definitivos, 1999. Maputo.

INE. 1999(b). II recenseamento geral da população e habitação 1997. Província de Gaza: Resultados definitivos.

INE. 1998. II Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação 1997: Indicadores Sócio-Demográficos – Maputo cidade, Maputo. INE, 1998b). Inquérito aos Agregados Familiares Sobre as Condições de Vida. Maputo.

Kanji, N., Cotula, L., Hilhorst, T., Toulmin, C. and Witten, W. 2005. *Can land registration serve poor and marginalized groups? Summary report*. Securing Land Rights in Africa. Research Report 1.

Knauder, S. 2000. *Globalisation, Urban Progress, Urban Problems, Rural Disadvantages – Evidence from Mozambique*. University of Vienna. Ashgate.

Negrão, J. 2004. *Mercado de terra urbana em Moçambique*. Cruzeiro do Sul, Maputo.

Raimundo, I.M. 2010. *Gender, choice and migration in Mozambique: Household dynamics and urbanization in Mozambique*. Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG, Saarbrücken, Germany.

Raimundo, I.M. 2005. *From Civil War to Floods: Implications for Internal Migration in Gaza Province*. In Elísio Macamo (eds). Zed Books, London.

Raimundo, J.A. 2008. *La place et le rôle des villageois dans le processus de mise en oeuvre de la politique agraire au Mozambique : le cas des communautés Ajaua de la province de Nyassa (1975 à 2005)*.

UNDP. 2009. Human Development Report 2009: *Overcoming barriers – human mobility and development*. Palgrave MacMillan, New York.

UNDP 2001. *Mozambique: Gender, Women and Human Development. An Agenda for the Future*. Maputo.

UNDP 2000. *Education and Human Development: Trajectory, Lessons and Challenge for the 21st Century*. Maputo.

UNDP 1999. *Mozambique: Economic Growth and Human Development. Progress, Obstacles and Challenges*. Maputo.

UNDP 1998. *Mozambique: Peace and Economic Growth – Opportunities for Human Development*. Maputo.