

MUVA Urban Youth Survey

A statistical profile of urban youth in Maputo and Beira, Mozambique

Andres Arau, Garima Bhalla, Jana Bischler, Astrid Gronbaek, and Paul Jasper

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Executive summary

Introduction

The *MUVA* Urban Youth Survey was conducted as part of the research activities for *MUVA*, a fiveyear DFID-funded female economic empowerment programme in urban Mozambique. *MUVA* works toward testing and finding solutions to help women and girls access opportunities to decent work by addressing the constraints they face.

The objective of the survey is to obtain a statistical profile of the youth living in the *MUVA* target areas in Maputo and Beira to help inform policies about female economic empowerment and connected areas such as education, youth employment, family planning, and financial and digital inclusion.

The survey covers a variety of thematic areas such as education, employment and economic activities, financial inclusion, fertility and family planning, time use, social norms, social capital, and digital inclusion. The analysis in this report places a focus on the different constraints young women face compared to young men, especially with regards to how this affects their ability to participate in the labour market.

This report is the first in a series of publications on this survey. It summarises key findings across all subject areas. Shorter, less technical thematic briefs will be produced as part of the dissemination activities. A technical compendium will be accompanying this report with all relevant statistical/technical information.

Methods

The analysis in this report is based on a household survey conducted in Maputo and Beira between September and December 2017. The survey focuses on the *MUVA* target areas, which are defined as densely populated, low-income inner-city areas. Hence, our findings are representative of these areas rather than representative of the two cities as defined by their administrative boundaries.

Following a multistage random sampling method, we randomly sampled 3,300 households – 1,650 in each city. Households were eligible to be interviewed if at least one member is a young man or woman between the ages of 15 and 25. Following the household-level interview, an individual from that age range was randomly selected to answer questions in an individual-level interview.

Key findings: Education

Young women in Maputo and Beira have the same level of educational attainment as young men. They are as likely to complete primary school, 10th grade, and 12th grade as young



men. However, many young women drop out of school because of early pregnancy. In contrast, young men are more likely to drop out because of financial difficulties or because of finding employment. When controlling for early pregnancy, we find that young women are more likely than young men to complete 10th and 12th grade.

Young people in Maputo and Beira have high levels of educational aspiration and there is no difference in aspirations between young men and women. Most aspire to go to university (78%), yet only 8% of them manage to do so. Even secondary school completion rates are low, with only 51% and 22% of people aged 18 or over having completed 10th and 12th grade respectively. Only 2% of young people are satisfied with their current level of education.

Key findings: Employment and economic activities

Young women in Maputo and Beira are less likely to be employed, more likely to be unemployed, and more likely to be inactive or outside the labour force than young men. Among those who are employed, men are more likely to be wage-employed but women are more likely to be self-employed or working without remuneration for a family business.

A large proportion of employed young people in Maputo and Beira work in jobs with a low skill level (60%) and most young people do not have a formal contract (87%). The vast majority of unskilled workers are selling food products or other goods on the street. Women are significantly more likely to work in such unskilled jobs and they are significantly less likely to have a contract or even verbal agreement.

This is partly explained by the fact that young women are more mobility-constrained than young men and in order to access higher skilled jobs young people living in Maputo and Beira must travel outside their neighbourhood. Young women in the cities have significantly lower decision-making power with regards to their own movements and their domestic responsibilities, including child care, and they therefore tend to travel shorter distances than men.

Key findings: Expenses, credit, and savings

Only one in five of the 15–25-year-olds in Maputo and Beira can cover their monthly expenses without receiving contributions (in cash or in kind) from someone else. Young women are significantly less likely than young men to cover their own expenses, even when they have a job.

Young women are more likely to be involved in decisions on small household expenses than young men independently of marital status, parental status, or whether they contribute to household expenses. Young men, on the other hand, are more likely to be involved in decisions on large household expenses when we control for a range of background characteristics.

While young women and young men are equally likely to save money, young women are less likely to have access to a formal bank account. Instead, they are much more likely to use informal



savings mechanisms such as rotating savings groups (xitique). In addition, young women (especially young women from poorer households) are less likely to think they could get access to credit than young men.

Key findings: Marital status, parenthood and family planning

In Maputo and Beira, young women between the ages of 15 and 25 are far more likely to be married and have children than their male peers. This is partly explained by the fact that women tend to have children with older men. For 51% of young mothers, the father of their first child was five or more years older than them.

We find that most young women and men (70%) became a parent at a younger age than the age they named as being the ideal age to start having children. This is despite the fact that 91% of young people in Maputo and Beira say they have access to information about family planning and 58% say they always use contraception. Young women are slightly less likely than young men to use contraception.

In Maputo and Beira, women also carry a larger share of the parenting responsibility.

While 87% of young women live with their own children only 46% of young men live with theirs.

Key findings: Time use

Young women in Maputo and Beira carry a far greater work burden than young men

when looking at time spent on productive work in combination with time spent on household work and care activities (children, those who are ill, and the elderly). While young men are more likely to spend time on productive work than young women, young women are more likely to spend a greater proportion of their time on household chores, childcare, and taking care of ill and elderly people. Taking both types of work together, women spend on average almost two hours more per day doing work. This means that women are considerably more time constrained than men due to the double work burden they face.

In addition to being less likely than men to work outside the home, women in Maputo and Beira are also far less likely to spend leisure time outside the house. While 75% of all young men spend time on leisure outside the house, only 51% of women do so and when they do they spend less time on enjoying themselves outside the house than men.

Key findings: Social norms around women in leadership

Among young people in Maputo and Beira, a large proportion of both young men and women say they would approve of a woman in a leadership position of an organisation (84%). In addition, the vast majority of young women said they would like to hold a leadership position one day.

This stands in contrast with what young people in Maputo and Beira perceive as accepted within society and what they see happening in practice: only 22% of young



people think other people around them would approve of women in leadership positions and only 34% say that women frequently get selected into leadership positions.

Such findings indicate that one obstacle to a change in social norms and behaviour around women in leadership positions may be the fear of disapproval rather than a lack of own desire or acceptance of the norm. It also suggests that the behaviour may be near a tipping point – both young men and women approve of women in leadership positions at a much higher rate than they think others do.

Key findings: Social capital and digital inclusion

More than half of young people (59%) in Maputo and Beira belong to a social group. However, we find that women mainly belong to church groups, while men disproportionately belong to productive groups such as political organisations and community groups.

In terms of digital social networks, more men than women have a social media account in Maputo and Beira. We find support for the theory that young men tend to leverage social media accounts to forge new relationships, while women use them to maintain existing ones.

The higher prevalence of social media accounts among men in Maputo and Beira is explained by a higher degree of digital inclusion for men compared to women. Young women – particularly those in Beira – have significantly lower levels of access to computers and smartphones than young men. While 51% of young men in Maputo frequently use a computer, only 15% of young women in Beira do so. In addition, 32% of all young women in Maputo and Beira do not own any kind of mobile phone.



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List of abbreviations

ANSA	Associação de Nutrição e Segurança Alimentar
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EAs	Enumeration Areas
IOF	Inquérito sobre Orcamento Familiar
INE	National Statistics Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ОРМ	Oxford Policy Management
PPP	Purchasing power parity
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
QA	Quality Assurance



I Introduction

I.I About MUVA

MUVA is DFID Mozambique's female economic empowerment (FEE) programme, working with young women in urban areas. The programme identifies, tests, and supports the uptake of approaches to working on FEE. The programme aims to find ways to increase urban Mozambican girls' and women's opportunities to find and retain decent work by identifying and addressing the constraints that currently keep them out of work.

MUVA is an influencing programme. It develops and tests projects (output 1), based on evidence (output 2), and then influences others to scale them up (output 3). The programme is innovative and also seeks to innovate. It uses a lean and agile approach to design and test new ideas in short cycles of testing and reflection. It has an adaptive approach to programme management to enable it to be flexible in response to the context and the results of evaluations. In practice, this involves approval of project proposals through a committee called the MUVA Decision Unit (MDU), and quarterly planning cycles in line with the MDU decisions, workplan, logframe and theory of change. These allow the programme to adapt to the progress (or lack of progress) in sub-projects and also to the changing context in Mozambique.

MUVA is an evidence-based adaptive programme. Each project under the innovative fund as well as the programme as a whole has six-monthly reflection sessions during which data and insights from the monitoring, evaluation, and learning system are reviewed. The learnings are used to help implementers make decisions about adapting their activities to respond to findings and improve their intervention.

To support this process and to increase the evidence base and data availability on issues surrounding female economic empowerment in urban Mozambique, *MUVA* commissioned the *MUVA* Urban Youth Survey, a representative quantitative survey of youth living in peri-urban areas in Maputo and Beira.

I.2 Survey objectives

The objective of the survey is to obtain a portrait of youth in the *MUVA* target areas between the ages of 15 and 25 with a specific focus on the constraints faced by female individuals compared to their male peers. *MUVA* defines its target areas as low-income inner-city neighbourhoods (*bairros*) in Maputo and Beira.

The survey focuses on this age group because it is the target population of the majority of *MUVA*'s interventions. The legal age for work in Mozambique is 15 years and many young people struggle with the transition between school and the labour market.

The findings are intended to support *MUVA*'s activities in the following ways:



- **Support adaptive programming of MUVA projects under the innovative fund:** The data will help *MUVA* and its local partners to take decisions regarding the priorities, scope, focus, and target group of the projects that are part of the innovative fund. This applies both to already existing projects as well as new projects. Existing projects will use the data to make decisions during the regular reflection cycles about changes that may need to be made to their projects in the light of the base statistics about their target group. New projects will use the data available.
- **Develop evidence about MUVA projects:** The data will provide MUVA and its projects with a representative benchmark for comparison. First, it will allow the projects to compare the background characteristics of their participants to those of the overall population, ensuring that adequate selection mechanisms are in place. Second, it will allow the projects to compare their outcome and impact indicators such as employment outcomes to the overall population. This will help to measure the impact of the projects.
- **Develop evidence for external organisations:** By making the data publicly available, the findings will help the government, NGOs, and international organisations design future policies and interventions targeted at young people in urban neighbourhoods and relating to issues such as education, youth employment, and female (economic) empowerment.

I.3 This report

This report will be the first of a series of outputs that will be produced based on this survey. Most notably, we will produce a series of short thematic research briefs based on the chapters of this report with the aim of reaching a wider audience. In addition, we will publish a set of technical annexes at a later stage which will include statistical tables for all indicators and all levels of disaggregation.



2 Methodology

2.1 Sampling strategy

The sampling strategy of this survey followed a multistage random sampling method. The primary sampling units (PSUs) were the enumeration areas (EAs) in each city. The survey was stratified by city, meaning the sample was drawn independently in each city. The EAs were obtained from Mozambique's National Statistics Institute (INE) and are the ones that were used for the 2017 Census.

Since the survey's objective was to get a statistical profile of youth in *MUVA* target areas, the EA sample frame did not include all areas in Maputo and Beira. *MUVA*'s target areas are defined as densely populated, low-income, inner-city areas. Hence, low population density and low incidence of poverty were used as exclusion criteria to end up with a final list of areas that the survey was supposed to be representative of. Exclusion criteria were based on 2007 Census data provided by INE.¹ This means the findings are to be interpreted as representative of areas with the above characteristics but not as representative of the whole of Maputo and Beira, as defined by their administrative boundaries. Figure 1 and Figure 2 below show the areas covered by the survey in Maputo and Beira, respectively.

¹ In the case of Maputo, excluded areas are the municipal districts of KaMpfumo due to low poverty incidence and KaTembe due to low population density. In addition, we excluded a number of bairros within KaMavota and KaMubukwana that have extremely low population densities. In Beira, the municipal districts of Nhangau and Manga Loforte were excluded due to low population densities.





Figure 1. MUVA target areas and MUVA Urban Youth Survey areas – Maputo





Figure 2. MUVA target areas and MUVA Urban Youth Survey areas - Beira

The second sampling stage occurred within each EA. A listing exercise was conducted during which a census of all households was undertaken. In each EA, 16 households were randomly sampled. Before each interview, the eligibility of the sampled household was checked. Households were eligible to be interviewed if they had at least one member between the ages of 15 and 25. If the household was not eligible it was replaced by the next household on the sampling list. If a household had more than one young person in the relevant age range, a respondent would be randomly selected from the eligible individuals.

All estimates presented in this report take this sampling structure into account and include weights based on the probability of selection of each unit of observation to ensure that estimates are representative of the areas from which this sample was drawn. The weighting procedure is explained in detail in the technical compendium that accompanies this report.

2.2 Sample size

The sample of the *MUVA* Urban Youth Survey includes 3,300 eligible households and 3,300 young women and men, 1,650 in each of the cities of Beira and Maputo (Table 1). Prior to the implementation of the survey, the research team conducted sample size calculations to estimate the number of observations needed for this data collection exercise. These calculations were based



on the premise that the survey aimed at comparing estimates for the subgroups of women and men in Beira and Maputo and at determining whether characteristics between these groups differed with a certain level of precision and statistical confidence. We followed conventional sample size calculation guidance to perform these estimates, taking into account the full sampling structure of the survey. The full technical detail for these calculations is again presented in the technical compendiums accompanying this report.

	Maputo	Beira	Total
Male	719	674	1,393
Female	931	976	1,907
Total	1,650	1,650	3,300

Table 1. Sample break down by city and gender

2.3 Data collection

For the listing and survey implementation OPM collaborated with ANSA, a Mozambican company with more than 15 years of experience conducting qualitative and quantitative research. Due to their experience and deep knowledge of Mozambique, ANSA's involvement throughout the design, training, and implementation of the survey was vital in ensuring that the data collection was adequate to the local context.

2.3.1 Listing

The listing and the data collection for the survey were conducted in parallel with the listing starting two weeks prior to the start of the data collection for the survey. The listing in Maputo started on 20 September 2017 and was completed 30 days later. In Beira, the listing started on 26 September and was completed 25 days later. More details on the listing exercise can be found in the technical compendium (available upon request).

2.3.2 Main survey

Data collection for the main survey started on 7 October 2017 and was completed by 10 December 2017. Each household answered a household-level questionnaire that included the household roster as well as a poverty assessment of the household. Then, the randomly selected young person in the household answered an individual-level questionnaire that included questions on their education, employment, financial inclusion, fertility, time use, decision making, and social life.

A more detailed report on data collection for the main survey, including details on training, can be found in the technical compendium (available upon request).



2.4 Data quality assurance

One central element of both the listing and survey exercise was the high emphasis given to quality assurance (QA) of the data. By using tablets to collect data, it was possible to run data checks and provide feedback to field teams in real time. The QA system was based on a Power BI dashboard designed by OPM and was run by ANSA's data manager. The system allowed us to monitor the performance of each enumerator as well as any inconsistencies. Every day, after running the system, the data manager would provide continuous training and corrections where necessary via personalised WhatsApp messages to the enumerators. More details on the QA system can be found in Annex B.



3 How to read this report

3.1 The figures

Most estimation results in this report are presented in figures. Detailed statistical tables will be presented in the technical compendium that will accompany this report. An example of the type of chart used can be seen in Figure 3 below:





This chart presents a key indicator disaggregated by the categories of another variable. The main findings of the chart are summarised and described in a tag-line in the dark blue box on the top. The values of the indicator for each disaggregating category are presented by purple dots. The overall mean value of the indicator is marked by a dashed orange line in the plot area. In addition, the mean value is described in the last line inside the grey 'Note' box on the bottom.

The 'Note' box also displays the number of observations that the chart is based on ('n'). When this is based on a sub-sample (n < 3,300), the sub-sample definition is described in the line below the number of observations.

The 95% confidence intervals are marked by the two small vertical lines around purple dots. These are presented for each disaggregating category. Where confidence intervals do not overlap, this suggests that there is a statistically significant difference at the 95% confidence level or higher between the estimates. However, it is important to note that this is a probabilistic statement about correlation and not causation. Such observed differences may arise by chance in 5% of the cases



and may be driven by many confounding factors, not necessarily by a direct relationship between the indicator and the disaggregating variable.

In order to control for such confounding factors, in some chapters we perform a multiple linear regression analysis. This means that we try to understand how certain background characteristics are related to a variable of interest while holding a set of other background characteristics constant.

Multiple linear regression analysis typically look at one specific outcome variable, sometimes called dependent variable, and try to assess how well a set of other variable can explain changes in this dependent variable. These variables are sometimes referred to as explanatory variables.

By controlling for several explanatory variables at the same time we can see whether certain relevant relationships that we found in a previous analysis hold, which would give an indication of a stronger underlying relationship.

An example of the type of chart to present the results of such an analysis can be found in Figure 4 below.



Figure 4. Example chart - multiple linear regression

On the left hand side is a list of all explanatory variables that we want to hold constant. This list may vary depending on what the main dependent variable of interest is but will always include our main disaggregating variables such as gender, age, city and poverty (more detailed explanation of these variables in section 3.2 below).

The dots show the direction and the size of the effect that each explanatory variables has on the main dependent variable of interest. When the dot is on the right hand side of the orange line



(which marks 0) this means that the corresponding explanatory variable is related the dependent variable of interest in a positive way, holding all other explanatory variables constant. For example, in Figure 4 age affects the dependent variable in a positive way, when holding all other explaining factors constant. The farther to the right the dot is, the larger the size of the effect.

Conversely, when the dot is on the left hand side of the orange line (which marks 0), the relationship between the dependent variable of interest and the explanatory variable is negative. For example, in Figure 4 there is a negative relationship between being a woman and the dependent variable, holding all other explaining factors constant.

Again, confidence intervals are marked by the horizontal lines on the left and the right side of the dots. When the lines overlap with the orange line, then that means that the effect that the explanatory variable on the dependent variable has is not statistically significant. For example, for all of the poverty quintiles the confidence intervals overlap with 0 in the above figure, meaning that poverty does not have any statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable, when holding the other explaining factors constant.

3.2 Disaggregating categories

3.2.1 Gender

Gender is the main disaggregating variable used in this report. This is due to the objective of the survey being to compare young women to young men with regards to the constraints they face across a number of areas.

As a result of random sampling, 58% of our sample are young women and 42% of our sample are young men. This may suggest that the urban youth population in Mozambique is made up of more females than males.

3.2.2 Age group

All findings are disaggregated by age group. The two main age groups identified in the sample are 15–19-year-olds and 20–25-year-olds. The first category covers adolescents, while the second category refers to young adults. The categorisation is based on the expectation that individuals in the two groups will be at different stages in their lives, especially with regards to education and employment.

The split between the age categories is fairly even in the sample, with 48% of respondents being between 15 and 19 years old and 52% of respondents being between 20 and 25 years old.



3.2.3 City

The main geographical disaggregation used in this report is the city level.² The survey has been designed to yield representative estimates for intervention areas both in Maputo and Beira. Therefore, the sample size is evenly split between the two, with 1,650 households interviewed in each city.

City-level disaggregation is important due to the different characteristics of the two cities. Maputo is the capital of Mozambique and has a much larger population size than Beira, with 1.1 million compared to around 530,000 inhabitants respectively (INE, 2018). Furthermore, there is generally more economic activity in Maputo than in Beira since most private sector companies and government institutions are based in Maputo. Nevertheless, Beira's large port – the second largest in Mozambique – makes it an important centre for commerce, especially due to its geographical location as the nearest seaport to access landlocked countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe.

3.2.4 Poverty

The *MUVA* Urban Youth Survey uses a Simple Poverty Score Card to estimate household poverty levels. The Simple Poverty Score Card is based on national household budget surveys to construct an easy-to-use score card to estimate the probability that a household has consumption below a given poverty line. It does so by using indicators of household characteristics and asset ownerships that can be collected quickly. To obtain the most precise poverty estimates, *MUVA* commissioned an *urban-specific* Simple Poverty Score Card for Mozambique that uses indicators that are characteristic of urban poverty (Schreiner, 2017). The score card is based on the most recent national budget survey, the Inquérito sobre Orcamento Familiar (IOF) 2014/15. The questions that the score card is based on can be found in Annex C.

Weighted points are assigned to each answer option of the score card's 11 questions. For example, a household that owns two or more cell phones receives 5 points, a household that only owns one cell phone receives 3 points and a household that owns no cell phone at all receives 0 points. The poverty score is created by adding up the points for all 11 questions. Poverty scores range from 0 to 100. The higher the poverty score, the lower the likelihood that the household is below a given poverty line.³

Table 2 below shows an example of the poverty likelihoods associated with poverty scores calculated by the Simple Poverty Score Card. The poverty likelihoods are based on consumption-

³ For international comparability we present data on the \$1.25/day and the \$2.50/day poverty lines. The poverty quintiles are calculated based on the \$2.50/day poverty line since this line gives us a greater variation than the \$1.25/day line which measures extreme poverty. Given that this is urban survey the proportion of households living in extreme poverty is lower compared to rural areas.



 $^{^2}$ Note that whenever we speak about the cities we do not speak about the cities as a whole but rather the low income, high population density inner city areas as outlined by the maps in section 2.1.

level poverty data from Mozambique's IOF 2014/15. For example, an urban household with a poverty score of 30 has a 92.4% likelihood of being below the US\$ 2.50/day (2005 purchasing power parity (PPP)) poverty line.

The poverty rate of a given population of households can be calculated by taking the average of all individual poverty likelihoods in that group.

If a household's score is	then the likelihood (%) of being below the poverty line is:
0-25	99.6
26-29	97.1
30-32	92.4
33-35	89.9
36-37	82.6
38-39	77.4
40-41	72.6
42-43	66.5
44-45	64.8
46-47	52.4
48-49	51.8
50-51	38.2
52-53	34.8
54-56	26.6
57-59	12.4
60-63	8.4
64-67	0.9
68-74	0.3
75-100	0.0

Table 2. Scores and their associated estimates of poverty likelihoods (US\$ 2.50/day 2005 PPP)

For disaggregation purposes, we calculate poverty score quintiles. Household-level weights were applied during the calculation of the quintiles to ensure the household's position in the population rather than sample distribution is considered. Table 3 below describes the poverty scores and the associated poverty ratios of the quintiles. For example, the lowest quintile contains households with poverty scores in the range of 5–37. The associated poverty ratio of a group with these



scores is 92%. This means that 92% of the households in this group are estimated to fall below the US\$ 2.50/day poverty line.

Quintile	Range of poverty score	Associated poverty ratio (US\$ 2.50/day poverty line)
1	5-37	92%
2	38-45	70%
3	46-51	48%
4	42-58	26%
5	59-87	4%

Table 3. Poverty quintiles, poverty scores, and associated poverty ratios



4 Household demographics and poverty

Box 1. Main results – Household demographics and poverty

- Households in Maputo and Beira have on average 5.4 members, with households in Maputo being slightly larger than in Beira.
- In contrast, the dependency ratio in Beira is higher, which suggests a higher pressure on the working-age population in Beira than in Maputo (61% versus 52%). The dependency ratio is the ratio of household members that are dependents (under the age of 15 or over the age of 64).
- One-third of households in Maputo and Beira are headed by a woman. Female household heads are significantly less likely to work and are less well educated than male household heads. Female-headed households are more likely to be poor.
- In MUVA target areas in Maputo and Beira, 15% of households live on less than US\$ 1.25/day (2005 PPP) and 50% of households live on less than US\$ 2.50/day (2005 PPP). A larger proportion of households in Beira is poor when compared to Maputo.

4.1 Household composition and dependency

Young people in urban Mozambique live in large households. The average household size across both cities is 5.4 members. In Maputo, households are found to be slightly larger than in Beira, with 5.7 vs. 5.1 members respectively (Figure 5). This suggests that urban households in Mozambique are much larger than households in the rest of the country. The average household size in Mozambique is 4.4 (DHS 2011).



Figure 5. Average household size by city



To measure the demographic pressure on the productive population, the dependency ratio for each household was calculated. The dependency ratio is the ratio between the number of household members who are considered to be 'dependants' (those aged 14 years or less and those aged 65 years or more) and the number of working-age or 'productive' members of the household (those between 15 and 64 years old). All ratios are multiplied by 100 and can be interpreted as the percentage of household members who are dependants. The higher the ratio, the higher the demographic burden on the productive population to support the rest of the household.



Figure 6. Average dependency ratio by city

The overall average dependency ratio is 57%. This suggests that in the *MUVA* target areas in Maputo and Beira on average 57% of members in households with individuals aged 15–25 are dependants.⁴ While the average household size in Beria is lower, the dependency ratio in Beira is significantly higher than in Maputo (Figure 6). This suggests that in Beira the pressure on the working population in the households to take care of dependants is higher. It also implies that the larger household size in Maputo is driven by working-age household members.

⁴ These figures should be interpreted as the dependency ratios of households with members between the ages of 15 and 25. In relation to all households in urban Mozambique, this figure is likely to be an underestimate of the household dependency ratio because our eligibility criteria automatically exclude households that do not have anyone between the ages of 15 and 25 living in them. This group of people will always be part of the nondependant population and this therefore drives down the dependency ratio.



A high dependency ratio is often correlated with higher poverty levels.⁵ This is confirmed by our data, which show that the dependency ratio is higher in the lower poverty quintiles (Figure 7). While in the highest quintile only 28% of household members are dependants, for households in the lowest poverty quintile it is 91%.



Figure 7. Average dependency ratio by poverty quintile

4.2 The household head

Around 33% of all households in areas surveyed are headed by a female household member. There are significant differences between Maputo and Beira: while in Beira only 28% of households have a female household head, in Maputo it is 37% (Figure 8).

⁵ This relationship may be partly driven by the fact that household size is an element of both dependency ratio and poverty scores.





Figure 8. Percentage of households with a female household head by city

On average, female-headed households are poorer compared to male-headed households. Female household heads are also less educated and less likely to work. In the lowest poverty quintile 46% of households are female headed, while in the higher quintiles only between 26% and 31% of households are female headed (Figure 9). In addition, while close to 22% of female household heads never went to school, only about 2% of male household heads are less likely to work than male household heads. While close to 85% of male household heads worked in the last seven days before the interview, only around 71% of female household heads said they did so (Figure 11).





Figure 9. Percentage of female household heads by poverty quintile









Figure 11. Percentage of household heads who work by gender

Around 6% of all individual respondents aged 15–25 said they are the household heads of the households they live in. The proportion of respondents who are the household heads varies by city, gender, and age group. Significantly more respondents are their own household heads in Beira than in Maputo and men are more likely to be the household head of their own household than women. Older respondents are more likely to head their own household. While 11% of 20–25-year-olds head a household, only 1% of 15–19-year-olds do so (Figure 12). In addition, 35% of respondents who are their own household head live alone.⁶



⁶ See statistical annexes in technical compendium for more results.





4.3 Household poverty

Using our Simple Poverty Score Card for urban Mozambique, we find that, in the *MUVA* survey areas in Maputo, 15% of households where the young people live are estimated to live below the US\$ 1.25/day poverty line (2005 PPP) and close to 50% of households are estimated to live below the US\$ 2.50/day poverty line (2005 PPP).⁷

In Beira, a larger proportion of young people live in households that fall below a given poverty line than in Maputo. While in Maputo only 11% and 43% are estimated to fall below the US\$ 1.25/day and US\$ 2.50/day poverty lines, respectively, in Beira it is 19% and 58%, respectively (Figure 13).

⁷ Similarly to the dependency ratio, it is important to note that these figures are not the overall poverty rates of households in the survey areas but rather the poverty rates of households that have a young person between the ages of 15 and 25 living with them.





Figure 13. Percentage living under the US\$ 1.25/day and US\$ 2.50/day poverty lines by city


5 Education

Box 2. Main results – Education

- Primary education completion rates among young people are high in Maputo and Beira (87%). However, completion rates at secondary level are much lower: 51% of respondents have completed 10th grade and only 22% have completed 12th grade.
- Early pregnancy is a major reason for young women in Maputo and Beira dropping out of school. We find that when controlling for early pregnancy, women are actually more likely to complete 10th and 12th grade than men.
- Many young people in Maputo and Beira drop out of school for financial reasons and people from poorer households are significantly less likely to achieve higher levels of education (27% of the poorest quintile complete 10th grade).
- Half of all primary and secondary school pupils in Maputo and Beira have fallen two years or more behind the regular schooling trajectory (52%). Pupils from poor households are more likely to be over-age for grade.
- Very few young people in Maputo and Beira are satisfied with their level of education (2%) and very few consider themselves to have finished school (4%). Levels of educational aspiration are high among young people of both genders.
- The use of private extra tuition ('explicação') is widespread in Maputo and Beira. Access to extra tuition is related to household wealth and, at the same time, is positively correlated with higher educational achievement. This may aggravate inequalities within the education system, where educational attainment is at least partly defined by extra tuition that young people from poor households cannot afford. There is a positive relationship between educational attainment and extra tuition that holds even after controlling for household poverty.

5.1 Enrolment status

In *MUVA* target areas, 50% of young people are currently enrolled in school or university. 45% say they have temporarily stopped their education, meaning they intend to go back to school. Only 4% of 15–25-year-olds say they have finished school and 1% say they never studied (Figure 14).







Enrolment status varies greatly with age. Among 15–19-year-olds, 71% of individuals are currently enrolled in school or university while 27% say they have temporarily stopped. Only 1% say they have finished school. Among 20–25-year-olds, the majority of individuals (63%) say they have temporarily stopped their education, indicating that they intend to go back to school at some point. Meanwhile, 30% are currently enrolled and only 6% say they have finished school, with 1% saying they have never studied (Figure 15).





Figure 15. Education enrolment status by age group

These findings are true regardless of gender. Although a slightly higher proportion of young men is enrolled and a slightly smaller proportion has temporarily stopped, these differences are not statistically significant (Figure 16).







5.2 Educational aspirations

Educational aspirations play a major role in explaining why the majority of young people indicate they have temporarily stopped rather than completed their education. Only 2% of young people in Maputo and Beira are satisfied with their current level of education. The vast majority of young people aspire toward the highest possible level of education: 78% desire to attend tertiary education, which includes university studies and teacher training. 18% say they plan to complete secondary level 2 (up to 12th grade), which includes mid-level technical training ('instituto tecnico medio'). Only 2% say they would be satisfied with completing secondary level 1 (up to 10th grade),⁸ which includes basic-level technical training ('instituto tecnico basico').



Figure 17. Percentage of young people who aspire to a particular level of education

Educational aspirations do not vary significantly across the two cities, across the two age groups, or between young men and women. There is no statistically significant difference between young people in Maputo and Beira, which suggests that young people in both cities have high levels of aspiration when it comes to education and are equally less satisfied with their level of education. Furthermore, individuals that are beyond the school age (20–25-year-olds) have the same

⁸ Secondary level 1 means up to 10th grade and secondary level 2 means up to 12th grade. We distinguish between the two levels because at the end of 10th grade pupils have to pass exams in order to continue. In addition, 10th grade already opens the doors to some jobs and vocational training courses, which is why completing secondary level 1 could be seen as sufficient for someone to enter the labour market.



aspirations and are equally dissatisfied with their level of education as individuals that are still in school-aged (15–19-year-olds).

Finally, young women have the same high levels of educational aspiration as young men. This is an important result because it suggests that, contrary to findings in other contexts (St Clair and Benjamin, 2011; Favara, 2016), the barriers to education that women face are not related to a lack of aspiration compared to their male counterparts.

The survey findings do suggest, however, that young people from richer households have slightly more ambitious aspirations than individuals from poorer households. While 88% of young men and women in the highest poverty quintile aspire to tertiary education as their highest level of education, only 71% in the poorest quintile do so (Figure 18). This is a statistically significant difference, although both values indicate that high proportions of young people aspire to tertiary education no matter their socioeconomic background.

Figure 18. Percentage of young people who aspire to tertiary education as their highest level of education by poverty quintile



These findings contest the widely held assumption that disadvantaged groups and young people from poor backgrounds have lower aspirations (St Clair and Benjamin, 2011). It is often argued that low aspirations play a major role in preventing young people from raising their educational attainment and that, therefore, policies need to focus on raising young people's aspirations, especially those from poor backgrounds (Wrench *et al.*, 2012; Quaglia and Cobb 1996). However, in the context of urban Mozambique we find that even in the lowest poverty quintile 71% of young people aspire to the highest level of education and that women have the same high level of



aspiration as men. This suggests that low levels of aspiration are not likely to be a barrier to educational attainment in urban Mozambique.

5.3 Educational attainment

5.3.1 Primary level

We find that 13% of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 in Maputo and Beira have not completed primary school (up to class 7), which of course also means that a reasonably high 87% of that age group did complete primary school. There is no statistically significant difference in primary school completion between young men and young women in urban Mozambique (Figure 19). However, there is a difference across the cities. Compared to Maputo, slightly fewer young people in Beira have completed primary school with 89% vs. 85% (Figure 20). There is also a correlation between household poverty and the probability of respondents having completed primary schooling. Among young people from households in the lowest poverty quintiles, only 77% have completed primary school (Figure 21).









Figure 20. Percentage of individuals who have completed primary school by city

Figure 21. Percentage of individuals who have completed primary school by poverty quintile





5.3.2 Secondary level I (10th grade)

In urban Mozambique, 51% of people who are 18 or older have completed 10th grade.⁹ There is no statistically significant difference between young men and women nor between Maputo and Beira.

However, again, educational attainment is highly correlated with the young person's **socioeconomic background.** While in the highest poverty quintile 75% of young men and women over the age of 18 have completed 10th grade, in the lowest quintile only 27% have done so.

These findings show that poverty-related differences in educational attainment become much more pronounced after primary school level. While the previous section has shown that there is also a poverty-related difference in the percentage of people who have completed primary school, this gap becomes even wider when it comes to secondary school.





⁹ The regular age in 10th grade is 16 years and the regular age when completing secondary school is 18. Therefore, we focus our analysis of individuals who have completed secondary 1 and 2 only on people who are 18 years old and over.



5.3.3 Secondary level 2 (12th grade)

In urban Mozambique, 22% of people 18 and over have completed 12th grade. As in the previous sections, we find that there is no statistically significant difference in educational attainment related to gender or city.

Also in line with previous findings, high household poverty is correlated with low educational attainment. Close to 40% of people over 18 in the highest poverty quintile have completed 12th grade but only 9% in the lowest quintile have achieved the same (Figure 23).





5.3.4 University level

Despite the very large proportion of young people in Maputo and Beira who aspire to go to university, only a very small proportion of individuals aged 18 years or over actually manage to do so.¹⁰ Overall, only 8% of young people aged 18 or over in our sample have completed at least one year at university. There is no gender-related statistically significant difference, which means that young men and young women find it equally difficult to attend university. There is a small

¹⁰ We focus our analysis of individuals who have attended university only on people who are 18 years old and over. People below this age are not expected to have gone to university because they will not have completed secondary school yet.



difference with respect to the two cities. While in Beira 10% of individuals aged 18 and older have at least completed one year at a university, in Maputo it is only 5% (Figure 24).



Figure 24. Percentage of people 18 and over who have completed at least one year at a university by city

In addition, the poorer the household of the young person, the less likely they are to go

to university. From the poorest households just 2% have completed at least one year at university. In contrast, in the quintile of richest households, close to 20% of young people have completed at least one year at university (Figure 25).







5.3.5 Over-age for grade

Over-age for grade is often used as another proxy indicator for educational attainment.

Over-age for grade is calculated by subtracting the current grade from the individual's age. If this number is higher than the national school entry age (in the case of Mozambique we assume that pupils start grade 1 at six or seven years old), the person is over-age for grade. ¹¹ The main reasons for being over-age for grade are late entry, repetition, or temporarily stopping school and resuming at a later stage. Pupils who are many years over-age are less likely to complete their education because their productivity and their opportunity cost of being in school increases with age (Cameron, 2005; Wils *et al.*, 2009; UNESCO, 2012).

A large proportion of pupils in *MUVA*'s target areas in Maputo and Beira are over-age for grade, with 74% of pupils that are currently enrolled in primary or secondary school being at least one year over-age for grade. Moreover, 52% are at least two years over-age for grade. Male pupils are slightly more likely to be at least one year over-age for grade than female pupils. However, there is no statistically significant difference between male and female pupils in being at least two years over-age (Figure 26).



Figure 26. Over-age for grade by gender

Individuals from poorer households are more likely to fall behind in their trajectory through school. Young men and women from households in the poorest quintile are more likely to be at least one year over-age for grade than individuals in the richest quintile. This relationship

¹¹ For calculating the indicators in this section we restrict our sample to individuals who are currently enrolled in primary or secondary school.



is similar for being two years over-age for grade. However, the difference in this case is not statistically significant (Figure 27).¹²



Figure 27. Over-age for grade by poverty quintile

Note: The sample is restricted to respondents who are currently enrolled in primary or secondary school.

5.4 Barriers to education

In the previous chapters we have shown that educational attainment among young people in Maputo and Beira is low and even lower among individuals from poorer households, especially at the secondary school level. This does not seem to be driven by a low level of educational aspirations, however, as a very large share of young men and women is not satisfied with their level and aspires to go to university. In addition, being over-age for grade remains a widespread problem, which suggests that many young Mozambicans have fallen behind at some point during their educational career. This chapter explores some of the barriers to education young people in urban Mozambique face.

¹² Note that this is due to fairly large confidence intervals due to the restricted sample (only individuals who are currently enrolled in either primary or secondary school). When disaggregating by poverty quintiles, the sample in each quintile becomes even smaller, which means that confidence intervals are large.



5.4.1 Reasons for dropping out of school

While there is no statistically significant difference between the proportion of young men who dropped out of school (temporarily stopped) and the proportion of young women who did, the reasons for dropping out are very different between the two.

Both young men and women name financial difficulties as the most important reason for dropping out of school (52% and 40%, respectively). However, the second most important reason differs among men and women. While 13% of young men drop out of school because they found employment, 34% of young women name pregnancy or marriage as their reason for dropping out of school (Figure 28).

While both young men and young women drop out of school because they cannot afford to continue, early parenthood plays a much larger role for young women than young men. In contrast, merely 2% of young men said they had to drop out of school because they fathered a child or got pregnant. This is likely partly related to the fact that young women are much younger at the time of their first child than men (see section 8.2 on fertility). In addition, pregnancy of a female partner is less likely to affect men in their ability to go to school or work.



Figure 28. Reasons for dropping out of school by gender

5.4.2 Financial barriers

As described above, financial reasons are the most common reason why young people in Maputo and Beira have to drop out of school (or temporarily stop). Therefore, it is worth exploring what type of education-related expenditures young people in Mozambique's cities face.



The most commonly incurred expenditure related to education is food bought at school (Figure 29), with 54% saying they spend money on this. This is followed by books and stationery (32%), matriculation fees (31%), special equipment (e.g. calculators) (30%), and transportation costs (28%). Only 9% of young people say they spend money on tuition fees.





We find that 12% of young people in Maputo and Beira say they have spent money on informal payments to teachers or the examination board in the past academic year. In this context, such payments should be understood as being paid to teachers or the examination board in order to get better grades.

Measuring the true prevalence of informal payments in the schooling system is difficult because it is likely that social desirability bias will affect the responses of survey participants. Therefore, we expect that our results underestimate the prevalence of informal payments to teachers and examiners in Mozambique.

Despite the measurement problems, the literature shows that informal payments are common in the schooling systems of many developing countries, including Mozambique (Spector *et al.*, 2005). Informal payments make the education system less egalitarian and less functional for two key reasons. First, they constitute an extra cost to education that may make it more difficult to obtain a higher level of schooling, especially for pupils from poorer households. Second, they create distortions on performance incentives of teachers and pupils (ESP/NEPC, 2010; Heyneman *et al.*, 2008; Lepisto and Kazimzade, 2008; Osipian, 2009).

Additional findings show that pupils in Beira are more likely to name informal payments paid to teachers or examiners as an education-related expenditure. While only 7% of pupils in Maputo say



they made such payments to teachers or examiners, 16% of pupils in Beira said they did so (Figure 30).





Pupils from poorer backgrounds are slightly more likely to have made an informal payment to teachers or examiners. While 15% in the poorest poverty quintile have done this before, only 7% in the richest quintile have (Figure 31).







5.4.3 Work and study

Given that many young people struggle to afford to stay in school, many of them work and study at the same time. Our findings suggest that **45% of young people in Maputo and Beira did some work in the past seven days while also being enrolled in school at the same time.** Young men are slightly more likely than young women to work and study at the same time. Half of all young men who are enrolled did some work in the past seven days compared to only 42% of young women (Figure 32).





However, young people from poorer households are not significantly more likely to work and study at the same time. While 52% of respondents from the poorest quintile work and study at the same time, only 43% from the richest quintile do. However, this difference is not statistically significant.¹³

¹³ Note that confidence intervals have become larger due to the restricted sample size.







5.4.4 Evening school

Some 30% of young people in urban Mozambique currently attend school in the evenings or have attended schools in the evenings before. To cope with large numbers of pupils and limited teachers and resources, schools in Mozambique run in three different shifts during the day, a morning shift, an afternoon shift, and an evening shift. Attending school in the evening in Maputo is more common than in Beira and more young men than young women attend school in the evenings. While 38% of young men in Maputo are currently attending school in the evenings or have attended it in the past, only 22% of women in Beira do so (Figure 34). This might possibly be related to issues around safety and social norms. Getting home from school at night is more dangerous for young women and, therefore, their families might be less likely to allow them to attend school in the evenings.





Figure 34. Percentage attending or having attended school in the evening in Maputo and Beira by gender

Although pupils attend school in the evenings increasingly due to lack of space in the morning or the afternoon sessions, school repeaters are more frequently sent to the evening sessions. We find that 49% of those that are at least two years over-age for grade are currently attending school in the evenings. In contrast, among those who are one year or less over-age for grade only 8% attend school in the evenings (Figure 35).







There is no significant correlation between attending or having attended school in the evenings and household poverty. This means that pupils from richer households are equally likely to end up attending or having attended school in the evenings as pupils from poorer households (Figure 36).





Attending school in the evenings is negatively correlated with the level of educational achievement but only toward the higher levels of schooling. Pupils who attended evening school and those who did not have the same likelihood of completing 10th grade. However, a smaller proportion of pupils who attended school in the evenings managed to complete 12th grade. While 21% of pupils who did not attend evening school managed to complete 12th grade, only 13% of pupils who did attend school in the evenings managed to do so (Figure 37). These findings suggest that pupils who attend school in the evenings might be less likely to make it to higher levels of educational attainment.





Figure 37. Percentage of pupils who completed 10th and 12th grade by having attended school in the evening or not

5.5 The role of extra tuition

The use of extra tuition ('explicação') is a common phenomenon in many Sub-Saharan African countries, including Mozambique (Paviot *et al.*, 2005; Bilale, 2005). Many pupils who can afford it, pay for extra private tuition, which is often delivered by regular public service teachers outside official school hours.

5.5.1 Coverage

The use of extra tuition is common in urban areas in Mozambique. About 45% of all 15–25year-olds in urban areas in Maputo and Beira state that they have paid extra tuition before or are currently paying for it. While there is no significant difference between the proportion of young men and the proportion of young women who pay for extra tuition (Figure 38), there is a significant difference between the cities. Extra tuition is more common in Beira than in Maputo, where 51% and 40% respectively say they are either currently using it or have made use of it before (Figure 39).





Figure 38. Percentage paying or ever having paid for extra tuition by gender

Figure 39. Percentage paying or ever having paid for extra tuition by city



The vast majority of people who use extra tuition say they do so regularly and not just before exams or sporadically. We find that 28% say they use it at least a few times a month and almost 50% even use it on a weekly basis. This implies that extra tuition plays a role beyond sporadic preparation for exams and supports the claim that extra tuition may play a role in creating a parallel education system (Paviot *et al.*, 2005).



Figure 40. Frequency of the use of extra tuition



The most common subject for which young people in Maputo and Beira use extra tuition for is Mathematics. A total of 86% of all young people who say they are currently paying for extra tuition or have paid it before say they have done so to get extra tuition in Mathematics (Figure 41). Other popular subjects include Physics, Portuguese, and Chemistry. However, these are much less common, with only 35–36% saying they use extra tuition for these subjects. As high use of extra tuition is often interpreted as a proxy for poor achievement, the results may suggest that pupils in Maputo and Beira especially struggle with Mathematics (Bilale, 2005).



Figure 41. Most frequently chosen subjects for extra tuition



5.5.2 Cost and access

A large majority (74%) of young people in Maputo and Beira who pay for or have paid for extra tuition say they paid less than MZN 50 (US\$ 0.85) per hour of extra tuition (Figure 42). Only 10% say they paid between MZN 150 and MZN 200 and a mere 5% say they paid more than MZN 300 per hour.



Figure 42. Price paid per hour of extra tuition

Despite this, financial constraints were named as the most important reason for why young people in Maputo and Beira do not use extra tuition. Out of the people who never paid for extra tuition, 48% said they could not afford it (Figure 43). Only 10% said they do not pay for extra tuition because they are satisfied with the regular teaching, while 18% said that they had no need for extra tuition.





Figure 43. Reasons for not using extra tuition

This finding is supported by a further finding that young people from poorer households are significantly less likely to have ever paid for extra tuition. While from the lowest poverty quintile only 35% stated having ever used extra tuition or to be currently using it, in the highest poverty quintile it is 61% (Figure 44). Hence, young people's opportunity to go to extra tuition is correlated with the financial means of the young person and their household.





Figure 44. Percentage ever having paid for extra tuition by poverty quintile

5.5.3 Linkages with attainment and inequality

Pupils who are paying for or who have paid for extra tuition have higher levels of educational attainment than those who do not. Among young people aged 18 and over in Maputo and Beira, larger proportions of those who pay or have paid for extra tuition manage to complete 10th and 12th grade. While 66% of those who pay or have paid for extra tuition managed to complete 10th grade, among those who never received extra tuition only 40% completed 10th grade. Similarly, among those who pay or paid for extra tuition 30% completed 12th grade but only 15% of those who never received extra tuition 42th grade but only 15% of those who never received extra tuition (Figure 45).



Figure 45. Level of educational attainment (completing 10th and 12th grade) by having paid for extra tuition or not



The positive correlation between use of extra tuition and educational achievement is confirmed by the literature. For example, a study in six African countries (Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Zambia, and Zanzibar) demonstrated that extra tuition is associated with better educational achievement (Paviot *et al.*, 2005).

As shown in the previous section (5.5.2) lack of financial conditions is clear barrier to receiving extra tuition. Hence, young people from poorer households are less likely to do so. This suggests that the widespread coverage of extra tuition in urban Mozambique may have created inequalities in the Mozambican education system that mean those who can afford to will improve their educational attainment with the help of extra tuition and those who cannot are left behind. This conclusion is supported by several other reports (Nassor and Mohammed, 1998; Bray, 1999; Nzomo *et al.*, 2001), which have all pointed out that extra tuition could contribute to social inequalities.

5.6 Determinants of educational attainment

So far we have seen a number of correlations of educational indicators and the main disaggregating variables. While these provide an indication of the relationship between the two variables, this relationship might also be driven by another common factor. For example, the observed differences in educational attainment between those who take extra tuition and those who do not may be driven by a number of confounding factors such as poverty of the individual's



household, and not necessarily by a direct relationship between educational attainment and extra tuition.

We perform a multilinear regression analysis, which means that we try to understand how certain background characteristics are related to educational attainment (completion of 10th and 12th grade) while holding a set of other background characteristics constant. By controlling for several variables at the same time we can see whether certain relevant relationships that we found in the sections above still hold, which gives an indication of a stronger, underlying relationship.

Figure 46 and Figure 47 below present regression coefficients from a linear probability model that estimates the probability of having completed 10th grade and 12th grade, respectively (for respondents aged 18 and over). The explanatory variables cover our basic disaggregation variables such as gender, city, and poverty in addition to a number of household characteristics such as the level of education of the household head, whether the household head worked in the past seven days, and the age dependency ratio. They also include a number of individual-level variables such as evening school attendance, use of extra tuition, and a variable for having gotten married or had a child before the age of 18. The regression results confirm many of the relationships established by the correlation analysis in the previous sections.

- First, young people from poorer households are significantly less likely to complete **10th and 12th grade.** Compared to the highest poverty quintile (i.e. the richest), which is the reference category in the figure below, for young people from the poorest quintile the probability of completing 10th grade decreases by 30 percentage points and the probability of completing 12th grade decreases by 21 percentage points.
- Second, the regression results confirm that young people who take extra tuition are significantly more likely to complete 10th grade and 12th grade, even when controlling for confounding factors such as household poverty. The probability of completing 10th grade increases by 15 percentage points for young people who pay for extra tuition and the probability of completing 12th grade increases by six percentage points.
- Third, the results confirm that attending school in the evenings does not affect the likelihood of completing 10th grade but it does affect the likelihood of completing 12th grade. Keeping everything else constant, for young people who currently attend or have attended school in the evenings, the probability of completing 12th grade decreases by seven percentage points.

However, controlling for a set of covariates simultaneously also reveals some relationships that were hidden in the bivariate correlation analyses presented further above:

Most notably, young women aged 18 and above are more likely to complete 10th grade than young men when controlling for confounding factors such as early pregnancy and early marriage. While a simple disaggregation did not show a statistically significant difference in completion rates between young men and young women in section 5.3.2 (52% vs. 50%), this may have been driven by the large number of young women who drop out of school because of early pregnancy and marriage. Early marriage decreases the likelihood of completing 10th grade by 32 percentage points and having a child before the age of 18 decreases the likelihood of completing 10th grade by 16 percentage points.



This means, keeping everything else equal (i.e. if we were to compare a young woman and a young man from a similar household, from the same city, who both either did or did not attend the night shift, did or did not pay for extra tuition, and who both either got married and had a baby before the age of 18 or who both did not), that young women are more likely to complete 10th grade than young men. The likelihood of completing 10th grade increases by 14 percentage points for young women. However, it is important to note that this relationship does not hold for completion of 12th grade. Even after controlling for early marriage and pregnancy, young women are not significantly more likely to complete 12th grade than young men.

Figure 46. Multiple linear regression analysis of the determinants of probability of having completed 10th grade



The sample is restricted to respondents over the age of 18. This is a simple OLS regression with robust standard errors, estimated using survey weights.



Figure 47. Multiple linear regression analysis of the determinants of probability of having completed 12th grade



The sample is restricted to respondents over the age of 18. This regression was run using OLS, clustering standard errors at the EA level and using survey weights **



6 Employment and economic activities

Box 3. Main results – Employment and economic activities

- 60% of young people in Maputo and Beira are engaged in some sort of work (even if just for one hour in the past 7 days). 42% do work that is remunerated and 18% do work that is non-remunerated. Young women are significantly less likely have remunerated work than young men. About half of those who work are also students at the same time, meaning they are working and studying simultaneously.
- Most young people in Maputo and Beira (60%) work in occupations with very low skill level requirements (elementary occupations) such as street vendors, cleaners, or labourers. A significantly larger proportion of young women than young men work in elementary occupations (72% vs. 48% respectively). This gap is larger for 20–25-year-olds than for 15–19-year-olds.
- A large proportion (59%) of young people in Maputo and Beira do not have any form of contract or agreement (formal or informal) for the work they do. Women and individuals from poorer households are even less likely to have a contract or agreement.
- In Maputo and Beira, young women tend to work from their homes or in their immediate neighbourhood. Young men are more likely to work farther away from home. This may have to do with gender norms that affect young women's decision-making power with regards to their movement. While 70% of young men in Maputo and Beira say they take decisions about their movement alone, only 36% of young women say the same. In turn, young people who work farther away from home are more likely to have a formal contract and are less likely to work in a low skilled job (elementary occupation).

6.1 Employment

6.1.1 Labour market concepts

For the purpose of this survey, labour market indicators were calculated following international standards on labour market concepts (see Table 4). Following the activity principle, individuals are classified based on the activity they did in a short reference period of seven days (ILO, 1982). The first indicator of relevance used here is labour force participation. Individuals are defined as being in the labour force, or economically active, if they are either working (employed) or seeking work (unemployed) during the reference period. Individuals are out of the labour force if they were economically inactive and not seeking work for a variety of different reasons. Hence, labour force status has three exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories: employed, unemployed, and inactive.

An individual is defined as employed if they have done any type of work, even if it was just for one hour, in the last seven days. In this survey, this can be either through wage employment, selfemployment, or working in a family business without remuneration. Furthermore, individuals will



be classified as employed if they did not do any work in the last seven days but do have work that they will definitely return to. Following the one-hour principle, working students are also classified as employed individuals if they worked for at least one hour in the reference period of seven days.¹⁴ Since we found in section 5.4.3 that a large number of students work and study at the same time (45%), we will present a detailed breakdown of the labour force status in section 0, taking working students into account.

Individuals are defined as unemployed if they wanted to work and have been actively looking for work in the reference period.

The economically inactive can be further divided into discouraged, inactive due to housework, family obligations or illness, and in education. Individuals who are discouraged are not actively seeking work because they have lost hope. Finally, individuals who did not seek work because they are in full-time education are also excluded from the labour force and are counted as neither employed nor unemployed. This group is different from working students or unemployed people as they did not work for at least one hour (one-hour criterion) and they neither wanted to work nor looked for work in the reference period (priority rule).

Table 4. Labour market concepts

Labour force participation	Labour force status	Labour force status (detailed)
In the labour force (economically active - either employed or unemployed)	Employed	Employed – not studying
		Employed – working students
	Unemployed	Unemployed
Out of the labour force (economically inactive)	Inactive	Discouraged
		Housework/illness
		In education
Source: adapted from ILO (2013).		

6.1.2 Labour force participation

In the *MUVA* target areas in Maputo and Beira, 73% of young people are in the labour force (employed or unemployed). This means that 27% are economically inactive (Figure 48).

Young women are more likely to be outside the labour force than young men. While 78% of young men are part of the labour force, only 69% of young women are. This means that more

¹⁴ While persons may engage in multiple activities over a given reference period, the classification by labour force status gives priority to 1 hour of employment over other activities (i.e. productive and non-productive activities such as volunteering, studying, sleeping, etc.) and to job search and availability over other situations (priority rule).' (www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/statistics-overview-and-topics/WCMS_470304/lang--en/index.htm)



women than men are either discouraged, inactive, or exclusively in education (explored further in section 6.1.3).



Figure 48. Labour force participation by gender

In addition, labour force participation is lower among the younger age group: 83% of 20–25-year-olds are part of the labour force, while only 62% of 15–19-year-olds are (Figure 49). This is likely related to higher education enrolment rates in the young age category. We also find that labour force participation rate is higher in Maputo than in Beira and that labour force participation is constant across poverty quintiles. This means individuals from poorer households have the same likelihood of being part of the labour force than individuals from richer households.

Figure 49. Labour force participation rate by age group





6.1.3 Labour force status

In *MUVA* target areas in Maputo and Beira, 60% of young people are currently employed according to the definition outlined in section 6.1.1 (Figure 50).¹⁵ Meanwhile, 13% are unemployed and 27% are inactive.



Figure 50. Labour force status

Compared to their male counterparts, fewer young women are employed. While 68% of young men are employed, only 54% of young women are (Figure 51). On the other hand, 16% of young women are unemployed but only 9% of young men are. Young women are also more likely to be inactive: 31% of young women are inactive but only 22% of young men.

¹⁵ This includes everyone who has at least worked one hour during the past seven days or who did not work in the last seven days but has some activity he or she will definitely return to. This also includes people who are doing unremunerated work for a household business.





Figure 51. Labour force status by gender

As explained in section 6.1.1, a person is counted as employed if they are either wage-employed, self-employed or employed for a family business without remuneration. Thus, we can distinguish between young people who do remunerated work (wage-employed or self-employed) and young people who do unremunerated work only (working for a family business without remuneration).

We find that although 60% of young people in Maputo and Beira are employed only 42% have remunerated employment (Figure 52). 17% have unremunerated employment only.



Figure 52. Labour force status (remunerated versus unremunerated employment)



More young men than young women in Maputo and Beira have unremunerated employment and slightly more young women have unremunerated employment only. While 53% of young men have remunerated employment, only 35% of young women do. In turn, 19% of young women have unremunerated employment only but only 15% of young men (Figure 53).





6.1.4 Labour force status (detailed)

Given the age group of interest and the fact that a lot of young people work and study at the same time, it makes sense to establish a more detailed breakdown of labour force status that explicitly shows the proportion of working students. It also makes sense to look at a breakdown of the inactive population to find out the main reason people are economically inactive.

According to this framework, we find that 27% of young men and women in Maputo and Beira work and study at the same time. This means that only 33% work without also going to school (Figure 54). This puts a different light on the figures presented in the previous section. Although overall 60% of young people are employed, almost half of these are individuals that are enrolled in school and do some work on the side. In addition, most of the inactive population are inactive due to full-time education. Only 4% are discouraged and 8% are inactive due to housework or illness.



Figure 54. Labour force status - detailed



6.1.5 Unemployment

By definition, individuals are unemployed if they are seeking work. They can seek work either by looking for employment or by trying to get self-employment through starting a business.

When looking for work, young people in urban Mozambique rely heavily on their social **networks**, with 61% of young job seekers saying they asked for help from family and friends while looking for work in the last four weeks. Meanwhile, 42% said they personally enquired at businesses or other potential employers for vacancies. Only around 17% of young job seekers actually replied to vacancies or put out their own announcement, while 12% looked for financing opportunities to start their own business, and 6% said they looked for equipment that will help them to start their own business.¹⁶

There are no significant differences between young men and women in terms of the activities they do to look for jobs.



¹⁶ Respondents could select multiple options.


Figure 55. Activities by young job seekers to look for employment

6.2 Principal economic activity

This section describes the main principal economic activities of young people in Maputo and Beira. The term 'principal economic activity' refers to the activity that the employed part of the population spent the most time on during the reference period.

6.2.1 Types of employment

As explained in the previous section, employment is made up of three types: wage employment, self-employment, and employment in a family business without remuneration.

The most common form of employment among young people in Maputo and Beira is selfemployment. Among the individuals who are employed, 39% are self-employed, 31% are employed in a family business without remuneration, and 30% are wage-employed.





Figure 56. Type of employment among employed individuals

However, there is large divide between the types of employment young men do compared to young women. For men, the most common form of employment is wage employment, while for women the most common form is self-employment. While among employed young men, 42% are wage employed, only 17% of young women are. In contrast, 45% of young women are self-employed and 38% are working for a family business without remuneration. Among young men only 34% are self-employed and just 24% are working for a family business without remuneration (Figure 57). This means that compared to young women, a larger share of young men has remunerated work.





Figure 57. Type of employment of employed individuals by gender

6.2.2 Occupations

In labour statistics, occupational analysis is used to identify the skill level of the labour force. The objective is to organise jobs into a clearly defined set of groups according to the tasks and duties undertaken in the job. The analysis below follows the categories of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), as determined by the ILO (2007).

The ISCO distinguishes 10 major occupation groups (Table 5). Each group has several subgroups as well as associated skill levels. The ISCO distinguishes four skill levels that are linked to the major occupation groups. The skill levels are linked to the educational level that is needed to perform the tasks and duties related to the occupational group.

In the *MUVA* Urban Youth Survey respondents were asked to describe their main economic activity in an open text question. These activities were coded *ex post* into the major groups of the ISCO. An 'other' category was created for activities that could not be matched to any of the groups due to lack of precision in the description. Table 5 also presents concrete examples by ISCO major group and sub-major group of economic activities found in the *MUVA* Urban Youth Survey. Where there are no examples (-), no respondent has named an occupation relevant to this group.



Table 5. ISCO overview

Major group	Sub-major group	Examples in <i>MUVA</i> survey	Skill level
(1) Managers		-	3+4
(2) Professionals		-	4
(3) Technicians and associated professionals	Science and engineering	Topographer, mining technician	3
	Health Teaching	Nurse, pharmacist Lecturer, teacher	
	Business and administration	-	
		- Photographors athlotos	
(4) Clerical support workers	General and keyboard	Secretary	2
	Customer services clerks	Receptionist	
	Numerical and material recording clerks	Data entry workers	
	Other clerical support workers	-	
(5) Service and sales workers	Personal service workers	Braiding hair, manicure, waiters	2
	Sales workers	Cashier, shop assistants	
	Personal care workers	Child minders, teaching assistants, tutors	
	Protective services workers	Security guards	
(6) Skilled agricultural workers		-	2
(7) Craft and related trades workers	Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians	Mason, painters, carpenters, tile setters, AC technicians	2
	Metal, machinery and related trades workers	Mechanics, welders, locksmiths, metal workers	
	Handicraft and printing workers	-	
	Electrical and electronic trades workers	Electricians, repair of phones/TVs	
	Food processing, wood working, garment, and other craft and related trades workers	Tailors, bakers, pastry chefs	
(8) Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Plant and machine operators	Factory workers (various)	2
	Assemblers	Factory workers (various)	
	Drivers and mobile plant operators	Taxi drivers, chapa operators	
(9) Elementary occupations	Cleaners and helpers	Domestic workers, cleaners, car wash	1
	Agricultural labourers	Farm workers	
	Labourers in mining, construction, and transport	Carrying bricks, mixing cement	
	Food preparation assistants	Making chamussas, ice cream, cookies (for resale on the street)	



	Street vendors	Selling goods on the street or in the `banca'			
(10) Armed forces		Military	1+2+4		
Source: adapted from ILO (2007) ¹⁷				
Key ISCO skill level:					
(1) Primary school level which generally begins at age 5, 6, or 7 and lasts about five years.					
(2) First and second stage of secondary school level. The first stage begins at age 11 or 12 and lasts about					
three years, while the second stage begins at the age of 14 or 15 and also lasts about three years. A					
period of on-the-job training and experience may be necessary, sometimes formalised in					
apprenticeships or traineeshi	ps.				
(3) Education which begins at the age 17 or 18, lasts about four years and leads to an award not					
equivalent to a first universit	y degree.				
(4) Education which begins at the age 17 or 18, lasts about three, four years or more and leads to a \sim					

(4) Education which begins at the age 17 or 18, lasts about three, four years or more and leads to university or post-graduate degree, or the equivalent.

The majority of young people in Maputo and Beira work in occupations requiring lower skill levels, with 60% of employed young people having a job classified as an elementary occupation (which is linked to the lowest skill level) (Figure 58). In addition, 14% are service and sales workers such as hairdressers, shop assistants, and security guards and 13% are craft and trade workers, which includes mechanics, masons, carpenters and electricians. A further 2% of employed young people work as machine operators, which includes professions such as drivers and factory workers, and 1% are clerical support workers such as secretaries or receptionists. Only 2% work as technicians, which is categorised as skill level 3 (post-secondary). Such occupations include health care workers, teachers, and engineering technicians. Finally, 7% remain in the category 'other', which means it was not possible to classify their occupation due to lack of precision in the description.

There are no employed young people in our sample who work as managers, professionals, skilled agricultural workers, or in the armed forces. Of course, this is partly due to our age group of interest. Managers or professional occupations usually imply a long career progression, which young people between the ages of 15 and 25 have not had time to reach. However, the distribution of occupations may partly also reflect the structure of the labour market and the type of jobs available to young people in urban Mozambique. Given that the survey's target group is youth in *urban* areas, it is little surprise that we do not find any skilled agricultural workers in our sample.

¹⁷ The main adaptation is that for simplicity all street vendors have been grouped in the same group, regardless of what they sell (elementary occupations). In the original ISCO, street vendors in the elementary occupations group exclude sellers of food products who would normally fall under service and sales workers. Since in Mozambique a similar skill level is required for selling tomatoes as for selling charcoal and 'bancas' often sell food products as well as non-food products, this distinction does not hold in the context of this survey.



Figure 58. Types of ISCO occupation



A larger proportion of young employed women works in lower skill level jobs than men.

In total, 72% of all young women who are employed work in elementary occupations compared to only 48% of young men. In addition, there is a difference in the type of sectors women and men work in. While women are more likely to do service- and sales- related jobs, men are significantly more likely to be craft and trade workers or machine operators.





Figure 59. Types of ISCO occupation by gender

The gender–skill gap with respect to young people working in elementary occupations becomes larger with age. In the younger age group (15–19 years), only slightly more employed young women than young men work in elementary occupations and this difference is not statistically significant (Figure 60). Given that a large proportion of young people between 15 and 19 is still enrolled in school and as such works and studies at the same time, it can be expected that they will perform jobs that require a lower skill level.

Consequently, in the older age group (20–25 years), the proportion of young men who work in elementary occupations declines drastically from 64% to 36%. On the other hand, the proportion of women who work in elementary occupations barely changes as they get older. While among 15–19-year-olds 73% work in elementary occupations, this proportion remains high at 70% for 20–25-year-olds. As a result, the gap between employed young women and men who work in low skilled jobs increases as they get older.





Figure 60. Percentage of employed individuals working in elementary occupations by gender and age group

Young employed people from poor households are significantly more likely to work in elementary occupations than young people from richer households. While among young employed people from the lowest poverty quintile 71% work in elementary occupations, only 42% of young people from households in the highest and richest quintile do (Figure 61).







As was outlined in Table 5 above, elementary occupations have the following sub-categories: cleaners and helpers, agricultural labourers, construction, mining and transport labourers (other labourers), food preparation assistants, and street vendors.

The vast majority of young people who work in elementary occupations are street

vendors (83%), which includes selling food as well as non-food products on the street or at a market. It also includes people who sell goods from their 'banca' or 'barraca' (small informal stalls or booths, sometimes based at the person's house). The most common goods that are sold are bread, fruit and vegetables, charcoal, roasted peanuts, beverages, and clothes. The remaining elementary occupations are made up of 'other labourers', which includes construction and transport labourers (8%), cleaners (covering people who clean cars or do laundry as well as domestic workers) (7%), and food preparation assistants, which mainly covers people who make food for resale (e.g. cakes and biscuits) (2%) (Figure 62).



Figure 62. Types of elementary occupations



6.2.3 Informality

A person's contract status is often used as a proxy for informal employment (Henley et al., 2006). A formal written contract signals employment in the formal sector, while having only a verbal or no contract/agreement at all may suggest informal employment. Formal employment is often associated with fewer hours worked, higher income and better conditions of employment (for example paid leave and sick leave). In contrast informal employment is associated with increased vulnerability in the forms of excessive hours worked, low wages and limited or no benefits or protection.

The vast majority of employed young people in Maputo and Beira do not have any kind of contract or agreement.¹⁸ Only 13% have a formal contract, while 28% have a verbal agreement. 59% do not have any type of agreement at all (Figure 63).



¹⁸ This analysis excludes respondents who are self-employed.

Figure 63. Type of agreement or contract



Women are significantly less likely to have any type of contract or agreement: 73% have no contract or agreement at all, compared to only 48% of young men (Figure 64). As such, young men are significantly more likely to have a verbal agreement or formal contract – 37% of young men have a verbal agreement, compared to 16% or young women. Young men are also slightly more likely to have a formal contract, but this difference is not statistically significant.

These findings can partly be explained by previous results showing that, compared to young men, fewer young women are wage-employed and more young women are employed in a family business without remuneration. Wage employment may be more likely to lead to an agreement, even if only verbally.





Figure 64. Type of contract or agreement by gender

Young people from poorer households are significantly more likely to work in informal employment than young people from richer households. While only 4% of young people in the lowest poverty quintile (the poorest) have employment with a formal contract, 29% of young people from the highest poverty quintile (the richest) have a formal contract (Figure 65). Conversely, 70% of young people from the poorest households work in jobs without a contract or agreement; however, only 48% from richer households do.





Figure 65. Type of contract or agreement by poverty quintile

6.2.4 Hours worked

Employed young people in Maputo and Beira work on average 33 hours per week. There is no statistically significant difference between young men and young women with respect to the number of hours they work per week. However, the younger people in our sample work less than the older ones (Figure 66). While 15–19-year-olds only work around 24 hours per week, 20–25-year-olds work on average 37 hours per week. This may be explained by previous findings that show that in the younger age group there are more individuals who work and study at the same time, meaning that some of them might not be available to work more hours.





Figure 66. Mean number of hours work per week by age group

Over half of all 15–19-year-old employed individuals work less than 20 hours a week compared to only a third of 20–25-year-olds (Figure 67). On the other hand, 45% of 20–25-year-old employed individuals work more than 40 hours a week, compared to only 26% of 15–19-year-olds.





Figure 67. Percentage of employed individuals working within certain categories of hours by age group

6.2.5 Location of work

Young women in Maputo and Beira are far less mobile than young men with regards to their location of work. While most young women work from home or in the same neighbourhood ('bairro'), the majority of young men work farther away from their home and their neighbourhood. Some 53% of young women work from home, compared to only 23% of young men. On the other hand, 33% of young men work in the city centre (beyond the adjacent neighbourhood) but only 14% of young women do (Figure 68).

Women's limited mobility with respect to their location of work can be traced back to several reasons related to gender norms. First, childcare obligations and domestic duties often require women to seek employment closer to home than men (Chapple, 2001). This especially applies to those from low-income backgrounds and is often connected to women's time poverty, which is a result of the double work burden of household/care work, non-remunerated and remunerated work.





Figure 68. Location of main economic activity by gender

Second, young women's lack of mobility when it comes to the location of employment may be partly explained by the lack of decision-making power they have in regard to their movements.

Out of all young people who are employed, 70% of young men say that they take decisions about their movements alone, compared to only 36% of young women.¹⁹ In contrast, 37% of young employed women say that someone else takes the decisions concerning their movements, meaning they have no say whatsoever in where they go, when, and with whom. Only 16% of their male counterparts say someone else takes the decisions about their movements.

These findings suggest that gender norms with respect to the mobility of young women may play a part in women's decisions regarding their location of work. In turn, this inevitably has implications for the quality of their job since for many jobs it is necessary to travel away from the home. This is especially true for jobs with a higher skill levels and jobs with a formal contract.

¹⁹ Decisions about movements are defined as where to go, with whom, and when.







The location of work is correlated with the type of job people do and the likelihood of having formal employment.

Young people who work at home or close to home are more likely to work in low skill level jobs (elementary occupations).²⁰ This means that young people who work farther away from home have higher skill level jobs. While 71% of young people who work from home or in the same neighbourhood have only elementary occupations, only 41% of those who work in a different neighbourhood or the city centre do. This suggests that higher skill level jobs are usually located farther away from people's homes.

²⁰ For the analysis of the following two charts, 'Working from home' and 'Work in the same neighbourhood (bairro)' were grouped together and 'Working in another neighbourhood (bairro)' and 'City centre' were too.





Figure 70. Percentage of individuals who work in elementary occupations by location

In addition, young people who work farther away from home are more likely to have a formal or verbal agreement than people who work from home or within the same neighbourhood. While 72% of employed young people who work beyond their neighbourhood have a formal contract or verbal agreement, only 19% of employed young people who work from home or within their neighbourhood do. It thus appears that, to access more formal employment, young people must travel outside their neighbourhoods.



Figure 71. Percentage of employed individuals who have a verbal or formal agreement by location of work



These findings suggest that higher skilled jobs and jobs with contracts or verbal agreements are more commonly located outside young people's neighbourhoods. At the same time, it is mostly young men who commute to work that is located outside their neighbourhoods, while young women tend to work more frequently from their homes or within their neighbourhoods.

While this might partly have to do with them being more constrained in their decision-making power regarding their own movement compared to their male counterparts, the literature also suggests that women tend to have more complex travel patterns and often travel at lower speeds than men. This applies especially to women with children (Levy, 2013; Quiros *et al.*, 2014). As a result, women cover shorter distances than men, which reduces their access to economic opportunities, particularly when these are located farther away. This can partly be attributed to the overlapping schedules of work and household responsibilities meaning women seek work closer to home (Anand and Tiwari, 2006).

6.3 Determinants of type of occupation and informality

In the previous sections we have seen a number of bivariate correlations between individuals' background characteristics and their employment outcomes. To investigate whether these relationships hold even when controlling for other factors that might play a role in influencing the relevant employment outcome, we perform multiple linear regression analysis and present the results here.



For example, we have found in the previous section that higher skilled jobs are located farther away from the home. However, it might be the case that this relationship is mainly driven by the fact that it is chiefly men who work in higher skilled jobs who at the same time tend to travel more. This means that we cannot say for certain whether higher skilled jobs are located farther away from the home or simply that the men who do them travel farther for some other reason. In order to find out whether there is a deeper underlying relationship between the skill level of a job and, for example, its location, we must control for other factors that could drive this relationship, such as gender.

We run two linear probability models, first estimating the probability that an individual works in a low skilled job (elementary occupation) and, second, the probability that an individual has a job with a contract or agreement (a proxy for job stability). We control for our standard disaggregating variables (gender, age, city, and household poverty) as well as a number of individual characteristics such as level of education (variable for having completed 10th grade), decision-making power (variable for making decisions about movement alone), location of work (variable for working outside the neighbourhood), and early marriage and parenthood (variables for having married under the age of 18 and having had a child under the age of 18, respectively).

The results mainly confirm the relationships found in the bivariate correlations of the previous sections (Figure 72):

- Women are significantly more likely to work in a low skilled job (elementary occupation). This remains true even when keeping factors such as level of education, decision-making power about movement, and location of work constant. The probability of working in an unskilled job is nine percentage points higher for women than for men.
- Individuals from the wealthiest quintile are less likely to work in a job of low skill **level.** However, there is no statistically significant difference between young people from the other quintiles, suggesting that young people from the second wealthiest quintile are as likely to work in unskilled occupations as young people from the poorest quintile.
- Young people who have completed 10th grade are significantly less likely to work in a job with low skill requirements. Having completed 10th grade decreases the likelihood of working in a low skilled job by eight percentage points.
- Young people who work outside their own neighbourhood are significantly less likely to work in a job with a low skill level. This remains true even when comparing someone with the same gender, age, a similar level of education, similar decision-making power, etc. The effect is very large. Working outside one's own neighbourhood decreases the probability of working in a low skilled job by 25 percentage points.
- Young people who get married before the age of 18 are more likely to work in a low skilled job. In contrast, having a child under the age of 18 does not affect the probability of working in a low skilled job.

Similarly, gender and location of work remain the most significant explanatory factors for having stable employment (i.e. a job with a contract or agreement) (Figure 73):



- Young women are significantly less likely to have a job with a contract or agreement, even when holding everything else constant. For women, the likelihood of having a job with a contract or agreement is 14 percentage points smaller than is the case for men.
- Young people who work outside their neighbourhood are significantly more likely to have a job with a contract or agreement. The likelihood of having a job with a contract of agreement is 35 percentage points larger for those who work outside their own neighbourhood.

Figure 72. Multiple linear regression analysis of determinants of probability of working in an unskilled job (elementary occupation)



Note: n = 1314. This regression was run using OLS, clustering standard errors at the EA level and using truncated survey weil

Figure 73. Multiple linear regression analysis of determinants of the probability of having a job with a contract or agreement





7 Expenses, credit, and savings

Box 4. Main results – Expenses, credit, and savings

- Only one in five of the 15–25-year-olds in Maputo and Beira can cover their monthly expenses without receiving contributions (in cash or in kind) from someone else. Young people with remunerated work are more likely to be able to cover their monthly expenses (35%). However, most youth with remunerated work (65%) still rely on contributions from someone else. These findings suggest that most young people with remunerated employment still do not earn enough to sustain themselves.
- Young women in Maputo and Beira are more likely to be involved in decisions on small household expenses than young men independently of marital status, parental status, or whether they contribute to household expenses. Young men, on the other hand, are more likely to be involved in decisions on large household expenses when we control for a range of background characteristics.
- More than half the youth in Maputo and Beira who have remunerated employment save money. Mobile money services such as Mkesh or M-Pesa are the most popular savings mechanisms for youth regardless of poverty status. The formal banking system, on the other hand, is primarily accessible to youth from the wealthier households: 55% of the savers in the richest households use a formal bank account whereas this is the case for just 8% of the youth in the poorest households.
- Social networks provide an important source of credit. Most young people who have accessed credit took up a loan with family or friends (68%). Only 2% have received a loan from a bank. Additionally, we find that young people who are part of a social group are more likely to think they can get a loan when we control for a series of background characteristics in a regression analysis.

7.1 Financial independence

Financial independence, defined as being able to pay your monthly expenses and not depending on contributions from someone else, is often part of the transition from adolescence to adulthood. For this survey, financial independence is defined by the respondent and not predefined. The respondent reflects on his/her monthly expenses and responds whether or not he/she depends on contributions (in cash or in kind) from someone else when paying for his/her monthly expenses. A 15-year-old respondent who lives with his/her parents will not necessarily consider rental expenses or housing maintenance costs as part of his/her monthly expenses; however, a 24-year-old who rents a room will include such costs when responding on whether someone else contributes to his/her monthly expenses.

Overall, a fifth (19%) of the youth do not depend on contributions from anyone else to cover their monthly expenses. Young men are more likely to be financially independent (28%) than young women (11%) (Figure 74).





Figure 74. Percentage of youth who are financially independent by gender

Young people aged 20–25 are more likely to be financially independent than 15–19-year-olds. This may be due to higher education enrolment and lower employment rates in the younger age groups (as discussed in Chapter 5). We find that 17% of young men aged 15–19 can cover their expenses compared to 7% of those young women. For the 20–25-year-olds, 40% of the men can cover their own expenses – but this is the case for only 15% of the women (Figure 75).







Young people from the poorest households are slightly more likely to be financially independent than individuals from the wealthiest households. Looking across poverty quintiles shows that 21% of the youth from households in the lowest poverty quintile are financially independent compared to 15% in the highest poverty quintile, although there is no clear correlation between poverty level and financial independence (Figure 76).





Figure 76. Percentage of youth who are financially independent by poverty quintiles

Young men who have remunerated work are more likely to be financially independent (45%) than young women who do remunerated work (23%) (Figure 77). Such work includes wage employment and self-employment. Respondents who undertake non-remunerated work in a family business are therefore excluded (see Chapter 6 for explanation of types of employment).

Overall, 65% of the young people who have remunerated employment are still dependent on financial contributions from someone else to cover their monthly expenses. Conversely, just 35% the youth who have remunerated employment can cover all their monthly expenses. Chapter 6 highlighted that young men are more likely than young women to be wage-employed, which could be part of the explanation of why young men with remunerated employment are more likely to be financially independent than young women.





Figure 77. Percentage of youth with remunerated work that are also financially independent

7.1.1 Who contributes to the monthly expenses of the financially dependent?

In the previous section, we found that only about a fifth of the young people can cover their expenses. Conversely, 81% of young people depend on contributions from someone else to be able to cover their monthly expenses. Young people who depend on contributions from someone else to pay for monthly expenses are defined as financially dependent. We found that 72% of the young men are financially dependent which is the case for 89% of the young women. The young people who are financially dependent were asked to list individuals who contribute to their monthly expenses, with the option to list up to three different people.

Mothers most frequently contribute to the monthly expenses of the financially

dependent: 49% of the respondents who depend on contributions from someone else to cover their monthly expenses mentioned their mother. The second most frequently mentioned contributors are fathers (38%) followed by siblings (23%) and partners (21%). We also find, that uncles, aunts and grandparents also contribute to young people's expenses which highlight the extended financial commitments within the households (Figure 78).

When we explore the characteristics of those who depend on financial contributions from partners (boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse), we find, that 91% of those who depend on financial contributions from partners (spouse/boyfriend/girlfriend) are married women, but less than 1% are married men. The remaining 8% are unmarried women.





Figure 78. People who contribute to the monthly expenses of financially dependent youth

7.2 Expenses

Apart from receiving contributions from others to cover their monthly living expenses, those youth who have remunerated work were also asked whether they contribute with any of their monthly earnings to the expenses of the household. Additionally, respondents who have remunerated work were asked to estimate how much they spend on personal expenses such as medicines, clothes, beauty products, phone credit, transport, etc.

7.2.1 Contribution to household expenses

We find that 72% of the youth who have remunerated work contribute to household expenses (Figure 79). Among the respondents who have remunerated employment, young men and women are equally likely to contribute to the household expenditures. Furthermore, youth from the poorest and wealthiest households are equally likely to contribute to household expenses.

Young people aged 20–25 who have remunerated work are more likely to contribute to household expenses (80%) than 15–19-year-olds (56%) (Figure 79).



Figure 79. Percentage of youth with remunerated work who contribute to household expenses by age group



We find that 68% of the respondents who contribute to household expenses contribute with less than half their monthly earnings and only 5% estimate that almost all their monthly earnings go to common household expenses (Figure 80). This picture does not vary significantly by gender, nor across poverty quintiles.



Figure 80. Percentage of youth with remunerated work who contribute to household expenses by the estimated share of monthly earnings they contribute



7.2.2 Household expenses and decision-making

Being economically empowered does not necessarily follow from undertaking income-generating activities if all the money earned is controlled by someone else. On the other hand, a person can be economically empowered without earnings and income if that person can influence or choose how household resources are spent and thereby influence his/her quality of life (Kabeer, 1999; Kishor and Subaiya, 2008; Taylor and Pereznieto, 2014). This section explores to what extent young men and women are involved in decision-making related to both small and large household expenses.

Overall, a large majority of respondents (81%) answered that decisions about large household expenses were made by someone else entirely, compared to 68% when asked about small household expenses. Figure 81 indicates the proportions of young people that are involved in decision making.



Figure 81. Percentage of respondents who are involved in decisions on small and large household expenses



20–25-year-olds are more often involved in decisions related to household expenses than are 15– 19-year-olds, which is the case both regarding small (47% vs. 15%) and large household expenses (32% vs. 6%) (Figure 82).

Figure 82. Percentage of respondents who are involved in decisions on small and large household expenses by age group



Women are more likely to be involved in decisions on small household expenses than **men.** We find that 39% of young women are involved in decisions on small household expenses



whereas this is the case for just 22% of the young men. However, young men and women are equally unlikely to be involved in decisions regarding large household expenses (Figure 83).





Youth who contribute to household expenses are twice as likely to be involved in household spending decisions as youth who do not contribute to household expenses.

As might be expected, youth who contribute to household expenses are more likely to be involved in decision-making processes: 51% of the youth who contribute to household expenses are involved in decisions related to small household expenses compared to 25% of those youth who do not contribute to household expenses. For the decisions on large household expenses, 34% of the contributors are involved compared to 16% of the non-contributors (Figure 84).



Figure 84. Percentage of respondents with remunerated work and their involvement in decision making by contribution to household expenses



A large majority of respondents (81%) answered that decisions about large household expenses were made by someone else entirely, compared to 68% when asked about small household expenses.

The respondents who are not involved in decisions about household expenses were asked to report who makes such decision in their household. Across all the respondents who are not involved in decisions about large household expenses, independently of the composition of the household we find:

Parents (i.e. mothers or fathers) are most often mentioned as the main decision maker on large household expenses when the young people are not involved in decision making at all: 59% of young men report one of their parents and 51% of the women report one of their parents (Figure 85).

The group of others consist of siblings, uncles or aunts, grandparents, and heads of household in cases where that person is not one of the other options. 41% of the young men report that either their sibling, uncle/aunt or grandparents make such decisions whereas this is the case for 32% of the women.

In addition, 17% of women mentioned their partner (husband or boyfriend) as the main decision maker compared to none of the young men mentioning their partner as main decision maker. This difference can partially be explained by the fact that only 7% of the young men live in a marital



union or are married whereas this is the case for 31% of the young women (this will be discussed further in Chapter 8).



Figure 85. Decision maker on large household expenses when respondent is not involved by gender

7.3 Savings

Being able to save money in a secure place is important as it enables young people to smooth out consumption, save money for investments of their choice through savings groups, or provide the collateral for a larger loan for further investments. Savings can also serve as a form of self-insurance and as a risk-management mechanism, and could minimise the effect of various kind of shocks (Dercon, 2002; Allen and Panetta, 2010). The following section explores the savings-related behaviour of youth who have remunerated work.



7.3.1 Savings prevalence

We find that 64% of youth who earn a monthly income save part of their income independently of their gender (Figure 86).



Figure 86. Percentage of income-earning youth who save money by gender

Young income earners from the poorest households are less likely to save part of the income compared to youth from the richest households: 54% of the income-earning individuals in households in the poorest poverty quintile save part of their income whereas this is the case for 70% of the individuals from the richest poverty quintile (Figure 87). Saving is also positively correlated with age, as 67% of the 20–25-year-olds save part of the monthly earnings compared to 56% of the 15–19-year-olds (Figure 88).





Figure 87. Percentage of income-earning youth who save money by poverty quintile

Figure 88. Percentage of income-earning youth who save money by age group





Young people in Beira are much more likely to save money than young people in Maputo,

with 73% of the individuals with remunerated work in Beira reporting that they save part of their monthly income compared to 54% of the youth with remunerated work in Maputo (Figure 89).





7.3.2 Savings mechanisms

Respondents in our survey were also asked about the saving mechanisms they use, such as formal bank accounts, formal non-bank mechanisms such as mobile money (M-Pesa, Mkesh, etc.), or rotating savings groups (xitique). Response options were not exclusive, which means that respondents were able to choose to indicate that they use several savings mechanisms at the same time.

The most frequently used savings mechanisms are mobile money accounts (51%). Young men and women are equally likely to use these (Figure 90). Young men and women are also equally likely to keep their savings in the house (24%).






However, young men are more likely to keep their savings in bank accounts. In fact, 34% of young men who save money say that they keep money in a bank account, whereas this is the case for only 24% of young women.

In addition, young women are four times more likely to take part in rotating savings groups than young men who keep savings. Our data show that 32% of young women report that they keep their savings in rotating savings groups whereas only 8% of young men keep their savings in this savings mechanism.

Taking a closer look at the two cities of Beira and Maputo we find that formal non-bank saving mechanisms are the most common mechanism in both cities (Figure 91). However, a significantly larger share of young people in Maputo (36%) keep their savings in a bank account compared to Beira (25%). Similarly, while 25% of young people in Maputo keep their savings in a rotating savings group just 14% of respondents from Beira do.



Figure 91. Savings mechanisms by city



As individuals get older, they shift toward more formalised savings mechanisms. When we compare the younger age group (15–19 years) with the older age group (20–25 years), we find that the 20–25-year-olds are more likely to keep their savings in a bank account than the 15–19-year-olds (36% vs. 13%). The older age group is also more likely to keep their savings in a formal non-bank account (54% vs. 43%) and to be part of a savings group (22% vs. 11%). The younger individuals, on the other hand, more often keep their savings at home (43% vs. 16%) or in other places (Figure 92).





Figure 92. Savings mechanisms by age group

We also find that using formal bank accounts is highly correlated with household wealth,

with 55% of respondents from the richest household (poverty quintile 5) who save money using a bank account whereas this is only the case for 8% of the respondents in the poorest households (poverty quintile 1) (Figure 93).

The share of youth who use formal non-bank solutions for their savings stays constant across poverty levels (51%). This suggests that formal non-bank services are reaching a group of people for whom the formal banking system is not easily accessible.





Figure 93. Location of savings (bank account and formal non-bank account) by poverty level

7.3.3 Control over savings

To understand the extent to which young people are in control of their savings, the survey explored who they need to ask if they want to use their savings and whether anyone else other than themselves can access them. We consider a young person to be in full control of his/her savings if he/she does not have to ask for permission from anyone to access his/her savings *and* no one else can access his/her savings.

Overall, 66% of the young people with savings have full control over them. This finding applied regardless of age, city of residence, poverty levels, and gender. However, control over savings correlates negatively with marital status, as 70% of single respondents who have savings have full control over them whereas this is the case for only 49% of the married individuals (Figure 94).

Figure 94. Percentage of respondents with full control over their savings by marital status





7.4 Access to credit

Overall, 47% of the young men and women think they could get access to a loan if needed (Figure 95). Young men are slightly more optimistic than young women, as 50% of males think they can get a loan if needed whereas this is the case for 44% of females. These proportions stay constant across the two cities.



Figure 95. Percentage of individuals who think that they can access a loan if needed by gender



Women from the poorest households are less likely to think they can access a loan than those from the wealthiest households (35% vs. 50%) (Figure 96). The proportion of young men who think they can access a loan does not vary significantly across poverty quintiles.



Figure 96. Percentage of women who think they can access a loan if needed by poverty quintile

Friends and neighbours gave 64% of the loans received by young men and women, and only 2% of loans were taken up with a formal bank (Figure 97).



Also, 45% of the youth who think they could access a loan have previously received a loan, with friends or neighbours being the most frequently mentioned lenders followed by other family and parents or partners (Figure 97). Those young people who have never received a loan are most likely to think they could get a loan from their extended family (46%), parents or partners (29%), or friends/neighbours (28%). Just 10% think they could get a loan from a formal bank if needed (Figure 97).



Figure 97. Source of the actual loan and imagined source of loan

7.5 Determinants of household decision-making power and access to credit

In the previous section, we found that whether young people are involved in decisions on small household expenses is determined by a number of their background characteristics. In a next step, we explore whether some of these relationships are related to each other. For this section, we therefore perform a multiple linear regression analysis that allows us to explore to what extent correlations observed in the previous section still hold when we keep all other background characteristics constant.²¹ We perform the analysis for both small and large household expenses.

In addition to the main disaggregation variables, we include variables for contributing to household expenses, for being married, and an indicator for being a parent. Being a parent does not



²¹ Age, gender, poverty quintiles, and city of residence.

necessarily imply living in marital union but having a child involves specific and necessary expenses such as the cost of nappies. Lastly, we include a variable to control for time spent on domestic chores as this includes cleaning and cooking, which are directly related to small household expenses.

Figure 98 below presents regression coefficients from a linear probability model that estimates the probability of being involved in decisions on small household expenses, while Figure 99 presents the coefficients for a model looking at large household expenses.

The regression results confirm several of the correlations observed in the previous section:

- Young women are significantly more likely to be involved in decisions on small household expenses than men. Compared to the reference category (male) the probability of being financially independent increases by eight percentage points for women, when everything else is kept constant (Figure 98).
- Young men are more likely than women to be involved in decisions on large household expenses. When we perform a regression analysis on large household expenses, we find that the probability of being involved in decisions related to large household expenses decreases by six percentage points for women compared to the reference category (male) when we control for a range of background characteristics (Figure 99).
- Married individuals are more likely to be involved in decisions on both small and large household expenses. Compared to single individuals, married individuals are 33 percentage points more likely to be involved in decisions on small household expenses (Figure 98) and 27 percentage points more likely to be involved decisions on large household expenses (Figure 99).
- Respondents who make financial contributions to household expenses are more likely to be involved in decision making on small and large expenses. Contributing to household expenses increases the probability of being involved in decisions on small household expenses by 18 percentage points compared to those who do not contribute to household expenses (Figure 98). The effect remains, albeit smaller when looking at large household expenses. The probability of being involved in decisions on large household expenses increases by 10 percentage points for a young person who contributes to household expenses compared to a young person who does not contribute (Figure 99).
- Undertaking domestic chores during the day increases the probability of being involved in decisions on small household expenses. Young people who do domestic chores during the day are five percentage points more likely to be involved in decisions regarding small household expense compared to those who do not undertake domestic chores (Figure 98). For large household expenses, no such relationship is observed.

Figure 98. Multiple linear regression analysis of determinants of involvement in decisions on small household expenses





Figure 99. Multiple linear regression analysis of determinants of involvement in decisions on large household expenses



Figure 100 below presents regression coefficients from a linear probability model estimating the probability of perceived access to credit. It is important to note that respondents were asked whether they think they could access credit if needed and the results, therefore, reflect participants' perceived access to credit rather than actual access to credit. In addition to the



explanatory variables used for financial independence we also control for financial independence and whether the individual has savings. Finally, we also control for participation in social groups, as we found that the majority of youth think they can access loans through friends or neighbours:

- Young people from the poorest households are significantly less likely to think they can access credit. Compared to the youth in the wealthiest households (the reference category), young people from the poorest households are nine percentage points less likely to think they can access credit when everything else is kept constant.
- Young people who have remunerated work are more likely to think they can access credit. The perceived access to credit is nine percentage points higher for young people who have remunerated work compared to those who do not.
- Young people who have savings are more likely to think they can access credit. The probability of perceived access to credit increases by 11 percentage points for youth with savings compared to those without, when everything else is kept constant.
- Being part of a social group is positively correlated with perceived access to credit, increasing the probability of perceived access to credit by five percentage points compared to youth who are not part of such groups.



Figure 100. Multiple linear regression analysis of determinants of perceived access to credit



8 Marital status, parenthood, and family planning

Box 5. Main results – Marital status, parenthood, and family planning

- Young women in Maputo and Beira are far more likely to be married than their male peers and are also far more likely to have a child. A total of 31% of the young women are married compared to 7% of the young men, while 41% of the young women have given birth and just 14% of the men have fathered a child. This is partially explained by the fact that it is quite common in urban Mozambique for women to have children with men who are five years or more their senior. For 51% of young mothers, there was an age disparity of five years or more between them and the father of their child.
- Young women from Beira and from poorer households are more likely to be mothers. Young women from the poorest households are twice as likely to have given birth as the women from the wealthiest households (53% vs. 26%).
- Young women in Maputo and Beira carry a larger share of the parenting responsibilities compared to young men. Of the young men who already have children, 46% have the child living with them whereas this is the case for 87% of the women who have children.
- Contraception use is common among sexually active youth in Maputo and Beira, and almost everyone knows where to find information about family planning. We find that 74% of the surveyed population say they are sexually active and, of those, 86% use contraception. However, just 58% always use contraception. Of all the young people surveyed in Maputo and Beira, 91% say they know where to find information about family planning.

8.1 Marital status

In this section we do not distinguish between youth who are married religiously, traditionally, live in a registered civil union, or just live in a marital union without any formalised arrangements. We use the marital union or marriage interchangeably as the formalisation of the relationship by civil union does not change the way the couple live together.

Young women are four times more likely to be married or live in a marital union than their male counterparts: Only 7% of young men are married or live in marital union in contrast to 31% of young women (Figure 101).

Figure 101. Percentage of youth who are married or live in marital union by gender and age





Marriage plays a larger role earlier in the life of young women than young men. There is an age-related difference to the proportion of young men and women who are married or live in a marital union: both men and women aged 20–25 are more likely than the 15–19-year-olds to be married. Thus, 47% of the women aged 20–25 are married compared to 13% of the 15–19-year-olds. For men, just 1% of 15–19-year-olds is married or lives in marital union whereas this is the case for 14% of the 20–25-year-olds (Figure 102).





Figure 102. Percentage of youth who are married or live in marital union by gender and age

Neither for 15–19-year-old males nor for the 20–25-year-old males are there any statistically significant differences in the proportions who are married across Maputo and Beira. For young women, however, there are large differences across the two cities.

Females aged 15–19 in Beira are more than twice as likely to be married or live in marital union than those women in Maputo (19% vs. 7%). Such a difference is also evident for the 20–25-year-old women, with 56% of those from Beira are married compared to 37% in Maputo (Figure 103).





Figure 103. Percentage of young women who live in marital union by age group and city

Women from the poorest households are more likely to be married or live in marital

union. A larger percentage of young women from households in the lowest three poverty quintiles are married (32%) than in the highest poverty quintile (19%). We do not observe a similar relationship between marital status and household wealth among the male respondents (Figure 104).



Figure 104. Percentage of youth who are married or live in marital union by poverty quintile



8.1.1 Average age when getting married

The average age when marrying was 18 for women and 20 for men. There are no statistically significant differences in the average age at marriage between men in Beira and Maputo. Women from Beira who are married were on average 18 years old when they married compared to an average of 19 for the married women in Maputo (Figure 105).



Figure 105. Average age when marrying/starting marital union by gender and city

Young women from households in the poorest households marry/start living in marital union earlier. The average age when getting married was 18 years for women in the lowest poverty quintile, whereas the women from the highest poverty quintile married at age 20. For young men there is no significant difference in age of marriage between young men from the lowest and highest poverty quintiles (Figure 106).

This suggests that marrying or entering a civil union before the age of 18 is not uncommon. When looking further into the distribution of married youth, we find that **more than a third of the young women started living in marital union before the age of 18**: 37% of young women got married or started living in marital union before the age of 18, which is the case for 5% of the young men.





Figure 106. Average age when married by gender and poverty quintile

8.1.2 Deciding whom to date and marry

Almost all respondents say they take decisions about dating and marriage alone, with 94% of respondents saying that they alone decide on the person they want to date and 90% saying they alone decide whom to marry (Figure 107). This picture does not change when considering the gender of respondents. Young men and women are equally likely to be the sole decision makers in relation to whom to date or marry. Similarly, this proportion remains unchanged across the cities surveyed.



Figure 107. Percentage of young people who make the decision on whom to date or marry alone



8.2 Fertility and family planning

Adolescent pregnancies are not uncommon in Mozambique and the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) (2011) estimates that 29% of women aged 15-19 had given birth to a least one child. Chapter 5 showed that 34% of the girls who dropped out of school did so because they got married or pregnant.

In addition to being one of the main reason for dropping out of school adolescent childbearing (aged 10–19) is also found to be associated with a higher risk of a series of pregnancy-related health conditions than for 20–24-year-olds (Ganchimeg *et al.*, 2014) and complications during pregnancy or birth is the leading cause of death of 15–19-year-old girls (WHO, 2016).

Pregnancies can be intentional and be the result of a desire to become a mother or a desire to complete the marriage. However, pregnancies are not always intentional, and for adolescents in particular pregnancies can also be the unintended consequence of lack of information and knowledge about contraception and non-use of contraceptives or early active sexual behaviour (Singh, 2005; Eaton, Flisher and Aaroe, 2003; Presler-Marshall and Jones, 2012).

8.2.1 Childbearing

Overall, 48% of young women aged 15–25 have begun childbearing. Childbearing includes all women who have given birth, who have been pregnant but never given birth, or who are



currently pregnant with their first child. Unsurprisingly, the 20–25-year-olds are more likely to have begun childbearing (69%) than the 15–19-year-olds (23%) (Figure 108).





Older women are more likely to have given birth, with 93% of the 20–25-year-olds who have begun childbearing having already given birth compared to 74% of the 15–19-year-olds (Figure 109).

The 15–19-year-olds are more likely to be pregnant with their first child, with 15% of the teenage women who have begun childbearing currently pregnant with their first child. Just 2% of the 20–25-year-olds are currently pregnant with their first child (Figure 109).

Teenage women are more likely to have been pregnant but never given birth: of the 15–19-year-olds, 11% have been pregnant but never given birth, while 4% of the older women have been pregnant but never given birth (Figure 109). The category 'Having been pregnant but never given birth' includes women who have had either a miscarriage or an abortion.



Figure 109. Childbearing category by age group



The categories in Figure 109 are exclusive: when a woman has given birth, she figures in the category 'Has given birth' independently of whether she has previously had a miscarriage or not. The proportion of women who have experienced a miscarriage or had an abortion is therefore expected to be higher when the women who have given birth are also considered.

Almost a fifth (17%) of the women who have been pregnant have experienced at least one miscarriage or abortion (Figure 110). Women who are currently pregnant with their first child are excluded. There is no statistically significant difference between the two age groups nor across poverty quintiles.

Whether the fact that the rate of miscarriages/abortions is constant across the two groups is explained by the fact that the older women primarily had miscarriages/abortions when they were younger or by the fact that the teenagers today are more likely to have abortions than just five years ago remains unclear.



Figure 110. Miscarriages/abortions by age group



8.3 Parenthood

Bringing a child into the world is often associated with the transition from adolescence to adulthood and comes with new roles and responsibilities. The previous section explored to what extent young women have begun childbearing, while this section focuses on the children born and explores the extent of parenthood among the young men and women and the characteristics of young parents.

Young women are three times more likely to have had a child than young men: 41% of the young women have given birth whereas just 14% of the young men have fathered a child (Figure 111). A variety of reasons could explain this difference, which include that young men are more prone to underreporting fatherhood, young men not always knowing they have fathered a child, or young women getting pregnant to relatively older men.





Figure 111. Percentage of youth who have given birth/fathered a child by gender

Older respondents are more likely to have had a child than younger respondents, independently of gender.

We find that 63% of the 20–25-year-old women have given birth, which is only the case for 17% of the 15–19-year-old women (Figure 112). The difference suggests that the rate of motherhood among adolescents in Maputo and Beira is 12 percentage points lower than the national average of adolescent motherhood (DHS: 29%).

We also find that 26% of the men aged 20–25 have fathered a child compared to just 2% of the 15–19-year-olds (Figure 112).

The correlation observed between poverty level and childbearing for young women persists when it comes to childbirth, whereas no such correlation between fathering a child and poverty levels exists for men. Young women from the poorest households are twice as likely to have given birth (53%) than women from the richest households (26%) (Figure 113).





Figure 112. Percentage of youth who have given birth/fathered a child by age group and gender

Figure 113. Percentage of youth who have given birth/fathered a child by gender and poverty quintile





Looking across the two cities, we find that women in Beira are more likely to have given birth than women in Maputo (46% vs. 36%), whereas men in Maputo (17%) are more likely to have fathered a child than young men in Beira (11%) (Figure 114).





8.3.1 Age at birth of the first child

The approximate age at first birth is found by subtracting the age of the oldest living child from the age of the mother/father.

Women are younger than men when having their first child. Overall, the average age at first birth for young women is 19 years but it is 20 for young men (Figure 115). There is no significant difference in the age at the time of first child for young men across poverty quintiles, nor across cities.





Figure 115. Age at time of first child by gender

For young women, coming from a household in the highest poverty quintile compared to the lowest poverty quintile results in postponing the first birth by two years on average, from 18 to 20 years (Figure 116).





The young women who have given birth were asked about the age of the father of their first child at the time of the child's birth. Fathers were on average 24 years old when the first child was born,



compared to an average age of 18 years among the mothers. Overall, we found an age disparity of five years or more between the fathers and the mothers in 51% of the cases (Figure 117). The percentage of cases with an age disparity of five years or more between the father and the mother stays constant over poverty quintiles and across the two cities.



Figure 117. Age of fathers of female respondents' children

8.3.2 Average number of children

Most of the young men and women surveyed who have children have just one child: 79% of the young men who are fathers have one child, 16% have two, and just 5% have three or more. The young women are slightly more likely to have more children, as 64% have just one child, 29% have two, and 7% have three or more (Figure 118).

The distribution of number of children translates into an average number of children still alive of 1.2 per father and 1.4 for each mother. For young men, the average does not vary significantly across poverty quintiles. However, **young women from the poorest households who have children on average have almost two children (1.6) while women from the richest households have one child on average** (Figure 119). The difference is also reflected at the city level, where the average number of children per parent is 1.4 in Beira compared to 1.2 in Maputo.

Figure 118. Number of children by gender





Figure 119. Average number of children per woman by poverty quintile



8.3.3 Where do the children live?

Our findings suggest that mothers carry a larger share of the parenting responsibilities. Of the young men and women who are parents, 79% live with their children. However, looking across genders reveals that **less than half (46%) the young men who have a child do not live at the same place as the child.** For 87% of the women who have children, the children live in the same place as them (Figure 120).





Figure 120. Percentage of young parents who have children living at home

8.3.4 The ideal time for starting a family

All young people were asked what they consider the ideal age for men and women to have their first child. Both young men and women gave their opinion on the ideal age for women to have children and likewise for men.

The perceived ideal age for women to have their first child is 23 for women and 25 for **men** (Figure 121). Young men and women unanimously agree on these perceived ideal ages, as no statistically significant differences are observed in the perceived ideal age for having children of men and women across the gender of the respondents. Nor are any significant differences observed across the two age groups.

Figure 121. Perceived ideal age for first child for men and women





Young people from the poorest households think it is ideal for women to have their first child three years earlier than young people from the richest households. Young people from the poorest households find it ideal for women to have their first child at the age of 21, whereas youth from the wealthiest households are of the opinion that it is ideal for women to have their first child at age 24. Similarly, youth from the poorest household think men should father their first child at age 23. The perceived ideal age for men to have first child increases to 26 for youth from the richest households (Figure 122).





Figure 122. Perceived ideal age for men and women to have first child over poverty quintiles

Lastly, we explored whether there is a difference between the youth who are already parents and those who are not. As 30% of the young people are already parents, it is likely that their perception of the ideal age for having children is different to those who have not yet had children.

The data confirm that the perceived ideal age is lower among youth who are already parents. Among those young men and women who are parents, the perceived ideal age for first child for both men and women (24 and 21 respectively) is lower than for those who are not yet parents (25 and 23 respectively) (Figure 123).





Figure 123. Perception of ideal age for first child by parental status and gender

8.3.5 Discrepancy between ideal and actual age for parenthood

In section 8.3.1 we found that the average age for our survey participants to become a parent is 19 years for women and 20 years for men. Section 8.3.4 revealed that those who have already had a child on average think that it would be ideal for women to give birth for the first time at age 21 and for men to father their first child at age 24.

Only 30% of the youth who have children became parents at what they think is the ideal age or later. The rate does not vary by gender, city, or poverty quintile. When looking across age groups, however, we find that only 10% of the 15–19-year-olds who are parents think they had the child at the ideal age, whereas this is the case for 34% of the 20–25-year-olds (Figure 124).

The explanation for this difference is not obvious. One possible explanation is lack of information about family planning or access to contraception. The viability of this explanation is explored in the following section.

Another alternative is that pregnancies happen because a lack of opportunities in terms of educational and professional prospects means that young people do not have a reason to make deliberate decisions about family planning. Azevedo *et al.* found this to be one of the main drivers of teenage pregnancies in Latin America (2012). It is also possible that social norms overlap with the individual attitudes or beliefs of the youth and thereby influence behaviour. If becoming a parent at the age of 18–20 is generally accepted by the community, a young person might not actively plan and postpone parenthood until the age of 21–24 even though he/she at an individual



level find it ideal to have children at this age. This might be exacerbated by a general lack of openness and discussion around adolescents' sexuality in combination with early sexual debut.







8.4 Sexual activity and use of contraception

To understand the extent to which young people use contraception, we asked whether they or their sexual partner take any action to avoid or delay getting pregnant. However, as not all youth are sexually active the answer option 'I am currently not sexually active' was also given. Asking about the use of contraception is sensitive as it is linked to sexually active behaviour, which some of the respondents might be reluctant to reveal. The enumerators were trained to request privacy for the individual part of the questionnaire, but it is uncertain as to what extent this was always possible. If these questions were answered in the presence of other family members, it could have influenced the response. Consequently, the proportion of youth who report that they are currently sexually active is potentially underreported.

Three-quarters of the youth are sexually active. Young women are more likely to be sexually active (77%) than young men (70%) (Figure 125). We find that both men and women in the older age group are more likely to be sexually active than the 15–19-year-olds. In addition, 87% of the men aged 20-25 are sexually active compared to 53% of the 15-19-year-old men. Similarly, 94% of 20-25-year-old women are sexually active whereas this is the case for only 56% of the 15-19year-old women (Figure 126).



Figure 125. Percentage of youth who are sexually active by gender





Figure 126. Percentage of youth who are sexually active by age group and gender

8.4.1 Use of contraception

Those respondents who declared themselves sexually active were offered three different answer options to the question on the use of contraception: yes always, yes sometimes, or no never.

We find that 58% of the sexually active youth *always* use contraception, while 29% use contraception sometimes and only 14% say that they never use contraception (Figure 127). Use of contraception does not vary significantly across age groups but when we look at gender some differences are revealed.



Figure 127. Frequency of contraception use



Almost a fifth of the sexually active young women says that they or their partner *never* use contraception (17%), while 8% of the young men do not use contraception (Figure 128).





Youth from Beira are less likely to use contraception than youth from Maputo. We find that 69% of the youth from Maputo always use contraception whereas this is the case for 45% of



the youth from Beira. Conversely, 21% of the youth from Beira report that they never use contraception whereas this is only the case for 7% of the youth from Maputo (Figure 129).



Figure 129. Frequency of contraception use by city

Youth from the wealthiest households are more likely to use contraception. We find that 80% of the youth in the poorest households who are sexually active either always or sometimes use contraception whereas this is the case for 93% of the respondents from the wealthiest households (Figure 130).

Figure 130. Frequency of contraception use by poverty quintile





Young people who answered that they or their sexual partner take action to delay or prevent pregnancies were asked to list which methods they use. Young women can, therefore, reply condom, referring to their partner. Likewise, young men can reply pill or injectable, referring to the method used by their partner.

Condoms are the most popular method of contraception among young men and women:

95% of young men use condoms whereas this is the case for 71% of the young women. The second most popular methods are implants or injectables, which 31% of the women use and 11% of the men state that their partners use these methods. All other methods including emergency contraception, sterilisation (male and female), etc. are used by less than 10% of the youth (Figure 131).




Figure 131. Contraception method used by men and women

8.4.2 Access to information about family planning

Overall, 91% of the young people say they know where to find information about family planning. More specifically, 85% of the 15–19-year-olds say they know where to find such information and 95% of the 20–25-year-olds say they know where to find information about family planning (Figure 132).

Independently of which subgroups we look at, the proportion of young people who report that they know where to find information about family planning remains high.





Figure 132. Access to information about family planning by age group

The findings from this section and the previous section on the use of contraception suggest that nor lack of access to information about family planning nor to contraception can explain the discrepancy between the perceived ideal age for having first child and the actual age when having first child amongst the youth who have children observed in section 8.3.5.

8.5 Determinants of the use of contraception

In the previous section, we found that the use of contraception correlates with several background characteristics of young men and women in Beira and Maputo. Some of these correlations might be related to each other. Therefore, we perform a multiple linear regression analysis to explore the extent to which the correlations observed above still hold when we keep all other background characteristics constant.²²

In addition to the main disaggregation variables, we include a variable for being married or being a parent and a variable for having access to family planning. We also control for the educational status of youth by including a control variable for being enrolled in education, for completion of primary school, and for completion of secondary school.



²² Age, gender, poverty quintiles, and city of residence.

For the regression analysis, we combine youth who always use contraception and sometimes use contraception into a new category of 'Use contraception'. The regression results confirm several correlations observed in the previous section.

The findings (Figure 133) confirm several of the bivariate correlations from the previous sections and result in others being discarded:

- Youth in Beira are less likely to use contraception. Compared to youth from Maputo, the probability of youth in Beira using contraception decreases by 12 percentage points when other confounding factors such as household poverty level, education level, and marital status of the individual is kept constant.
- Women are less likely to use contraception than men. Compared to men, the probability of using contraceptives decreases by five percentage points for women when other confounding factors are kept constant.
- Use of contraception is *not* correlated with poverty level when controlling for other confounding factors such as the city of residence, marital status, education level, and access to family planning.
- Youth who know where to get access to information about family planning are more likely to use contraception. Compared to youth who do not know where to access information about family planning, the probability of using contraception increases by 18 percentage points for young people who do know where to access information about family planning.







The sample is restricted to respondents who are sexually active and not currently pregnant.
 ** This regression was run using OLS, clustering standard errors at the EA level and using survey weights.



9 Time use

Box 6. Main results – Time use

- Division of labour within the household in Maputo and Beira begins early. Young men more frequently engage in productive work than women (35% vs. 20%), and when they do they also spend more time in productive work compared to young women (7 vs. 5.3 hours). In contrast, compared to young women, fewer young men engage in reproductive work (domestic work such as chores, childcare, and care for ill and elderly people) and when they do they spend less time on it than women do.
- Combining the time spent on productive and reproductive work, women in Maputo and Beira spend more time per day working than men. This suggests that, even though more men spend more time on productive work, women are far more time constrained when taking into account the double work burden of productive and reproductive work.
- Young men in Maputo and Beira spend more time on activities outside the house than young women. First, a larger proportion of young men spend time traveling (84% vs. 72%). Second, significantly more men engage in leisure outside the house compared to women (75% vs. 51%). Of those who do spend time on leisure outside, men tend to spend on average more time than women on this. In contrast, there is no difference in the frequency and intensity of time spent on leisure activities inside the house.

9.1 Time use: Methodology

We utilised a 'bean game' to identify the types of activities respondents do during a 'typical' day and with what intensity, i.e. how much time they spend on each activity. A typical day refers to a typical *working* day (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays). During the bean game respondents were asked to recall all activities as well as their intensity of the previous day (see Figure 134 for the time period of interest). If the previous day to the day of the interview was a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday, respondents were asked to recall all activities and their intensity from the last working day. There are 48 beans in the bean game, with each bean representing half an hour. Therefore, the variable of interest in this section is the number of hours spent on each activity, which has been converted from the bean format. The bean game was designed, pretested, and piloted for this survey by the OPM and ANSA teams. A detailed description can be found in Annex B.



Figure 134. Time period of interest



The purpose of this module was to find out what types of activities young people usually spend the most time on and how time constrained they are. A particular focus throughout this section is on any gender differences that are identified in the proportion of time spent on different activities. Time use studies from around the world aim to highlight the amount of time women spend on activities, in particular unremunerated domestic work, that go unreported in most labour and household surveys and as a result remain invisible (Budlender, 2007). However, only a few time use surveys have been conducted in developing countries and the ones that do exist for Mozambique focus mainly on time use in rural areas (e.g. Arora, 2014).

Time use data can be analysed using three types of variable (Harvey, 2002):

- 1. Participation rate: Proportion of population who undertook the activity on a typical day.
- 2. Participation mean: Average time spent on the activity over a 24-hour day by those persons who undertook the activity.
- 3. Total mean: Average time spent on the activity over a 24-hour day of the whole population.

9.2 Productive vs. reproductive work

In Chapter 6 we analysed the economic activities or work that people engage in. Our definition of work in that chapter followed the standard System of National Accounts approach in that it only included formal or informal market work or, in other words, work that is remunerated in cash or in kind. It did not include unpaid care work or household work. As a result, the work burden faced by the population and particular by women is underreported (Blackden and Wondon, 2006).

In time use studies, work is often divided into productive and reproductive work. Productive work includes all work that is remunerated in cash or in kind (market). Reproductive work includes all unpaid work necessary to maintain a family, such as housework, childcare, and care for the sick and elderly (household).



Compared to young men, a significantly larger proportion of young women engage in reproductive work. While almost all young women (93%) did household chores on the previous day, only 68% of young men did. In addition, 48% of young women spend time on childcare but only 11% of young men. There is no difference in the proportion of young women and men who spent time taking care of the sick and elderly (Figure 135).

In contrast, fewer young women than men spend their time doing productive work. While 35% of young men reported spending time working, only 20% of young women did (Figure 135).²³





This pattern continues when looking at the amount of time young people spend on productive and reproductive work. The participation means show the number of hours people who participated in the activity spent on average on that activity (Figure 136).

Young men more frequently engage in productive work than women and when they do they also spend more time in productive work compared to young women. While men spend on average seven hours per day doing productive work, young women only spend 5.4 hours.

In contrast, fewer young men engage in domestic chores and when they do they spend less time on them. While young women spend on average 3.6 hours on domestic chores per day, young men spend only 2.3 hours. Similarly, among young people who spend time on childcare,

²³ These figures are lower than the figures presented in the employment chapter (6.1) because the reference period is different. While the indicators calculated in the employment chapters are based on a reference period of 7 days, the figures in the time use chapter refer to a reference period of the last 24 hours.



women spend significantly more time on this activity than men (3.3 hours vs. 2.1 hours). There is no difference in the number of hours young people who spend time taking care of the ill and elderly spend on this activity.





To show the true number of hours worked per day, we add together the hours spent on productive and reproductive work. The results show that when taking both types of work into account, young women spend significantly more hours working than young men. While young women spend on average 6.2 hours working (productive and reproductive), young men only spend 4.3 hours (Figure 137). This is based on the total mean, which means that it is the simple average of the total number of hours as reported by the whole population and not just by the population that participated in the activity.







These findings are in line with what much of the time use literature finds. It is often argued that even though women have a greater work burden in total, much of it is undervalued because it is unpaid (Fontana and Paciello, 2010). In addition, these findings also point to the idea that women are more 'time poor' than men given the double work burden of productive and reproductive work that many of them shoulder (Blackden and Wodon, 2006).

9.3 Time outside the home vs. inside the home

In section 6.2.5 we showed that young women work closer to home than men and that young women have lower decision-making power with regards to their movement. This also manifests itself in the time spent traveling as well as the time spent on leisure activities inside vs. outside the home.

Slightly fewer young women spend time traveling than young men. While 82% of young men spend time traveling, only 74% of women do.





Figure 138. Percentage of respondents who spend time traveling by gender

A similar proportion of young men and women spend time on leisure activities inside the home (83% and 80%). However, significantly more young men than young women spend time on leisure time outside the house. While 75% of young men reported having spent leisure time outside the home on the previous day, only 51% of young women did.







Again, this pattern translates into the amount of time young people spend on these activities. More young men than young women engage in leisure activities outside the house and those who do spend more time doing so than young women. While young men spend on average 3.7 hours on leisure activities outside the house, young women only spend 3.1 hours. In contrast, a similar proportion of young men and women spend time on leisure activities at home and they also spend a similar amount of hours doing so (3.7 and 3.8 hours).



Figure 140. Participation mean of leisure activities by gender

These findings are further evidence for the fact that young women are far more constrained in their mobility than young men. This is true in regard to economic activities, leisure time, and their decision-making power over their own movements.



10 Social norms

Box 7. Main results – Social norms: Women in leadership

- Personal aspiration to hold a leadership role is widely prevalent among young people in Maputo and Beira (81–83%). There is no difference in holding this aspiration across men or women, across different poverty quintiles, or by gender of the head of the household.
- 34% of young people in Maputo and Beira indicated that women were frequently selected into leadership positions. Although there were no gender differences in the response to this question, respondents from female-headed households were more likely to report frequent instances of women being selected into leadership positions.
- Most, while thinking that others do not approve of female leadership (21–24%), approve of it themselves (77%).

To understand and measure social norms among urban youth in our study area, we built on research that has been conducted as part of the Voices of Change Programme, a UK aid-funded project based in Nigeria from 2013 to 2017. The programme sought to empower young Nigerian women to achieve their full potential through changing social norms. One of the areas it focused on that is also relevant for *MUVA* and the urban Mozambican context is the prevalence of women in leadership roles. Following Denny and Nwankwo (2015), we utilised the Social Norms Framework to design our questionnaire (Figure 141). Two different types of expectation are considered as we try to measure social norms: what we expect others to do (empirical expectations) and our expectations regarding what we ourselves or others *should* do (normative expectations). Furthermore, social norms can relate to expectations the individual has toward her/himself (Self), expectations regarding what others expect from the individual, such as the individual's perception of what others think he/she does (Others second order).

	Self	Others 1 st Order	Others 2 nd order
Empirical	A: What I do	B : What others do	C: What others think I do
Normative	D : What I think I should do	E: What I think others should do	F: What others think I should do

Figure 141. Social norms framework

Specifically, to understand norms around women in leadership positions, we fielded the following questions to survey respondents (with the preceding letters (A–F) indicating which cell in the framework it maps onto):



Empirical, self (**A**): Would you ever like to be selected for leadership of an organisation? (professional/business, school, political, community organisation, etc.)

Empirical, Others first order (**B** and used as proxy for C): Around here, how often are women selected for leadership positions in organisations?

Normative, Self/Others first order (**D/E**): Would you approve or disapprove if a woman around here was selected for leadership of an organisation?

Normative, Others second order (**F**): In your opinion, how many people around here approve of women being selected for leadership of organisation?

10.1 Leadership aspirations

The first question in the Social Norms Framework ('What I do') measures the prevalence of personal attitude and behaviour. In our case, the question that we analyse is personal aspiration to a leadership role; we find this to be widely prevalent, cutting across gender and wealth categories.

Our data indicate that there is no gender difference in terms of aspiration toward a leadership role among youth aged 15 to 25 years. Furthermore, a large majority (81–83% of youth) across the two genders aspire for leadership positions (Figure 142). Of the 3,300 youth in our sample, 25 indicated that they already occupied a leadership position, and these were equally divided across male and females.



Figure 142. Leadership aspirations by gender



We also do not find there to be any difference in aspiration across different poverty quintiles or by gender of the head of the household. However, as can be seen in Figure 143 below, youth in Beira are seven percentage points more likely to want to be selected for a leadership position. Figure 143. Leadership aspirations by city



10.2 Frequency of selection of women into leadership

To understand how often women are selected into leadership positions, we asked respondents to indicate their responses across four categories: Never, Rarely, Sometimes, and Often. Responses of 'Sometimes' and 'Often' were coded as instances of frequent selection.

About a third (34%) of respondents indicated that women were frequently selected into leadership positions. As in the above section, there were no gender differences in their response to this empirical question. Similarly, there were no statistically significant differences across different poverty quintiles (Figure 144).

However, slightly more respondents in Maputo (36%) indicated frequent selection of women as compared to Beira (31%). This might be because there are more female-headed households in Maputo (37% compared to 28% in Maputo).

As can be seen in Figure 144, respondents from female-headed households are more likely to report frequent instances of women being selected into leadership positions. This would also mean that, if you live in a city with a higher density of female-headed households, you would be more likely to see instances of female leadership irrespective of whether your own household head is a man or a woman.





Figure 144. Frequency of selection of women into leadership

10.3 Empirical vs. normative expectations about women in leadership positions

According to the literature, if others practice a behaviour (such as women being selected into leadership), and there is widespread perception that others approve of this behaviour, then it indicates stability of that particular social norm (Denny and Nwankwo, 2015). As we saw above, **there is a relatively low prevalence of the norm of women being selected into leadership** (34%), and further it is not perceived as being approved of by others in the community (21–24%) (Figure 145).





Figure 145. 'What others do' and 'What others think I should do'

This contrasts with what youth themselves approve of. Most, while thinking that others do not approve of female leadership, seem to be quite keen on it individually. More females than males approve of female leadership, but even among men a clear majority (77%) approve of women leadership (Figure 146). The difference between young men and women's approval of women in leadership (84% approval) and the low expectations of others' approval of women in leadership (21% and 24%) suggests that young men and women think their society disapproves of female leadership whereas they themselves support women in leadership positions.



Figure 146. Approval of female leadership by gender





II Social capital and digital inclusion

Box 8. Main results – Social capital and digital inclusion

Social capital:

- In Maputo and Beira, more young women than men belong to a social group. However, there exists a clear gendered 'division of labour' across membership of different organisations. While certain types of organisations such as political parties and community groups are disproportionately male, others such as churches are dominated by women.
- Membership of social groups is driven by an unequal distribution of money. As you move up poverty quintiles, i.e. as the household becomes relatively wealthier, church membership declines and membership of other social groups increases.

Digital inclusion and social networks:

- Less than a third of youth in Beira and Maputo frequently use a computer (31%). Digital inclusion in terms of computer usage is lower for young women and for young people from Beira. While 51% of young men from Maputo frequently use a computer, only 27% of young women in Maputo and merely 15% of young women in Beira do so.
- Young women and young people from Beira also have lower levels of digital inclusion in terms of phone ownership. Young women are less likely to have a smartphone than young men and 32% of young women do not have any phone at all. Young people from Beira are also significantly less likely to own a smartphone than young people from Maputo (54% vs. 38%).
- On average, 64% of the youth in Maputo and Beira have a social media account. There is a high correlation between those who have a social media account and those who either own a smartphone or use a computer frequently. In line with the fact that males and richer respondents were more likely to frequently use a computer and own a smartphone, we find that both groups are also more likely to have a social media account.

11.1 Membership of social groups

It is important to operationally define social capital and agree on valid measures of this construct. There are two dimensions of social capital: one is 'structural', i.e. that is captured by participation in social organisations, and the other is 'cognitive', which captures attitudes such as trust and reciprocity (Yip *et al.*, 2007).

In this section we focus on structural social capital by measuring organisational participation as measured by involvement in different organisation types. We ask if the youth participated in the following organisations: church, credit/savings, political group, community group, or any other organisation. We are only able to measure if the respondent was a member of these organisations (extensive margin). However, we do not have data to measure the extent of the participation within these organizations (intensive margin)



More females than males on average belong to any one of these organisations. There is a statistically significant difference of seven percentage points, with 55% of young men, as compared to 62% of young women, belonging to any one of the social groups listed above (Figure 147).



Figure 147. Membership of any social group by gender

The difference is primarily being driven by membership of church and credit/savings

groups. The social capital literature has highlighted gender differences in the membership of social groups (Godquin and Quisumbing, 2008; Almond and Verba, 1963; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1982; Moore, 1990), which is driven by an unequal distribution of time, money, knowledge, and skills. The literature has also found that, across countries, there exists a clear gendered 'division of labour' across membership of different organisations. While certain types of organisation such as political parties, sports clubs, professional groups, and community groups are disproportionately male, others which overlap with traditionally 'female' roles, such as religious and church organisations and social welfare organisations, are dominated by women.

We see this in our data, where 53% of young women are members of a church group but only 36% of young men are. Similarly, more men than women are members of political and community organisations. This 'division of labour' thus begins early in life (Figure 148).

Figure 148. Membership of different social groups by gender





The data also supports the hypothesis that membership of social groups is driven by an **unequal distribution of money.** As you move up poverty quintiles, i.e. as the household becomes relatively wealthier, church membership declines but membership of other social groups increases (Figure 149).





Figure 149. Membership of social groups by poverty quintile

II.2 Digital inclusion

In recent years, social networks among the youth have increasingly become online in nature. Facebook and WhatsApp accounts are increasingly popular mediums of social interaction. As with other social groups and networks, there are gender and wealth differences in both the frequency and type of activities these mediums are used for. Typical usage can be categorised into maintaining existing or making new relationships, academic purposes, and idiosyncratic specific agendas. One study in Turkey among youths found that young men, more than women, used these online forums to make new contacts. In contrast, a relatively greater proportion of young women were using these mediums to maintain relationships, for education, and for any other specific agenda (Masman and Usluel, 2011).

Since a computer or a smartphone is required to engage with social media, we first analyse differences in usage of computers and ownership of smartphone by gender, wealth, and geographic location.



11.2.1 Computer usage

There exists a digital divide in terms of computer use in relation to gender and the city young people live in. Young women are less likely to frequently use a computer than young people in Maputo. While 51% of young men in Maputo frequently use a computer, only 15% of young women in Beira do (Figure 150). Despite the divide between Maputo and Beira, young men in Beira are still more likely than young women in Maputo to use a computer frequently, suggesting that the gender differences are even stronger than the differences between the cities.



Figure 150. Computer use by gender and city

A much smaller proportion of those in the bottom poverty quintile frequently use a

computer. Only 13% of those in the bottom quintile frequently use a computer, as compared to 61% in the top quintile (Figure 151).





Figure 151. Computer use by poverty quintile

The most frequent use of the computer is for completing homework or other work, with over 41% of young men and 53% of young women who do use a computer indicating work as the main activity they use the computer for (Figure 152). However, relatively more men are watching videos or movies or generally browsing the Internet compared to women. This is also indicated by the location of computer usage, wherein more women than men are likely to use the computer at school and young men are likely to use it (presumably recreationally) at someone else's house (Figure 153).



Figure 152. Computer activities by gender



Figure 153. Computer use by location





11.2.2 Phone ownership

Young women are less likely to own a smartphone and are more likely not to own any phone at all compared with young men. While on average 46% of respondents own a smartphone, there is a 10 percentage point difference in average smartphone ownership between young men and women (Figure 154). Likewise, there is also a 10 percentage point difference between men and women who do not own any kind of phone. While 32% of women do not own any kind of phone, this is much lower at 22% for young men.



Figure 154. Smartphone ownership and non-ownership of phone by gender

Average smartphone ownership for those in the highest quintile is 75% compared to 25% for those in the lowest poverty quintile (Figure 155).





Figure 155. Smartphone ownership by poverty quintile

In addition, we find that smartphone ownership is much higher in Maputo compared to Beira (Figure 156). While 54% of young people in Maputo own a smartphone, only 38% of young people in Beira do.





11.2.3 Participation in social media



On average, 64% of the youth in Maputo and Beira have a social media account. There is a significant gender difference: more than three-quarters of males have a social media account, compared to 55% for females (Figure 157).



Figure 157. Participation in social media by gender

Almost all those who have a social media account have a Facebook account. WhatsApp is the next most popular account, with a slightly higher percentage of women who are active in it. Instagram and Twitter are significantly less popular among both genders. A higher proportion of young men are active on Twitter compared to women (Figure 158). This could be because men tend to be more comfortable having a public account like Twitter, whereas women tend to prefer a closed group social forum like WhatsApp. This also lends credence to the theory that while men leverage social media accounts to make new relationships, women tend to use these to maintain existing ones.





Figure 158. Types of social media account

There is a high correlation between those who have a social media account and those who either own a smartphone or use a computer frequently. In line with the fact that richer respondents were more likely to frequently use a computer and own a smartphone, we find that they are also more likely to have a social media account (Figure 159). Similarly, the higher proportion of smartphoneowning residents we had observed in Maputo, compared to Beira, is also reflected in a higher proportion of Maputo residents who have a social media account (Figure 160).





Figure 159. Social media accounts by poverty quintile

Figure 160. Social media accounts by city





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Annex A Simple Poverty Score Card questions

Indicator	Responses	Points Score
How many members does the household have?	 A. Nine of more B. Eight C. Six or seven D. Five E. Four F. Three G. Two H. One 	0 4 9 12 16 24 31 39
In the past seven days, how many household members did any work for at least one hour (in the machamba, selling something, or in some other economic activity) or have a job, farm or business which they will return to?	A. None B. One C. Two or more	0 5 9
Can the male head/spouse read and write?	A. No, or no male head/spouse B. Yes	0 4
Can the female head/spouse read and write?	A. No, or no female head/spouse B. Yes	0 2
What is the main source of drinking water used by household members?	 A. Piped into neighbour's house or yard, standpipe, borehole, well, spring, river, lake or pond or other B. Piped into yard C. Piped into residence, or bottle 	0 2 11
What is the main source of cooking fuel that the household uses?	water A. Firewood, coal or dung B. Charcoal, oil/paraffin/kerosene or other C. LPG or electricity	0 3 5
How many beds and cots does the household have in good working order?	A. None or one B. Two C. Three D. Four or more	0 3 6 11
Does the household have an electric iron in good working order?	A. No B. Yes	0 3
Does the household have a television in good working order?	A. No B. Yes	0 2
Does the household have a refrigerator or freezer in good working order?	A. No B. Only freezer C. Only refrigerator D. Both	0 4 6 9
How many cell phones does the household have in good working order?	A. None B. One C. Two or more	0 3 5
Source: Schreiner (2017)		



Annex B Time use survey instrument

In the 'bean game', a bag with 48 beans and set of 12 laminated activity cards are utilised. The steps listed below are systematically followed for each respondent:

Step 1: After introducing the purpose of the survey, the respondent is asked to tell us about their day <u>from the moment they woke up the day before</u> to the moment they woke up again on the day of the interview. He/she is asked what the first thing they did after getting up was, what they did after that and after that, and so on.

Activities for Sundays, Saturdays, and holidays are not representative of respondents' normal days. Therefore, if the interview is conducted on a Monday or on a day after a public holiday, the respondent is asked to think of the last normal working day. Therefore, if the interview is conducted on a Monday, the respondent is asked about the Friday from the time they woke up Friday morning until the time they woke up again Saturday morning. Similarly, if the interview is conducted on a day after a public holiday the respondent is asked to think of their day before the public holiday.

Step 2: Every time the respondent mentions one of the activities on the cards, it is put on the floor or the table in front of them. Once an activity has been mentioned, the card is left there, and this process is continued until they finish telling us about their day. Typically, the first card is personal hygiene or 'other' if they say that the first thing they did was to have breakfast. The last card put on the table is normally the 'sleeping and resting' card.

Step 3: After they finish telling us about their day, we take them through the remaining activity cards that we have left in our hands, corresponding to the activities they did not mention. We confirm with them that they did not do any of these remaining activities. Often respondents forget to mention things such as childcare because they do that simultaneously with another activity. They also forget activities that seem too trivial or too short for them to mention. After confirmation, any remaining cards that correspond to the activities that they in fact did not do are put to the side.

Step 4: Next the beans are utilised to know how the respondent distributed their time across these different activities. There are a total of 48 beans with each bean representing about half an hour. The respondent is requested to place the beans on the cards, corresponding to the time they spent on the activity. They must place at least one bean on each of the activity cards that they selected. The more beans they place on the card, the more time they spent on that particular activity.

For activities that are performed simultaneously, it is explained to the respondents that the beans do not have to strictly represent half an hour, one activity only. For example, if a person has been at home for six hours during which they took care of their child, did household chores, and watched some TV, they might want to place four beans on childcare, four beans on household



chores, and four beans on leisure time at home. However, if they feel like one of the three activities clearly dominated the other, they can also rearrange the beans accordingly. For example, if the TV was on during most of the time but they only watched every now and then or in passing they might want to place fewer beans on leisure time at home and more on childcare and domestic chores.

Step 5: The numbers of beans placed on each activity card are counted and captured in the survey. The total number of beans for each respondent adds up to 48 beans in the end.

In total there were 12 laminated activity cards that were utilised: personal hygiene, travel time, time working (this includes *any* type of work remunerated or not remunerated, employed, self-employed, or working for a family business), time in the classroom, time studying at home, leisure time at home, leisure time outside the house, household chores, looking after children, looking after the ill and elderly, sleeping and relaxing, and an 'other' category, which includes any activity that does not fit into any of the other activity cards such as eating, community service, religious activities, time at the hospital/doctor, etc. Spending time with friends is categorised under leisure time at home (if the respondent spent time with friends at their own house) or leisure time outside the house (if they spent time with their friends at a friend's house or at a place that is not anyone's house).

