**INCLUSIVE
GROWTH IN
MOZAMBIQUE**

– scaling up research and capacity

Intergenerational Social Mobility in Mozambique

Insights from the Vulnerable Lives Survey 2024

Preface

We are pleased to present this report on Intergenerational Mobility in Mozambique, based on data collected through the Vulnerable Lives Survey (VLS) 2024.

This survey was implemented within the *Inclusive Growth in Mozambique* (IGM) programme. IGM is a research and capacity development programme that has supported Mozambique since 2015 in designing evidence-based policies that support inclusive growth benefitting the poorest and most vulnerable groups. It is implemented by the National Directorate of Economic and Development Policies (DNPED) of the Ministry of Economy and Finance of Mozambique (MEF) and the Centre for Economic and Management Studies (CEEG) of the Faculty of Economics of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) in partnership with the University of Copenhagen Development Economics Research Group (UCPH-DERG) and the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER). The program gratefully acknowledges financial support from the Governments of Finland, Norway and Switzerland.

This report was drafted by Giulia Barletta under the expert guidance and supervision of Finn Tarp and Sam Jones. We express our sincere gratitude to all contributors and stakeholders who played an essential role in the design, implementation, and data collection of the Vulnerable Lives Survey (VLS). Their collective efforts have been instrumental in the successful completion of this report.

In particular, we wish to thank Hanna Berkel, Sara Almeida, Hilário Muchabel and Juli Melembe, as well as the team of the Mozambican NGO ANSA for their professionalism and commitment to gathering high-quality data under challenging circumstances. This report would not have been possible without the active support and engagement of the technical staff from the National Institute of Social Action (INAS), the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Action (MGCAS), and MEF. We extend special thanks to Issufo Anasse, Geral A. Bazo, Filipe Bo, Finório Castigo, Jorge Mariano, Assane Juma, Fernando Chipequete, José Amoda, Angelo Tivane, and Nguma Geraldo for their invaluable contributions. Finally, we also extend our gratitude to the numerous participants of the VLS, whose willingness to share their experiences and insights has been invaluable.

The unique VLS dataset represents the first comprehensive effort in Mozambique to gather retrospective information on educational attainment, occupational status, and multidimensional and subjective well-being across generations. Through its innovative design and inclusion of detailed demographic and socio-economic data, the VLS enables a nuanced analysis of mobility dynamics across the dimensions of education, occupation, and multidimensional and subjective well-being.

The findings reveal a complex interplay of progress and persistent inequalities and offer a valuable lens to understand intergenerational mobility in Mozambique's evolving socio-economic landscape. The report underscores disparities in mobility outcomes across gender and geographic regions, highlighting the pressing need for interventions to break cycles of intergenerational poverty and promote inclusive development in the country.

While the analysis focuses on selected locations in the North, Centre, and South of Mozambique, the insights lay the groundwork for subsequent studies, offering methodological approaches and tools that can be adapted for broader applications. We hope this report serves not only to enhance the understanding of mobility dynamics but also to inform evidence-based policymaking aimed at fostering greater equality of opportunity and improving livelihoods across Mozambique.

Dr Angelo Nhalidede

National Director
National Directorate of Economic Policies and Development (DNPED)
Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)
Maputo, Mozambique
17 February 2025

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Intergenerational social mobility generally refers to the movement of individuals or socio-economic groups across different levels of education, occupation, social class, or income over generations. While definitions and measures of intergenerational mobility vary in the literature, higher levels of mobility are widely recognised as essential for fostering fairness and economic efficiency within societies, as well as social and political stability (Iversen et al., 2021). Low social mobility, where an individual's socio-economic outcomes are largely determined by their circumstances at birth rather than by effort or merit, perpetuates unrealised human potential and economic inefficiencies. By addressing such inequalities, societies can promote economic growth, equality of opportunity, and inclusive development, particularly for those at the bottom of the income distribution, who are disproportionately affected by immobility (Narayan et al., 2018).

The analysis of social mobility is especially relevant in the Global South, where poverty reduction and upward mobility are critical pathways for improving livelihoods. Many low-income countries exhibit stark income inequalities, and limited mobility is often both a consequence and a driver of these disparities—a phenomenon captured in the "Great Gatsby Curve" (Sakri et al., 2023). Despite the importance of these issues, much of the existing research on intergenerational mobility focuses on industrialised or OECD countries, leaving a gap in understanding the dynamics and drivers of social mobility in low-income settings. The existing evidence on mobility in Sub-Sahara Africa[1] reveals that countries in the region tend to experience higher intergenerational immobility compared to industrialised nations (Narayan et al., 2018). There is, however, considerable heterogeneity: Alesina et al. (2021) report that in South Africa and Botswana, over 70 per cent of children born to parents with no education manage to complete primary schooling, whereas in Sudan, Ethiopia, Malawi, Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Mozambique, this figure remains below 20 per cent.

Mozambique provides a particularly compelling case for analysing social mobility. Following decades of war ending in 1992, the country initially experienced sustained economic growth and poverty reduction. However, since 2015, these trends have reversed, with per capita growth stagnating and real household consumption declining nationwide. Simultaneously, inequality has risen sharply, with the relative consumption gap between the better-off and worse-off widening significantly (Barletta et al., 2024). These developments highlight the urgent need to investigate intergenerational mobility

---

[1] For studies analysing mobility in the African continent, see, among others: Alesina et al. 2021; Ouedraogo and Syrichas, 2021; Azomahou and Yitbarek, 2016; Piraino, 2015; Bossuroy and Cogneau, 2013.

dynamics in Mozambique to understand how structural barriers shape socio-economic outcomes.

This report leverages data from the 2024 Vulnerable Lives Survey (VLS) to analyse intergenerational mobility in Mozambique across the dimensions of education, occupation, multidimensional well-being, and subjective well-being. By examining these various aspects of mobility, we aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the challenges and opportunities for social progress in Mozambique and contribute to the development of evidence-based policies for promoting greater equality of opportunity and breaking the cycle of intergenerational poverty.

The VLS is the first survey in the country to incorporate retrospective questions about the educational attainment, occupational status, and multidimensional well-being of the previous generation, making it a novel dataset for studying intergenerational dynamics. The analysis focuses on selected locations across the North, Centre, and South of Mozambique, offering key perspectives at the subnational level. In addition to setting the foundation for longitudinal follow-ups and broader applications of the survey instruments and methodologies employed in the VLS, this report contributes to paving the way for more extensive studies on the long-term impacts of shocks on household well-being and intergenerational mobility.

The remainder of this report is structured as follows: Section 2 describes the data and methods used in the analysis, including an overview of the VLS sampling strategy and the construction of variables, as well as a detailed explanation of the measures and methods employed. Section 3 presents the results of intergenerational mobility in each outcome dimension, exploring trends in education, occupation, multidimensional well-being, and subjective well-being. Subsections delve into specific aspects, such as farm-to-off-farm occupational transitions and the number of multidimensional deprivations, while also disaggregating key insights by gender and location. Section 4 examines the determinants of upward mobility in each dimension, highlighting the demographic, childhood household, and geographic factors that are associated with mobility outcomes. This section also explores the correlations between the different mobility measures, offering insights into their interconnections. Finally, Section 5 concludes the report with a synthesis of findings and policy recommendations aimed at enhancing intergenerational mobility and addressing persistent inequalities of opportunity in Mozambique.

2. Data and Methods

2.1   Data

The **Vulnerable Lives Survey (VLS)** is a comprehensive study designed to collect detailed data on vulnerable households in Mozambique. Its primary objectives are:

1. To understand how **social protection** programmes can be designed and implemented to support households effectively.
2. To understand **intergenerational mobility** dynamics, including the long-term impacts of multiple shocks on household well-being, particularly regarding adaptation responses and the intergenerational persistence of shocks' effects.

This report focuses on objective 2. By providing a detailed assessment of intergenerational mobility and its determinants in different outcome dimensions, the present analysis sets the base for further research aiming to estimate the long-term impact of shocks on household well-being. A general overview of the VLS is provided to contextualise the sample and data used.

2.1.1 VLS sampling strategy and locations

Objective 1 of the VLS is to estimate the impact of one of the main cash-based basic social protection programmes in Mozambique, called PSSB (*Programa de Subsídio Social Básico*), in specific locations that have been subject to conflict, environmental and economic shocks.

The sample selected for this data collection also reflects objective 1: it includes beneficiaries of the PSSB who are at least 60 years old at the time of the survey, have no regular source of income, and live in one of the four study provinces – Maputo, Sofala, Zambezia and Nampula. Approximately 1,000 beneficiary households are included across the four provinces. In addition to the beneficiaries, to benchmark the general living conditions of the population and isolate the potential impact of the PSSB subsidy, the VLS also includes a comparison group of about 1,400 households. This group consists of households living in the same community (*bairro*) as beneficiaries, with at least one member who is above 40 years old, but who has not received any payment from the PSSB elderly subsidy (yet). Due to the geographical proximity, these groups will likely have been exposed to the same income, conflict and environmental shocks.

To understand household dynamics and identify resilience mechanisms over time, the VLS was designed to follow a longitudinal approach – i.e., interviewing the same households over time. However, for the purposes of this report, we focus exclusively on the first round of the survey.

The VLS was conducted in four provinces in the South (Maputo Province), Centre (Zambezia and Sofala), and North (Nampula) of Mozambique. The selected locations and sample size are set out in Table 2.1 below. Locations were selected to analyse the effectiveness of the PSSB and specific events relevant to the aim of the studies. More specifically, communities in Nampula (North) were selected due to prior exposure to climate shocks (Cyclone Gombe in 2022) as well as specific differences in the timing of PSSB payments around the event of this cyclone. The locations in the Centre and South of Mozambique were selected to investigate long-run implications of economic shocks related to the decline and recovery of large sugar plantations and their implications for intergenerational mobility patterns.

Table 2.1 Planned VLS sample by location and type of respondent

Region	Province	District	Posto Admin.	PSSB	Other
North	Nampula	Meconta	Namialo	200	200
	Nampula	Monapo	Monapo Sede	200	200
Centre	Zambezia	Luabo	Luabo-sede	150	250
	Sofala	Marromeu	Vila de Marromeu	150	250
South	Maputo Prov.	Manhiça	Xinavane	150	250
	Maputo Prov.	Manhiça	Município de Manhiça	150	250
Total				1,000	1,400

2.1.2 Intergenerational mobility sample

In all locations, the VLS collected data on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents and the household they live in, as well as information on exposure to shocks and adaptation strategies, and on health and social networks. The survey also includes modules eliciting retrospective information about the respondents' past, which are key to analysing intergenerational mobility.

In particular, the VLS gathers information on the characteristics of the main household the respondent grew up in, including access to services, ownership of durable goods and productive assets, and characteristics of the house, as well as data on some key individuals from the respondent's family tree, including the household head of the main household the respondent grew up in. For these individuals, we collect demographic data and information on educational attainment and their main occupation[2]. Table 2.2 below provides some key descriptive statistics of the sample used in this report.

---

[2] Throughout this report, we also refer to the respondents as "children" or children generation, while we refer to the head of the household where the respondents spent the majority of their time from their birth to when they turned 12 to the "parent" or parent generation. This latter household is called the "childhood household", i.e. the household where the respondent has spent his childhood.

Table 2.2 Descriptive statistics: Percentage and number of observations by key demographic characteristics

	Per cent	Obs.
Provincia		
Zambézia	16.2	403
Nampula	33.6	836
Sofala	16.3	406
Maputo Prov.	33.9	842
Posto administrativo		
Luabo Sede	16.2	403
Namialo	16.6	413
Monapo Sede	17.0	423
Vila de Marromeu	16.3	406
Xinavane	17.1	426
Municipio de Manhiça	16.7	416
Gender of respondent		
Male	36.7	912
Female	63.3	1.575
Current household size		
1	9.0	223
2	12.7	315
3	13.4	334
4	13.3	330
5	13.8	343
6	11.3	280
7	8.6	213
8	6.7	166
9	4.2	105
10+	7.2	178
Average	5.0	
Age of the respondent		
40-49	8.7	216
50-59	18.5	461
60-59	36.3	903
70-79	28.5	708
80+	8.0	199
Average	65.2	
Total		2,487

Throughout this analysis, we use the sample defined above without applying sample weights. That is, given the specific sampling strategy adopted in the VLS and defined in Section 2.1.1. above, we do not make any claims on the representativeness of our sample in the selected locations. The analysis nonetheless is informative regarding the dynamics of intergenerational mobility in the selected locations in the North, Centre, and South of Mozambique, and sets the basis for studies analysing the long-term impacts of multiple

shocks on household well-being and social mobility over generations. By comparing dynamics across the areas analysed, this report highlights how localised differences in intergenerational mobility outcomes contribute to intergenerational mobility, thereby informing policymaking at the subnational level.

In addition, while conducting future follow-ups in the previously surveyed locations offers an opportunity to gather critical longitudinal insights, the survey instruments and questions developed for the VLS in these contexts can be refined and adapted for inclusion in nationally representative surveys. This approach not only ensures that the tools are rigorously tested in diverse settings but also lays the groundwork for broader applicability, enhancing the relevance, consistency, and efficiency of future large-scale studies on intergenerational mobility in Mozambique.

2.2   Methods

In what follows, we analyse the level and determinants of intergenerational mobility in 4 outcome dimensions:

- **Educational Mobility**, which reflects the relationship between the level of education achieved by parents (or household heads) and their children (or dependents).
- **Occupational Mobility**, which refers to the degree to which an individual's occupation differs from or mirrors the occupational status of their parents.
- **Mobility in Multidimensional Well-being** measures the extent to which a child's multidimensional well-being, as measured by the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), differs from or aligns with their parents' level of multidimensional well-being.
- **Subjective Mobility** captures an individual's perception of changes in their household's well-being compared to the household they grew up in, using a well-being ladder anchored by vignettes depicting different levels of well-being.

2.2.1 Construction of variables

For each of the four dimensions of mobility defined above, we create, based on the VLS data, a variable corresponding to the attainment (in education, occupation, multidimensional well-being, and subjective well-being) of the respondent – i.e. the "child" – and of the "parent", or of the household where the respondents spent the majority of their time from birth to 12 years old, also referred to as the "childhood household"[3].

---

[3] We define this household as the household where the respondents have spent most of their time from birth to when they were 12 years old. If the respondent has lived in more than one household during this time, the questions refer to the household where the respondent spent the majority of their time.

Data referring to the parent generation and the childhood household is collected using recall questions, which may suffer from bias. Recall bias is minimized in the survey by asking questions that pose a low cognitive burden for the respondent, have been salient facts in the respondents' lives, and are relatively stable over time.

For educational mobility, defining the variables of interest is relatively straightforward: the VLS sample elicits the highest level of education completed by the respondent and includes a recall question where the respondent is asked to report the highest level of education completed by the parent (or household head in the household where the respondent spent the majority of their childhood). While the question includes a detailed classification of all educational levels, the variable used to calculate educational mobility retains only a summarised version of the **educational categories**, as detailed in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3 Classification of education categories

Level of Education completed	Classification
No education	No education
Preschool	Less than primary
Literacy	
Lower Primary Education	Lower primary
Elementary Technical Education	
Higher Primary Education	Higher primary
Basic Technical Education	
Lower Secondary Education	Secondary or more
Higher Secondary Education	
Intermediate Technical Education	
Primary Teacher Training Course	
Bachelor's Degree	
Undergraduate Degree	
Master's Degree	
Doctorate/PhD	

Allocating different occupations into categories is a more challenging task. Instruments developed in industrial countries, such as the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), are often unsuitable for studying low-income, highly informal contexts due to differences in employment conditions and the socioeconomic significance of occupations (Heath and Zhao, 2021). Standard classifications typically emphasize skill levels, which are less relevant in informal economies where employment conditions play a larger role. At the same time, in countries, like Mozambique, where informality is prevalent, occupations cannot be categorised without acknowledging the significant heterogeneity that exists within informal work (Fields et al., 2023). To address these limitations, models tailored to developing countries, like the work status groups proposed by Fields et al. (2023), consider employment characteristics and informal

sector heterogeneity while allowing flexibility to reflect local contexts. The Job Ladder (Fields et al., 2023) framework has been applied to analyse labour market distributions and intragenerational mobility but remains unexplored for studying intergenerational mobility.

In this report, we adopt insights from Fields et al. (2023) and adapt them to the Mozambican context, to create a classification of occupation in 8 categories. Not only do we define an upper and lower tier within the informal sector, as in Fields et al. (2023), but we also distinguish between upper-tier and lower-tier farming occupations. The categories and their characteristics are defined in the table below. To present dynamics and intergenerational movements more clearly, the 8 detailed categories are summarised in the following 5 classes: (i) Formally employed; (ii) Informal upper-tier; (iii) Farm-upper tier; (iv) Informal lower-tier; (v) Farm lower-tier. It should be noted that the questions are formulated to reflect the primary occupation of the respondents when they were in their 30s to 40s and of the parent generation when the respondent was around 12 years old. In doing so, we capture the main occupation for each generation at a similar point in time, so that intergenerational shifts are not attributable to measuring outcomes at different points in the life course.

Table 2.4 Description of occupation categories and classes

Occupational Category	Description	Occupational Class
Self-employed, formal	The self-employed (own-account or owners) whose company name was registered with the authorities or had any registration with the authorities (including taxes).	**Formally employed**
Wage employed, formal	The wage-employed who had a right to any type of pension (including old-age pension) OR were registered with the social security.	
Self-employed, informal upper-tier	The self-employed who are not registered with the authorities but employ people who are not part of their household OR who need any type of professional training or certificates (including academic certificates) to work.	**Informal upper-tier**
Wage employed, informal upper-tier	The wage-employed that do not have a right to pension but have a written contract OR that need any type of professional training or certificates (including academic certificates) to work	
Farmer, upper-tier	Farmers who employ people who are not part of their household OR who produce cash crops	**Farm-upper tier**
Self-employed, informal lower-tier	Self-employed who are not registered with the authorities, do not employ people who are not part of their household, nor need any professional training or certificates (including academic certificates) to work.	**Informal lower-tier**

Wage employed, informal lower-tier	The wage employees that do not have a right to pension, do not have a written contract nor need any professional training or certificates (including academic certificates) to work.	
Farmer, lower-tier	Farmers who do not employ people who are not part of their households nor produce cash crops	Farm lower-tier

It is important to note that these classifications are not strictly hierarchical. While arguably there are higher or lower socio-economic statuses associated with some of the categories, we do not classify as upward or downward mobility movement that occurs between classes (ii) and (iii) and between (iv) and (v). Rather, we argue this is a "horizontal" movement. Section 3.2 shows how this is operationalised in practice.

In addition, we also look at **farm-to-off-farm mobility** over generations. While the share of employment in agriculture is declining overall in Mozambique, agriculture remains the backbone of the country's economy, employing over 2/3 of the labour force (World Bank, 2022). However, the prevalence of subsistence farming, low productivity, and vulnerability to climate shocks limit its potential to alleviate poverty. Transitioning to off-farm activities can diversify income sources, reduce poverty, and enhance economic resilience, also absorbing surplus labour stemming from a predominantly young population and significant rural unemployment. To shed light on mobility from farm occupations to off-farm occupations, we dedicate a section to presenting the results regarding this specific type of occupational mobility.

While education and occupation are both relevant dimensions of socioeconomic status in their own right and strongly associated with other measures of socioeconomic well-being, other dimensions are key in assessing welfare. We analyse multidimensional mobility by calculating the **Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)** for the respondent's current and childhood household. The MPI, developed by Alkire and Foster (2011), provides a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of well-being by considering deprivations in important dimensions of welfare. The MPI has been adopted by the Government of Mozambique (GoM) as a key measure of poverty and well-being in their national poverty assessments, starting from 2016 (DEEF, 2016).

To conduct the multidimensional poverty analysis, the first step is identifying dimensions of deprivation (e.g., health, education, living standards, among others) and selecting a set of well-being indicators associated with each dimension. The Alkire-Foster (A-F) methodology assigns weights to each dimension of deprivation and, in turn, to each deprivation indicator within the dimension. Each indicator is a binary variable, taking values of 0 (deprived) or 1 (not deprived). In this report, we adopt the same dimensions, indicators and weights used by the GoM in their national poverty evaluations to assess multidimensional well-being in the respondent's current and childhood household.

The following step is to select a poverty cutoff, which represents the (weighted) proportion of deprivations required to classify a household as poor. For this analysis, as well as for those carried out by the GoM, the chosen cutoff (K) is set at K = 60%. This means that households experiencing deprivations equal to or greater than 60% of the (weighted) dimensions of deprivation are identified as poor. The table below reports the dimensions, indicators and weights adopted in the calculation of the MPI for Mozambique, while we refer to the National Poverty Evaluations for details on the methodology (DEEF, 2016). In section 3.3, we present results in mobility from MPI-poor to non-MPI-poor and vice versa, as well as intergenerational mobility in the number of deprivations households suffer.

Table 2.5 Dimensions, indicators, weights, and conditions of deprivation in the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)

Dimension	Indicator	Household Deprivation Condition
Education (1/6)	Someone in the HH completed EP1 (1/6)	If no one in the household has completed lower primary education.
Health Determinants (2/6)	Access to Safe Water Source (1/6)	If the household does not use piped water (inside the house or yard), water from a fountain, borehole, or well with a pump, bottled water, or mineral water.
	Access to Safe Sanitation (1/6)	If the household uses an unimproved latrine or has no toilet or latrine at all.
Housing Conditions (2/6)	Conventional Roofing Materials (1/6)	If the household's house is not covered with concrete slabs, tiles, or corrugated sheets (lusalite or zinc).
	Access to Electricity (1/6)	If the household has no access to electricity.
Durable Goods (1/6)	Ownership of Durable Goods (1/6)	If the household owns fewer than 3 durable goods from a common list (i.e., bicycle, car, motorcycle, TV, radio, phone, computer, printer, bed, refrigerator, freezer, radio).

While objective measures of social mobility, such as intergenerational transmission of education or occupation, provide quantifiable data, subjective measures reveal how people experience and interpret their own mobility within society and their experiences regarding their ability to move up (or down) the social ladder. Looking into people's perception of mobility along a poverty ladder can add depth and context to the analysis of intergenerational transmission of well-being. We adopt here an approach inspired by the one detailed in Ravallion et al. (2016) for subjective poverty and expand it across generations to create a measure of subjective intergenerational mobility.

This measure is anchored to four **household vignettes** that describe families placed on different ladders of a well-being scale. By asking the respondents to compare the self-assessed welfare of their current household and their childhood household to that of the

vignettes, we can place each household (current and childhood) on a well-being scale. This scale has a common reference and therefore does not suffer from scale heterogeneity (for details, see Ravallion et al. 2016). Allocating the current household and the childhood household to this well-being scale allows us to compute a measure of subjective intergenerational mobility in well-being.

2.2.2 Measures

This report focuses on mobility in various socio-economic outcomes between generations adopting two concepts of intergenerational mobility, i.e. absolute and relative mobility.

Absolute mobility evaluates whether the current generation achieves a higher socio-economic position than their parents, reflecting overall progress up the socio-economic ladder. It focuses on improvements in outcomes relative to the previous generation.

Relative mobility, on the other hand, assesses whether an individual's socio-economic position is independent of their parents' position. It captures changes in rank or status within the socio-economic distribution. For example, relative mobility occurs when individuals occupy different positions in society compared to their parents, even if the overall socio-economic structure remains unchanged.

The two concepts are interconnected but distinct. A society may experience absolute mobility without relative mobility if everyone advances equally relative to their parents, preserving the same rank order. Vice-versa, high relative mobility can occur without absolute mobility if individuals shift their positions relative to their peers, but the overall socio-economic structure remains stagnant, with no improvement in overall outcomes.

In what follows, we adopt a series of measures and instruments that allow us to analyse mobility in absolute and relative terms for each of the intergenerational mobility dimensions identified above. In addition, we present an analysis of the determinants of each mobility dimension, by looking at the correlates of upward mobility in education, occupation, and multidimensional and subjective well-being. We also explore correlations between mobility in the four outcome dimensions.

For all the mobility dimensions we compute **mobility tables**. A mobility tablle is a transition matrix that captures the movement of individuals or households across socio-economic or status categories from one generation to the next. It provides insights into the persistence or change in social and economic positions between parents and their children. The mobility tables presented below are two-dimensional tables where rows represent the categories of the parent generation and columns represent the categories of the child generation. Each cell in the matrix shows the proportion of children from a parental category ending up in a particular category themselves. High values along the diagonal suggest low mobility, as children's outcomes closely mirror their parents'. Off-diagonal values indicate upward or downward shifts. We compute values for overall

immobility (i.e. the sum of shares of children that fall in the same category as their parent), absolute upward mobility (the sum of shares of children that fall in a higher category compared to their parent), and absolute downward mobility (the sum of shares of children that fall in a lower category compared to their parent).

For educational and occupational mobility, we also include a **Sankey diagram**. A Sankey diagram is a flow-based visualization tool used to represent mobility by illustrating the movement of individuals between categories, such as educational attainment or occupational class, relative to their parents. The width of each flow corresponds to the percentage of children transitioning from one category to another, providing a proportional representation of mobility patterns.

For some of the dimensions we also compute the **absolute difference in categories** from one generation to the other and present this in a bar chart. This allows us not only to visualize shares of immobility vs. upward or downward mobility but also the breadth of these movements. In particular, we can see by how many steps in the outcome scales children move up or down compared to their parents.

We also compute **intergenerational relative advantage** or **relative disadvantage ratios**, which are calculated as the ratio of the (unconditional) probability of an outcome occurring for individuals from one parental background to the probability of the same outcome occurring for individuals from a different parental background. These ratios quantify how parental socioeconomic status influences the likelihood of children achieving certain outcomes, highlighting disparities between groups. While the absolute mobility measures and instruments described above show overall improvement across generations, they may mask inequality between groups. Relative measures emphasize the unequal distribution of opportunities, focusing on how much more (less) likely children whose parents belong to a higher (lower) category are to attain a certain level on the scale of interest.

To provide insights into the **determinants of upward mobility** in each dimension, we create a dichotomous variable that takes the value of 1 if the respondent has experienced upward mobility in the dimension of interest, and the value of 0 otherwise. We regress this variable on demographic characteristics (gender and age of the respondent, and whether the respondent was born after Mozambique gained independence in 1975), childhood household composition and dynamics (gender of the household head, whether the household head spoke Portuguese, the number of children of the household head, whether the household head engaged in polygamy, if the mother or father of the respondent died before the respondent turned 12, if any member of the childhood household directly experienced conflict, and whether the respondent lived in multiple households from 0 to 12 years old) and geographic factors (location in the North, Centre or South, if the respondent has ever migrated, if the childhood household was located further than 2 hours walking from a health centre). We present regression tables for

upward mobility in education, occupation, and multidimensional and subjective well-being in Section 4.

To assess the relationships between intergenerational mobility across the four dimensions – education, occupation, multidimensional well-being, and subjective well-being – we present **cross-tabulations for each pair of mobility measures**, alongside their Kendall's Tau-b correlation coefficients[4]. These analyses allow us to examine the degree of association and alignment between mobility outcomes in different dimensions, providing insights into whether intergenerational improvements, stagnation, or setbacks in one domain (e.g., education) are reflected in others (occupation, multidimensional, or subjective well-being). Cross-tabulations highlight the joint distribution of mobility statuses, while Kendall's Tau-b quantifies the strength and direction of these associations. This is particularly relevant for understanding the interconnectedness of mobility dimensions, enabling us to identify synergies or mismatches that may inform targeted policy interventions.

---

[4] Kendall's Tau-b is a non-parametric measure of the strength and direction of association between two ordinal variables. It ranges from -1 to +1, where -1 indicates a perfect negative relationship, 0 indicates no relationship, and +1 indicates a perfect positive relationship. Kendall's Tau-b is used to assess the ordinal association between ranked variables, particularly in situations with small sample sizes or data containing many ties. For details, see Kendall (1938, 1945).

3. Results: Intergenerational Mobility in the Outcome Dimensions

3.1 Intergenerational mobility in education

We start by analysing educational mobility between generations using mobility tables. The data focuses on the relationship between parents' educational attainment and their children's educational outcomes, offering insights into the persistence of education levels and opportunities for upward or downward mobility.

Table 3.1 summarises transitions between two broad categories of education: "No Education" and "Some Education." Among the respondents whose parents had no education, about half also remained with no education (40.9 per cent), and half had some schooling (40.3 per cent). Among those whose parents had "Some Education," the majority (14.1 per cent of the sample) also attained "Some Education," while a smaller fraction (4.7 per cent) did not progress beyond "No Education."

Table 3.1 Mobility Table in Education: summary categories (%)

Parent's Education (%)	Respondent's Education (%)		
	No education	Some Education	Total
No education	40.9	40.3	81.2
Some education	4.7	14.1	18.8
Total	45.6	54.4	100.0

A more granular mobility matrix provides detailed insights into educational outcomes, categorising education into five levels: no education, less than primary, lower primary, higher primary, and secondary or more.

The data indicates significant educational persistence among respondents whose parents had no formal education, illustrating a strong pattern of immobility at the bottom of the scale. However, some degree of upward mobility is observed, as 13.2 per cent of the sample transitioned from no education to less than primary education, 22.4 per cent to lower primary, 3.8 per cent to higher primary, and 0.9 per cent attained secondary or more.

Respondents whose parents had higher levels of education, such as lower primary or higher primary, show relatively greater dispersion across educational outcomes. For instance, 5.6 per cent of the sample has parents with lower primary education and achieves the same level, while smaller fractions advance to higher primary (1.5 per cent) or secondary or more (0.6 per cent). Similarly, parents with higher primary education saw some of their children progress to secondary or more (0.2 per cent), although the majority remained at similar or lower levels of attainment.

The matrix also highlights some cases of downward mobility, but this is less prevalent than cases of upward mobility or immobility. For example, children of parents with higher primary or secondary education sometimes attained lower educational levels, underscoring vulnerabilities in maintaining intergenerational gains.

Overall, Table 3.3 above reveals that about 45 per cent of the sample achieved better educational attainment than their parents. However, almost half of the sample (48.4 per cent) remained in the same category as their parents, which is particularly concerning given that about 80 per cent of the parent generation had no education at all. This indicates a non-negligible level of persistence of low educational outcomes and structural barriers that hinder intergenerational progress.

*Table 3.2 Mobility Table in Education: detailed categories (%)*

Parent's education level (%)	Respondent's education level (%)					
	No education	Less than primary	Lower primary	Higher primary	Secondary or more	Total
No education	40.9	13.2	22.4	3.8	0.9	81.2
Less than primary	1.1	1.4	1.2	0.3	0.2	4.3
Lower primary	3.0	0.8	5.6	1.5	0.6	11.5
Higher primary	0.4	0.1	1.0	0.4	0.2	2.2
Secondary or more	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.8
Total	45.6	15.6	30.3	6.4	2.1	100.0

Table 3.3 Absolute Mobility metrics, educational mobility (%)

Immobility	48.4
Downward mobility	7.2
Upward mobility	44.4

The Sankey diagram below (Figure 3.1) provides a visual representation of the trends described, illustrating the flow of individuals between parental and respondent educational attainment levels. The width of each band represents the proportion of individuals transitioning between these levels. While the upward bands show that upward mobility is prevalent, a considerable share of immobility at the bottom highlights the prominence of structural barriers for respondents whose parents did not receive formal education.

Figure 3.1 Sankey diagram: flow of educational attainment between parents and respondents (%)

■ No education ■ Less than Primary ■ Lower primary ■ Higher primary ■ Secondary or more
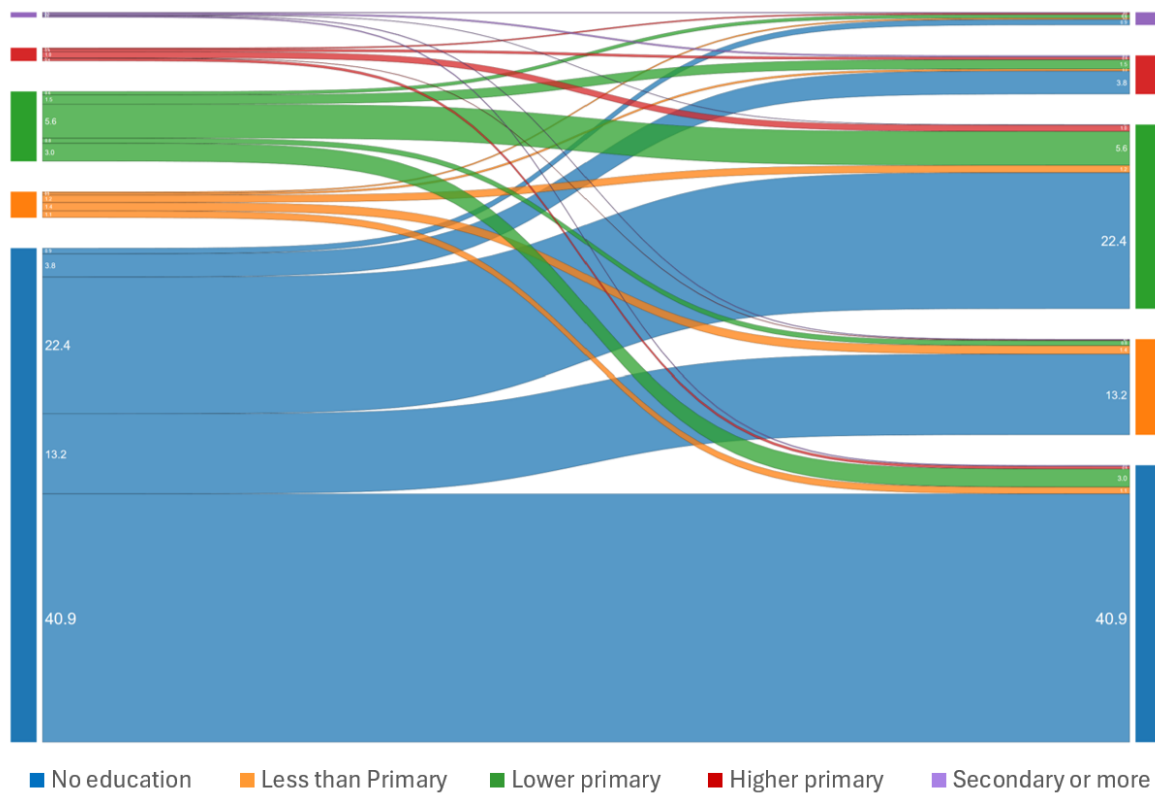
The two graphs below (Figure 3.2 and 3.3) present the distribution of the absolute difference in educational categories between respondents and their parents, measured in terms of the number of educational categories respondents have moved either upwards (positive values) or downwards (negative values) relative to their parents.

Figure 3.2 compares the absolute differences in educational attainment by gender of the respondent (male and female). Most respondents exhibit no change in educational category relative to their parents (value = 0), with females showing a higher concentration in this category compared to males. This indicates a significant degree of educational immobility, especially for females. Upward mobility (values > 0) is more pronounced among males, particularly at +2 categories, with a larger proportion of men having advanced relative to their parents. Downward mobility (values < 0) is minimal across both genders, with only a small proportion of respondents exhibiting a decline in educational attainment compared to their parents.

Figure 3.2 Absolute intergenerational difference in educational attainment, by gender (%)
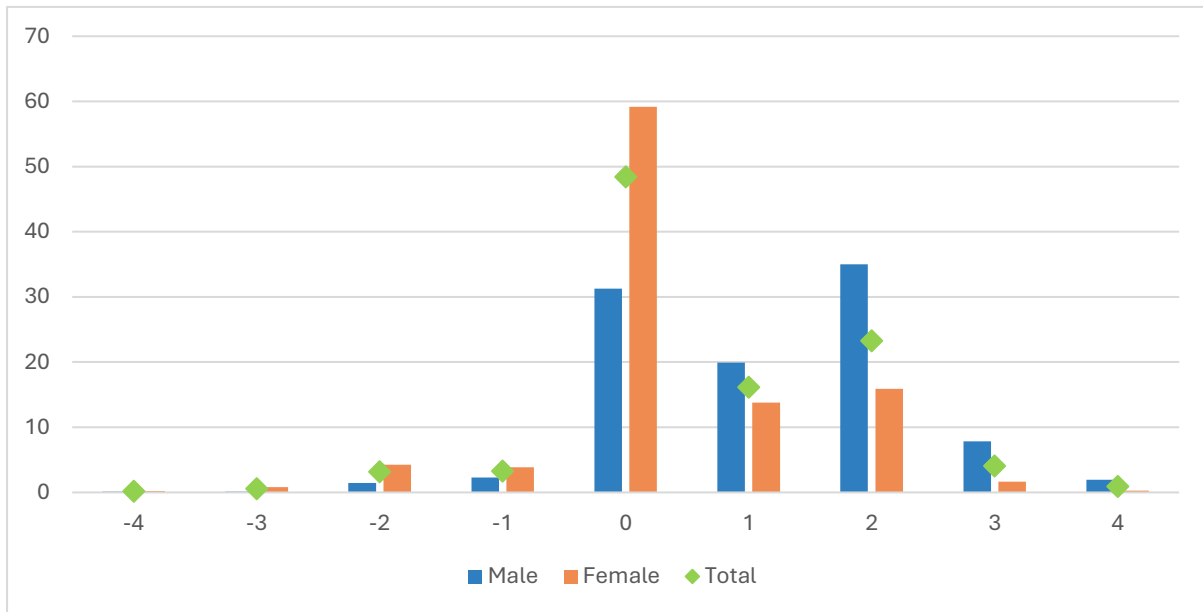

Figure 3.3 compares the absolute differences in educational attainment across the three regions in our sample: North (Nampula), Centre (Zambezia and Sofala), and South (Maputo Province). Across all regions, most respondents remain in the same educational category as their parents, with the Centre and South showing a higher proportion in this category. Upward mobility (values > 0) varies across regions, with the North exhibiting a larger share of respondents in the +2 category compared to the Centre and South. This is particularly noteworthy when considering that the level of education in the parental generation is not much lower in the North (85.7 per cent of the parental generation with no formal education, not shown) compared to in the South (84.1 per cent, not shown), meaning that higher absolute mobility does not reflect starting from a lower point but rather attaining better outcomes in the respondents' generation. Conversely, the share of respondents showing a decrease by two categories in educational attainment (-2) is the highest in the Centre, where the share of non-educated parents was the lowest (73.4 per cent, not shown).

Figure 3.3 Absolute intergenerational difference in educational attainment, by location (%)
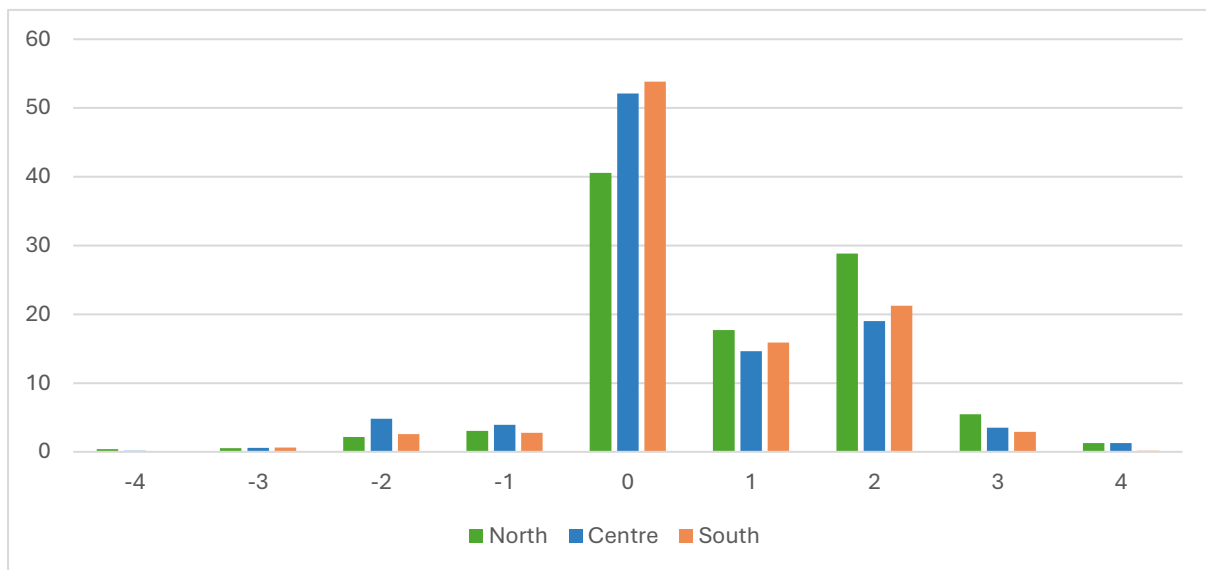
We now present relative measures of educational mobility, by comparing the likelihood of educational attainment between groups relative to their parental education levels, thus showing how much more or less likely one group is to achieve a particular educational outcome compared to another.

Looking at coarse categories, Figure 3.4 shows that respondents whose parents have no education are about twice as likely to have no education (50.3 per cent versus 25.0 per cent), while respondents whose parents have acquired some formal education are about 1.5 times more likely to also have some education (75.0 versus 49.7).

Figure 3.4 Unconditional probabilities of educational attainment by parents' educational class, summary categories (%)
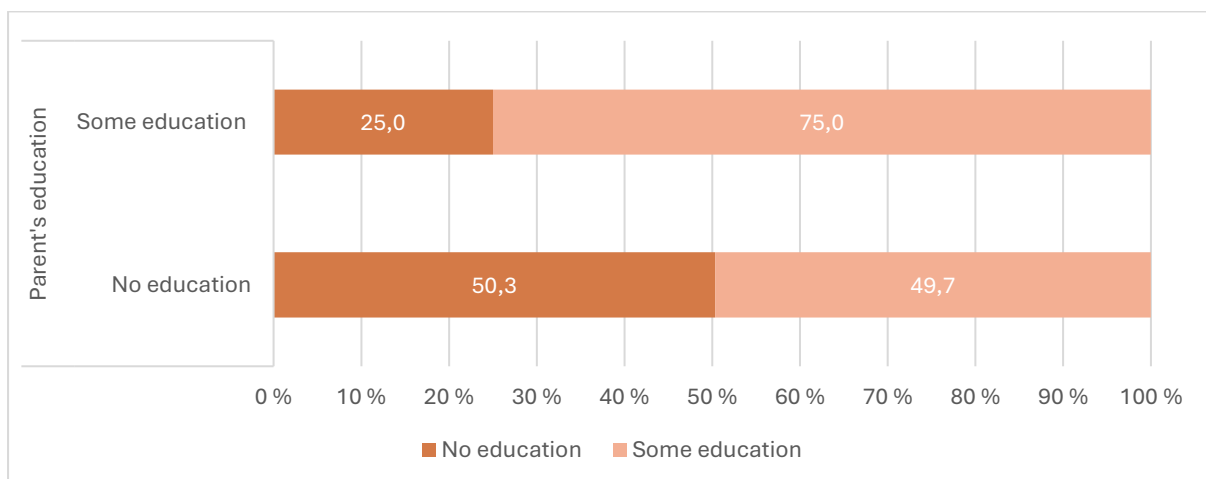

Figure 3.5 allows us to calculate relative advantage and disadvantage ratios looking at detailed categories of education. In particular, we can see that respondents whose parents have completed higher primary are almost four times more likely to have completed higher primary (19.2 per cent) than respondents whose parents have no

education (4.7 per cent). The ratio is even higher when looking at completing secondary education or more: respondents whose parents have completed secondary or more are about 14 times more likely to also complete secondary education (16.7 per cent) compared to respondents whose parents are uneducated (1.2 per cent). Conversely, Respondents whose parents had no education are 2.3 times as likely to remain without education (50.3 per cent) compared to respondents whose parents had secondary or more education (22.2 per cent).

Figure 3.5 Unconditional probabilities of educational attainment by parents' educational category, detailed categories (%)
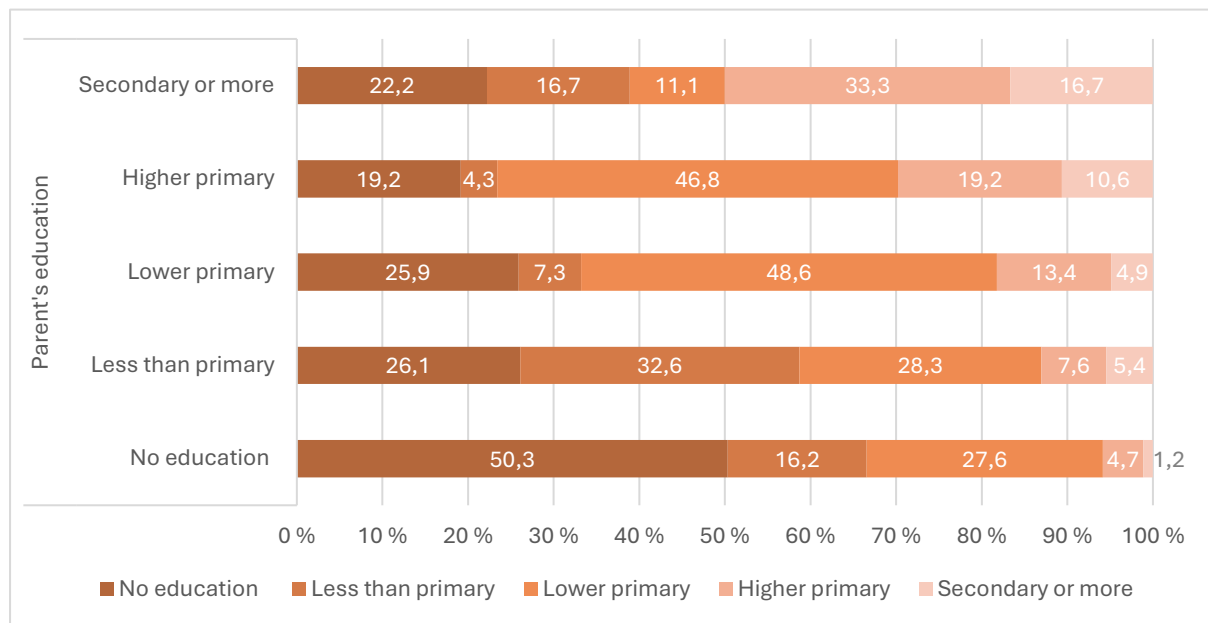
3.2 Intergenerational mobility in occupation

3.2.1 Categories of occupation

The Section 3.2 presents findings in intergenerational occupational mobility, highlighting the occupational class of respondents in relation to their parents. Occupations are categorised into formal employment, informal employment (upper and lower tiers), and farming (upper and lower tiers). The accompanying metrics (Table 3.5) summarise levels of immobility, horizontal movement, upward mobility, and downward mobility.

Immobility is pronounced within farming-related categories. Among respondents whose parents were in "Farm upper tier" occupations, the vast majority remained in the same category. Similarly, 22.0 per cent of respondents have parents in lower-tier farming occupations and stayed in the same category. Formal employment exhibits limited persistence, with a low share of respondents remaining in formal employment when their parents were also formally employed.

Upward mobility is limited across categories. For instance, 5.1 per cent of respondents transitioned from "Farm lower tier" households to "Farm upper tier" roles, and only 0,9 per cent moved into formal employment. Respondents with parents in "Informal lower tier" occupations show modest upward mobility, with 2.0 per cent of respondents transitioning to "Informal upper tier" occupations and only 1.2 per cent to formal employment.

Downward mobility is more common than upward mobility. For example, 7.9 per cent of respondents moved from "Farm upper tier" households into "Farm lower tier" roles. Respondents with parents in "Informal upper tier" occupations also frequently transitioned to lower-tier occupations, including "Farm lower tier" (2.7 per cent and "Informal lower tier" (2.1 per cent)

Overall, the summary mobility metrics reflect strong persistence, with 64.7 per cent of respondents remaining in the same broad occupational category as their parents, including cases of horizontal movement within the same tier, and 50.9 per cent of respondents remaining in exactly the same occupational class as their parents. In addition, about 20 per cent of respondents experienced downward mobility, compared to only 15.2 per cent experiencing upward mobility. This reflects marked structural vulnerabilities and limited opportunities for intergenerational occupational advancement. Comparing absolute mobility metrics in occupation with the ones in education also shows that educational advancement did not translate into better occupations in our sample.

Table 3.4 Mobility Table in Occupation (%)

Parent's occupation class (%)	Respondent's occupation class (%)					Total
	Formally employed	Informal upper-tier	Farm-upper-tier	Informal lower-tier	Farm lower-tier	
Formally employed	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.8	1.0	3.7
Informal upper-tier	0.7	1.6	2.3	2.1	2.7	9.3
Farm upper-tier	0.8	1.5	23.3	4.3	7.9	37.9
Informal lower-tier	1.2	2.0	3.8	5.0	6.0	17.9
Farm lower-tier	0.9	0.7	5.1	2.5	22.0	31.2
Total	4.1	6.3	35.4	14.6	39.6	100.0

Table 3.5 Absolute Mobility metrics, occupational mobility (%)

Immobility. incl. horizontal movement	64.7
Immobility. excl. horizontal movement	50.9
Horizontal movement	13.8
Downward mobility	20.1
Upward mobility	15.2

Figure 3.6 complements the occupational mobility tables by offering a visual representation of the flow between parental and respondent occupational categories. The diagram highlights significant occupational immobility, with thick bands connecting parents and respondents within the same occupational categories. As mentioned above, this is particularly evident in farming roles, where a substantial proportion of individuals remain in the same categories as their parents. In addition, downward flows are more prominent than upward ones, which is evident in the movement from "Farm upper-tier" to "Farm lower-tier" roles. The flow into and out of formal employment is limited, which suggests that formal employment is both difficult to access and challenging to sustain across generations.

Figure 3.6 Sankey diagram: flow of occupational attainment between parents and respondents (%)

■ Formally employed   ■ Informal upper-tier   ■ Farm upper-tier   ■ Informal lower-tier   ■ Farm lower-tier
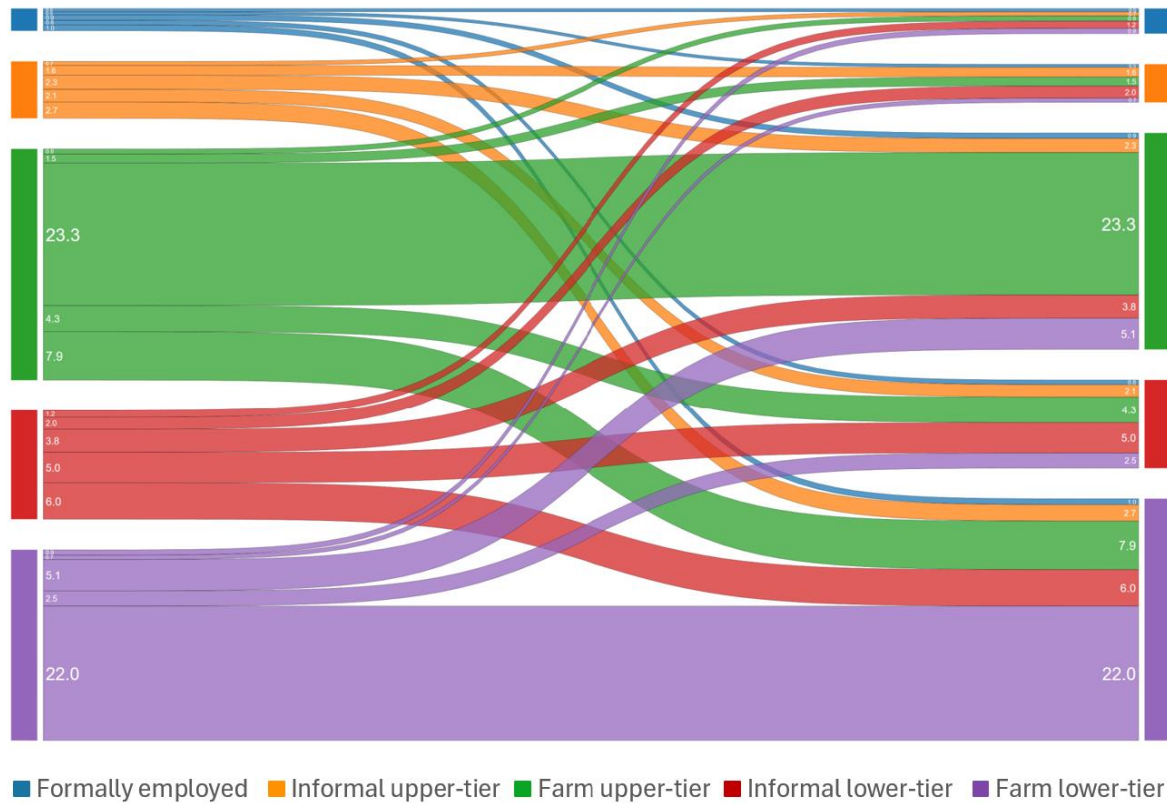
Figures 3.7 and 3.8 illustrate the absolute difference in occupation category between respondents and their parents, disaggregated by gender (Figure 3.7) and location (Figure 3.8). The absolute difference measures how much respondents have moved upwards (+1 or +2) or downwards (-1 or -2) in occupational categories compared to their parents. Immobility and horizontal movement are both classified as 0 absolute difference.

Respondents with no change in occupational categories in both graphs dominate the distribution. Figure 3.7 shows that immobility is slightly higher for females (about 70 per cent versus about 65 per cent for males). These results highlight a strong pattern of occupational immobility across genders, with most respondents remaining in the same occupational category as their parents. Although upward mobility exists, it is modest, and males are marginally more likely to experience it than females.

Figure 3.7 Absolute intergenerational difference in occupational attainment, by gender (%)
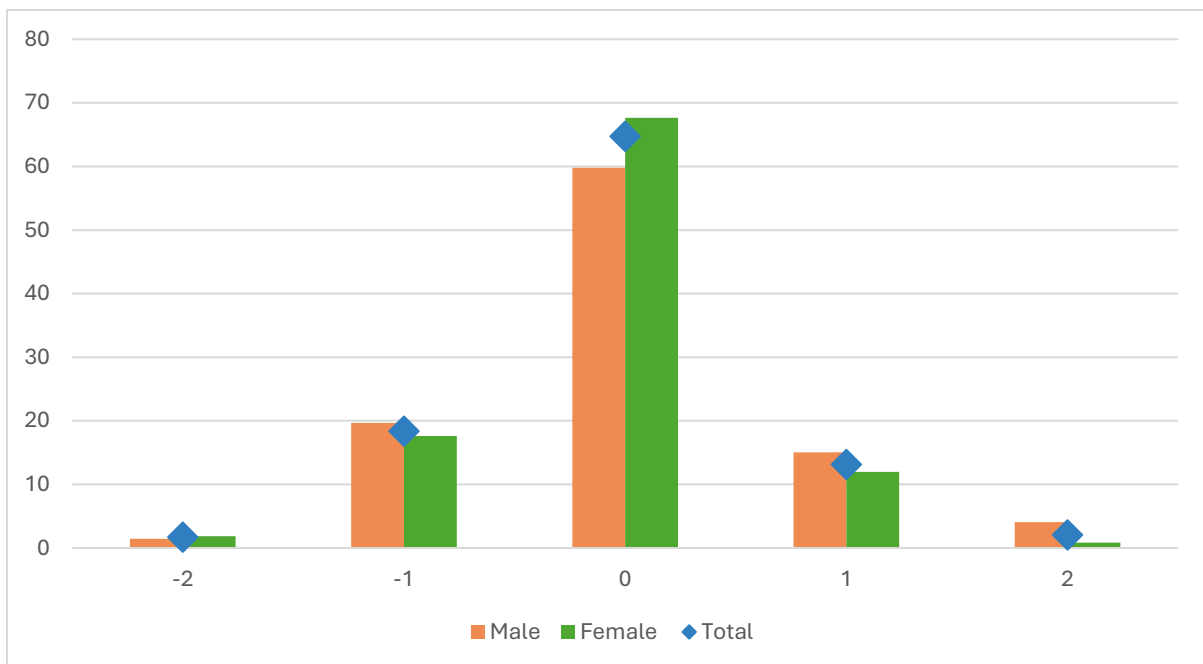
Across all three locations (North, Centre, and South), most respondents exhibit no change in occupational category (0), with similar proportions across regions (60 to 70 per cent). Immobility occurs marginally more frequently in the Centre compared to the North and South. Regional differences are very modest, and the high level of occupational immobility across all regions indicates that structural barriers to occupational advancement are pervasive in all locations surveyed.

Figure 3.8 Absolute intergenerational difference in occupational attainment, by location (%)
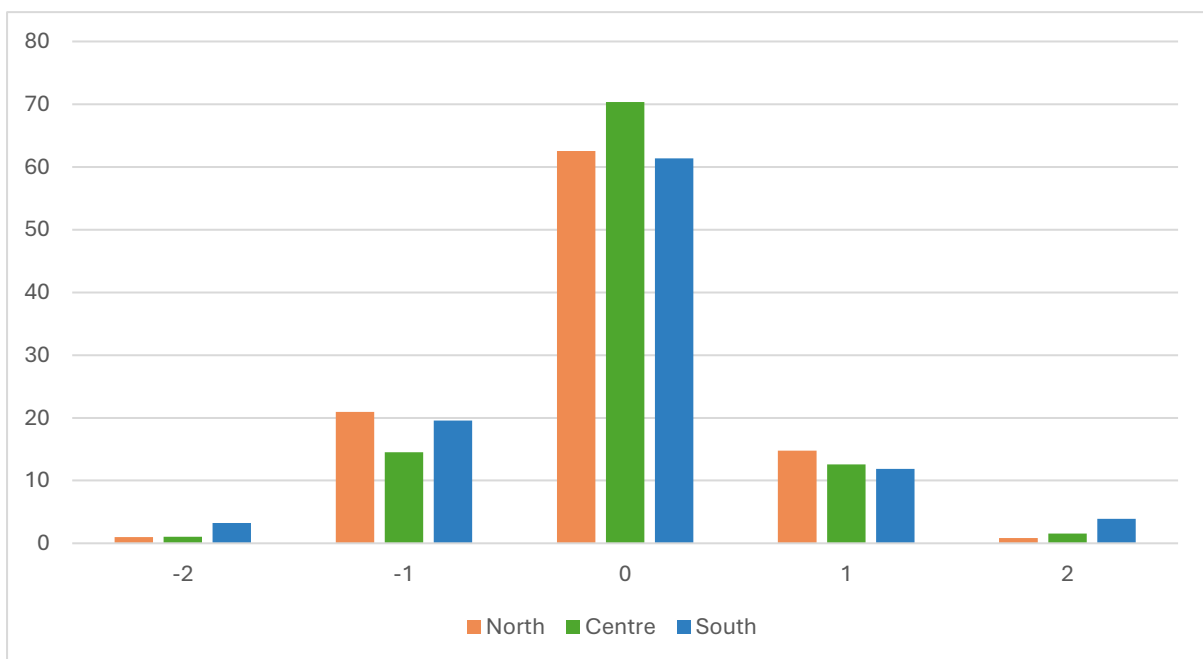
Figure 3.9 presents the share of respondents' occupation by parents' occupation, allowing us to look at relative mobility with advantage and disadvantage ratios. Respondents whose parents were in formal employment are more than twice as likely to be in formal employment (14.9 per cent) compared to respondents whose parents had an informal job (informal upper- and lower-tier at 7.2 and 6.6 per cent respectively). This ratio is even higher when compared to respondents whose parents were lower-tier farmers (2.8), with respondents whose parents were in formal employment more than 5 times more likely to also be in formal employment. Persistence is also evident in farming categories, with respondents whose parents were lower-tier farmers more than 3 times more likely to be lower-tier farmers (70.5 per cent) than respondents whose parents were upper-tier farmers (21.0 per cent).

Figure 3.9 Unconditional probabilities of occupational class attainment by parents' occupation class (%)
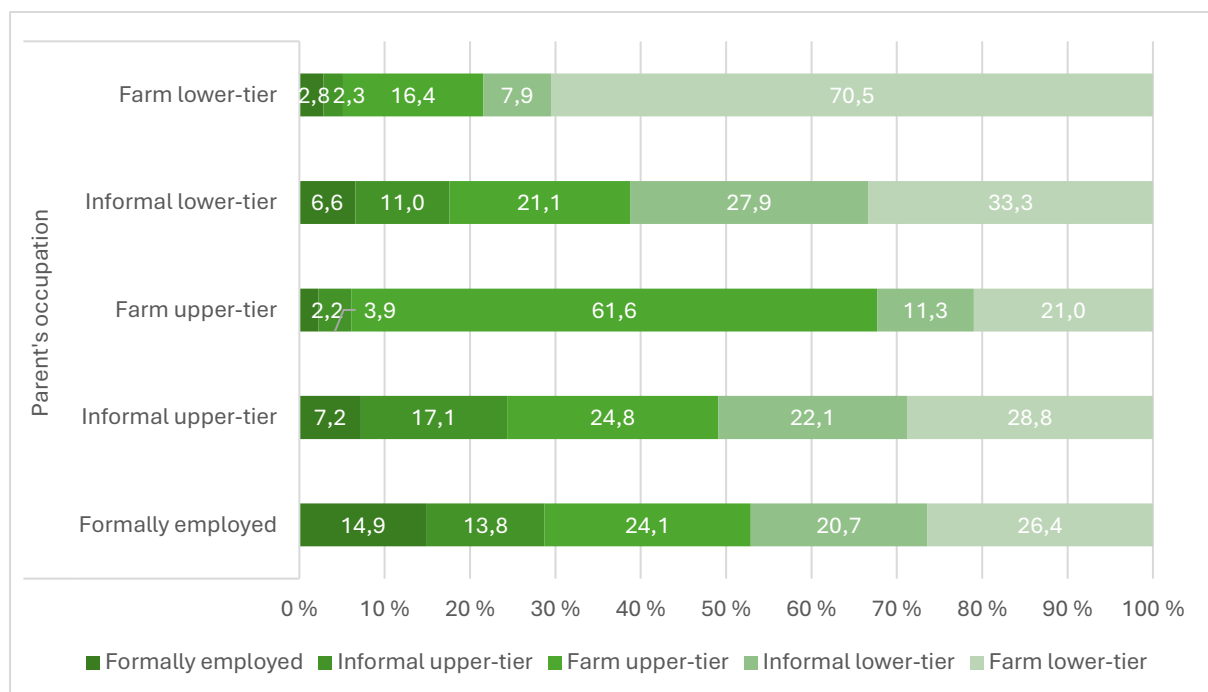
3.2.2 Farm-to-off-farm transitions

The table below presents the intergenerational transition patterns between farming and off-farm occupations. It shows the distribution of respondents' occupations (farm or off-farm work) based on their parents' sector of occupation. The mobility metrics – immobility, downward mobility, and upward mobility – in Table 3.7 summarise the extent of occupational persistence and movement between these sectors of occupation.

A significant proportion of respondents remained in the same occupational category as their parents, with 58.4 per cent of respondents having parents in farming and remaining

engaged in the farming sector, and 14.3 per cent of respondents with parents in off-farm work in off-farm occupations themselves (Table 3.6, Figure 3.10). Immobility accounts for 72.7 per cent of all respondents, indicating a high degree of persistence in sectors across generations.

There are limited opportunities for mobility for farming households, with only 10.7 per cent of respondents transitioning from farming to off-farming occupations. There is also a significant proportion of transitions into farming occupations from respondents whose parents were in off-farm work, and indeed the total share of people working in the farming sector is higher in the respondents' generation (75.0 per cent) compared to their parents' generation (69.1 per cent).

Table 3.6 Farm to off-farm Mobility Table

Parent's sector of occupation (%)	Respondent's sector of occupation (%)		
	Off-farm work	Farm	Total
Off-farm work	14.3	16.6	30.9
Farm	10.7	58.4	69.1
Total	25.0	75.0	100.0

Table 3.7 Absolute Mobility metrics, farm to off-farm transitions (%)

Immobility	72.7
Downward mobility	16.6
Upward mobility	10.7

Figure 3.10 Sankey diagram: flow of occupational sector attainment between parents and respondents (%)
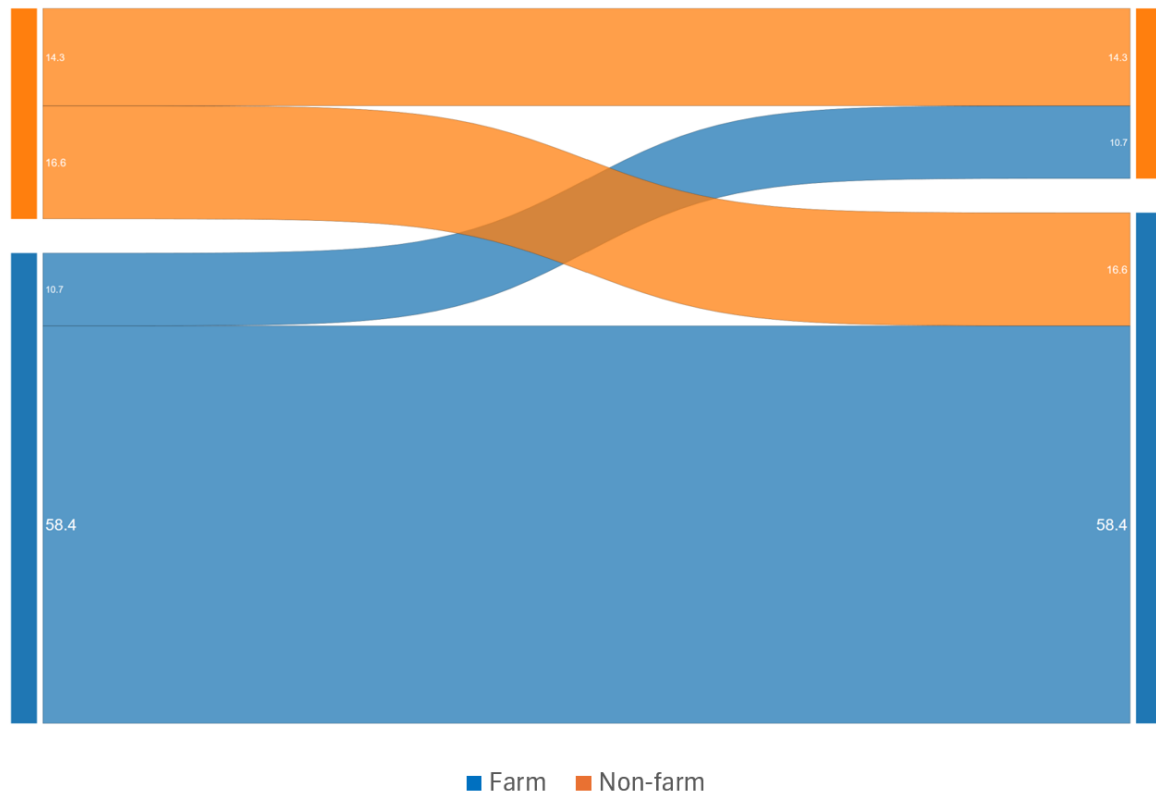

■ Farm ■ Non-farm

Figure 3.11 shows absolute differences in farm-to-off-farm transitions and immobility rates, disaggregated by gender. Immobility dominates for both males and females, with over 70 per cent of respondents remaining in the same occupational category as their parents across genders. Gender differences emerge in the transitions: females are more likely to move from farming to off-farm work (about 20 per cent) compared to males (less than 10 per cent), while males show a higher tendency to transition from off-farm work to farming (about 20 per cent compared to about 5 per cent for females). These patterns suggest that females experience marginally greater out-of-farming opportunities, while males are more prone to transitioning into farming. However, nothing can be said about the quality of employment in either category.

Figure 3.11 Absolute intergenerational difference in occupation sector, by gender (%)
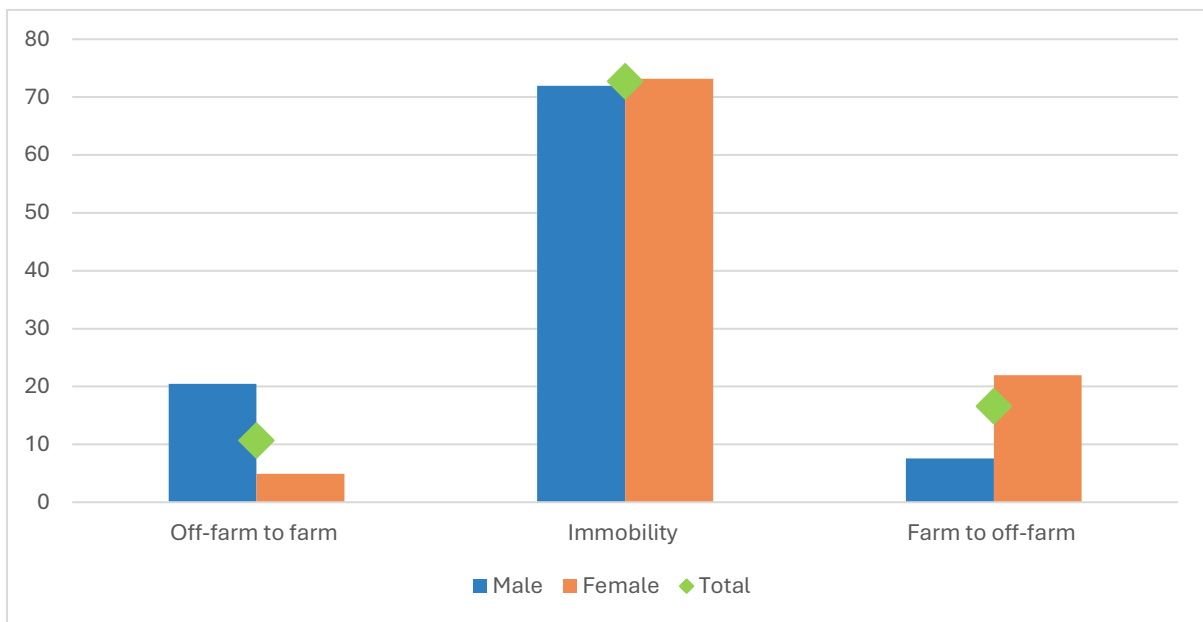
Figure 3.12 highlights regional variations in farm-to-off-farm transitions and immobility rates. Immobility remains consistently high across all regions, with the Centre showing the highest immobility (almost 80 per cent), followed closely by the North and South (around 70 per cent). Farm to off-farm mobility is higher in the South (about 20 per cent) compared to the North and Centre. Conversely, off-farm-to-farm mobility is more pronounced in the North (about 15 per cent) compared to the South and Centre.

Figure 3.12 Absolute intergenerational difference in occupation sector, by location (%)
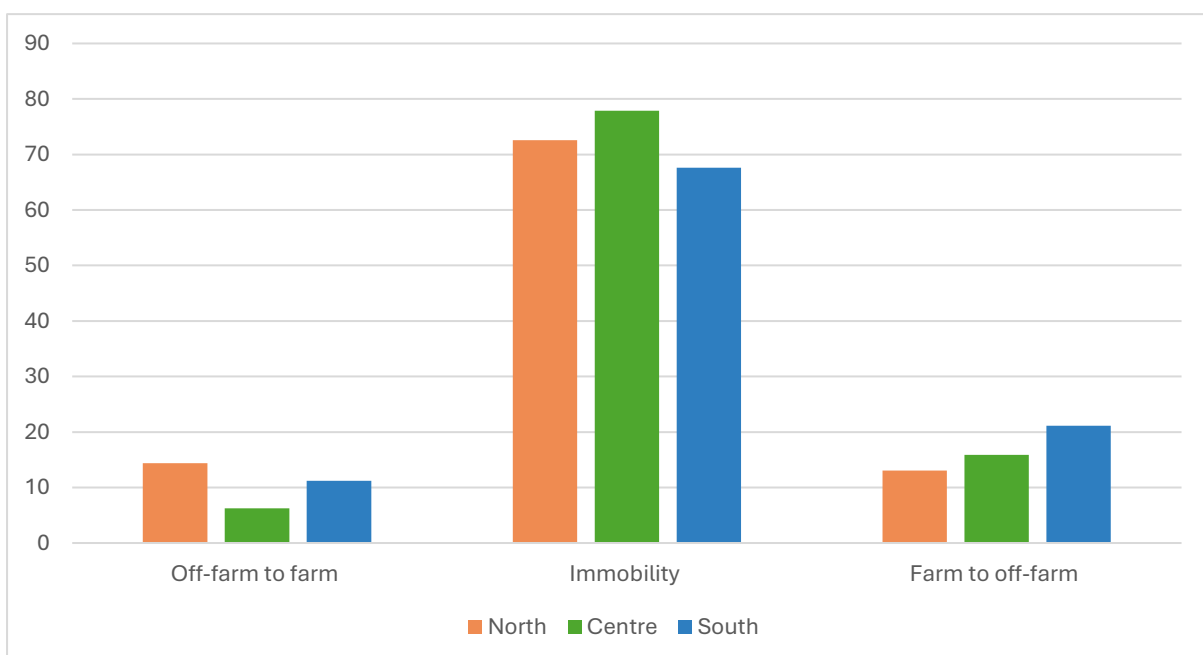
Looking at relative mobility, Figure 3.13 shows that respondents whose parents were doing off-farm work are about three times more likely to also be doing off-farm work (46.3

per cent) than respondents whose parents were farmers (15.5 per cent). Conversely, respondents whose parents were farmers are about 1.6 times more likely to be farmers (84.6 per cent) than respondents whose parents were doing off-farm work (53.7 per cent).

Figure 3.13 Unconditional probabilities of occupational sector attainment by parents' occupation sector (%)
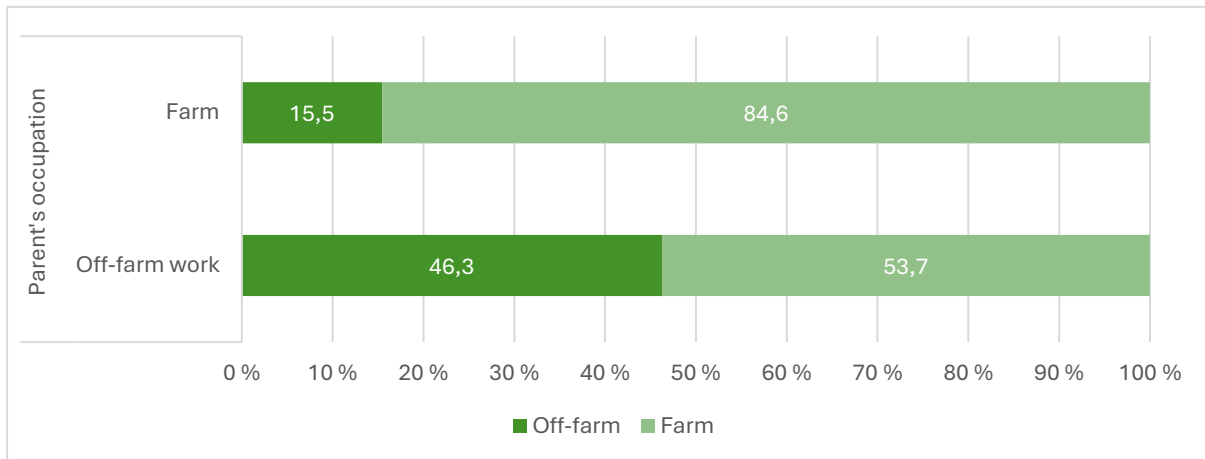
3.3 Intergenerational mobility in multidimensional well-being

3.3.1 MPI poor to non-poor

The tables below examine intergenerational mobility in multidimensional well-being by comparing the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) status of respondents' current households with that of their childhood households. As mentioned in section 2.2.1, households experiencing deprivations equal to or greater than 60 per cent of the (weighted) dimensions of deprivation are identified as poor.

Overall, table 3.8 indicates considerable generational advancement in multidimensional deprivation, with 93 per cent of all childhood households being MPI-poor compared to 64.4 per cent of current households. This reflects a considerable level of absolute upward mobility, with 58.8 per cent of the sample experiencing an improvement in their MPI status. However, immobility is non-negligible, as 34.2 per cent of households were born in MPI-poor households and are still living in multidimensional poverty in their current household. Downward movement is minimal, with only 1.4 per cent of respondents raised in a non-MPI-poor household living in multidimensional poverty today.

These findings indicate substantial upward mobility for individuals who grew up in poor households, with a majority escaping poverty in adulthood. However, poverty persistence remains significant, with a large share of respondents from poor households remaining multidimensionally poor.

Table 3.8 Mobility Table in multidimensional well-being: Multidimensional Poverty status (%)

Multidimensional Poverty in childhood's household (%)	Multidimensional Poverty in current household (%)		
	Not poor	Poor	Total
Not poor	5.6	1.4	7.0
Poor	58.8	34.2	93.0
Total	64.4	35.6	100.0

Table 3.9 Absolute Mobility metrics, Multidimensional Poverty status (%)

Immobility	39.8
Downward mobility	1.4
Upward mobility	58.8

The bar chart in Figure 3.14 below illustrates absolute movements in multidimensional well-being, disaggregated by gender. Immobility is substantial for both genders, with a slightly higher share of male respondents remaining in the same poverty status as their childhood households. Upward mobility (MPI-poor to non-poor) is the most prevalent movement, particularly among women, who exhibit slightly higher rates (around 60 per cent) compared to men (about 55 per cent). Conversely, downward mobility (non-poor to poor) is rare for both genders, with minimal differences observed.

Figure 3.14 Absolute intergenerational difference in Multidimensional Poverty status, by gender (%)
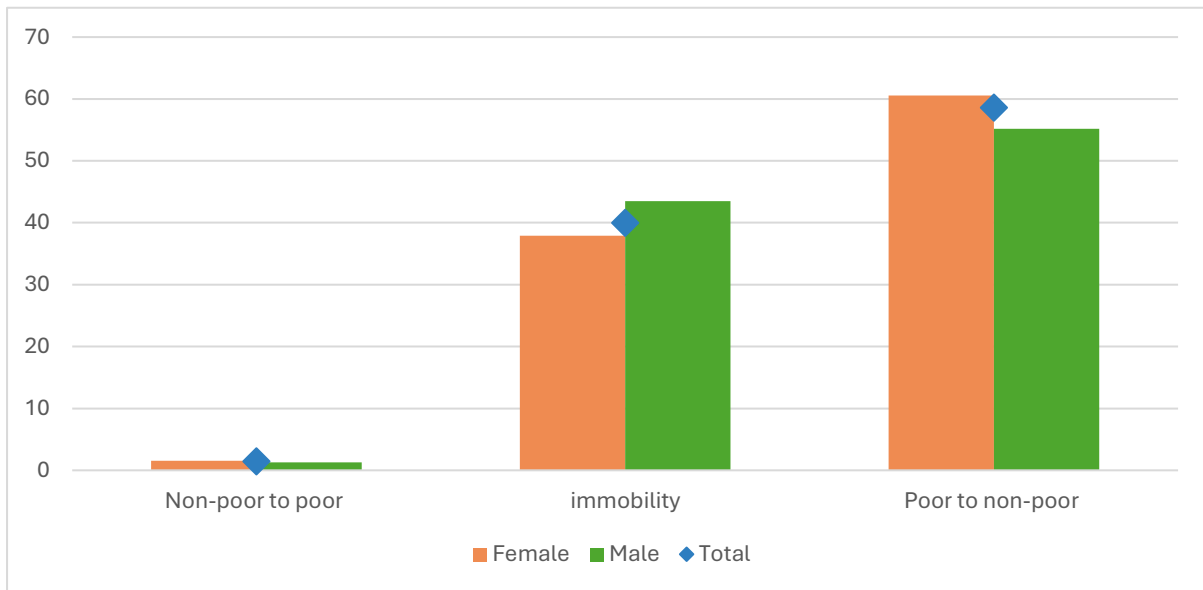
Looking at regional differences in multidimensional mobility, Figure 3.15 highlights regional disparities in upward mobility, with the South demonstrating significantly better outcomes in breaking cycles of poverty. In particular, in the South, nearly 80 per cent of individuals transition from poor households to being non-poor, compared to only around 45 per cent in the North and Centre. Conversely, immobility is the highest in the North and Centre (50 per cent circa) and significantly lower in the South (less than 20 per cent) reflecting greater poverty persistence in the former regions. Downward mobility (non-poor to poor) is minimal across all regions, and virtually non-existent in the South.

Figure 3.15 Absolute intergenerational difference in Multidimensional Poverty status, by location (%)
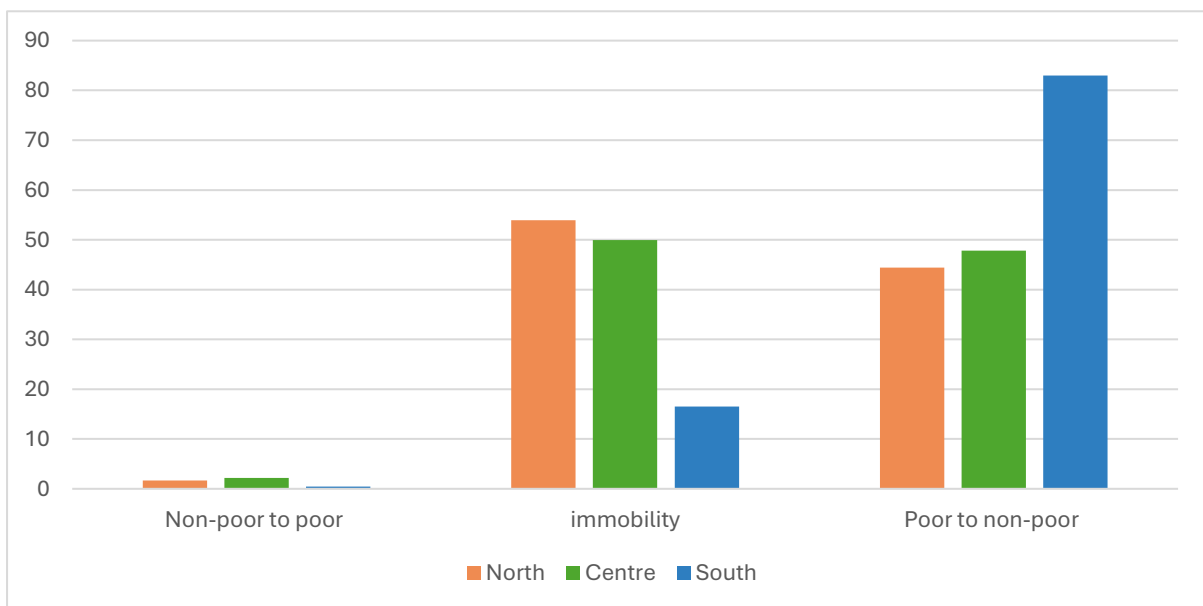
Looking at the ratios of opportunity between the two groups, Figure 3.16 shows that respondents whose childhood household was MPI-poor are almost twice as likely to be MPI-poor today compared to respondents who did not grow up in MPI-poor homes. This underscores that, notwithstanding the general improvement in multidimensional poverty across the two generations, individuals growing up in poverty face structural barriers that limit their opportunities for upward mobility.

Figure 3.16 Unconditional probabilities of Multidimensional Poverty status attainment by Multidimensional Poverty status in childhood household (%)
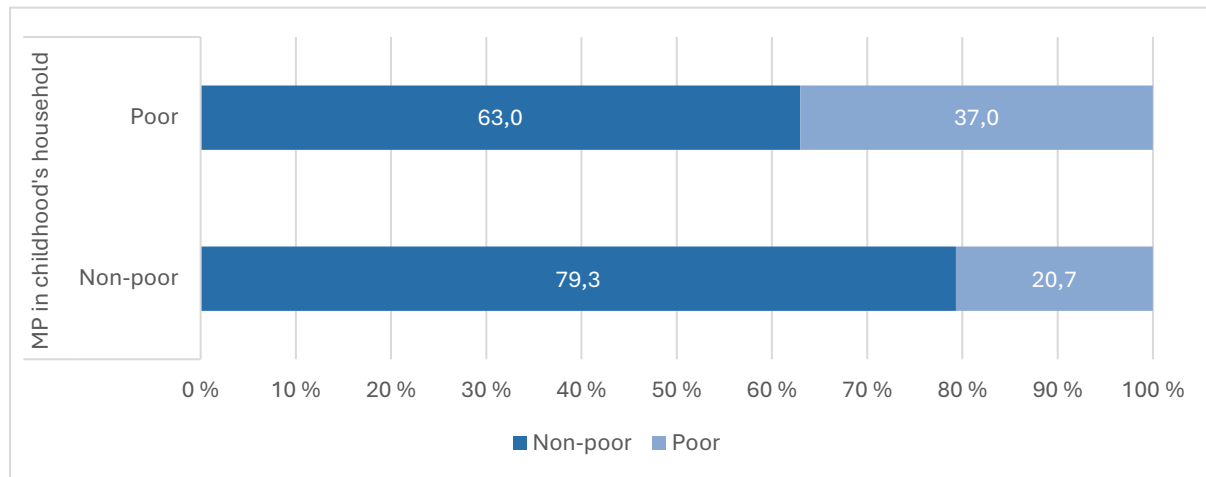
3.3.2 Number of deprivations

The transition matrix below presents additional insights into intergenerational mobility in multidimensional well-being by comparing the number of deprivations experienced by respondents' current households with those of their childhood households. Table 3.10 shows how respondents transition across categories of deprivation (ranging from 0 to 6 deprivations). The results reveal significant upward mobility, as most respondents experienced fewer deprivations in their current households compared to their childhood.

In particular, only 12.1 per cent of respondents remain in the same deprivation category as their childhood households, while a striking 83.5 per cent of respondents experienced upward mobility, meaning they now face fewer multidimensional deprivations than they did during childhood (Table 3.11). Conversely, only 4.3 per cent of respondents experienced downward mobility, transitioning into households with more deprivations compared to their childhood households. While this is a small proportion, it highlights the existence of some vulnerability to poverty, especially for respondents who suffered from a relatively high number of deprivations during childhood. Households with the highest number of deprivations (5 or 6) in childhood dominate the total sample, accounting for 78.6 per cent of respondents. However, most of these respondents have improved their situation, transitioning from higher deprivation categories (5 or 6) into lower deprivation categories (3 or 4).

Table 3.10 Mobility Table in multidimensional well-being: Number of deprivations (%)

Number of deprivations in childhood's household (%)	Number of deprivations in current household (%)							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
2	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	1.7
3	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.0	4.0
4	2.4	2.5	2.9	2.6	2.8	1.1	0.2	14.4
5	6.8	7.4	8.6	8.7	9.6	6.4	0.9	48.3
6	2.5	4.3	4.8	5.4	7.1	4.6	1.5	30.3
Total	13.6	15.4	17.7	17.7	20.1	12.9	2.6	100.0

Table 3.11 Absolute Mobility metrics, number of deprivations (%)

Immobility	12.1
Downward mobility	4.3
Upward mobility	83.5

The two figures below (Figure 3.17 and 3.18) depict the absolute difference in the number of deprivations experienced by respondents compared to their childhood households, disaggregated by gender (3.17) and location (3.18). Differences are categorised into positive values (indicating an increase in deprivations), zero (no change), and negative values (indicating a reduction in deprivations).

As mentioned above, the majority of respondents experienced a decrease in the number of deprivations, as shown by the predominance of negative values. Males and females exhibit similar patterns of reductions, though males have a slightly higher representation in categories indicating no change and a decrease in only one or two deprivations, while females show a higher absolute improvement, as their share is higher in the categories -3, -4, -5, and -6.

Figure 3.17 Absolute intergenerational difference in the number of deprivations, by gender (%)
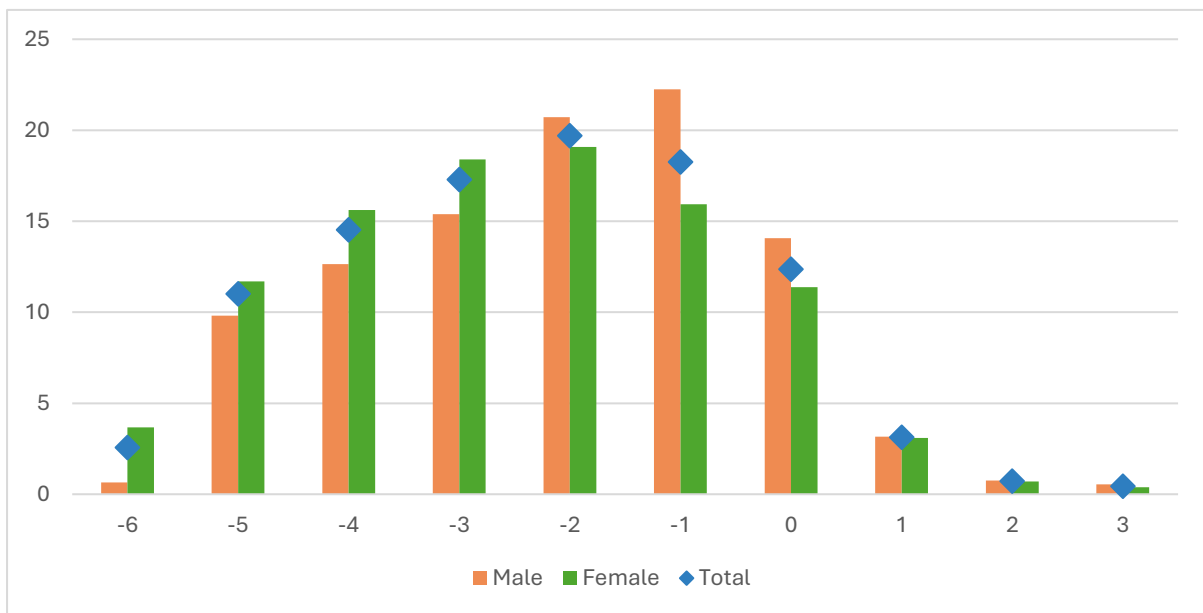
Looking at the regional disaggregation, we can see that there are significant intergenerational improvements in multidimensional well-being across all regions, with reductions in deprivations dominating the distribution. The South shows the most substantial upward mobility, as reflected by the high share of respondents in the categories indicating a greater reduction in the number of deprivations (-3, -4, -5, and -6). The North and Centre present patterns of higher immobility and a less marked reduction in the absolute number of deprivations households face, indicating persistent structural challenges in those regions.

Figure 3.18 Absolute intergenerational difference in the number of deprivations, by location (%)
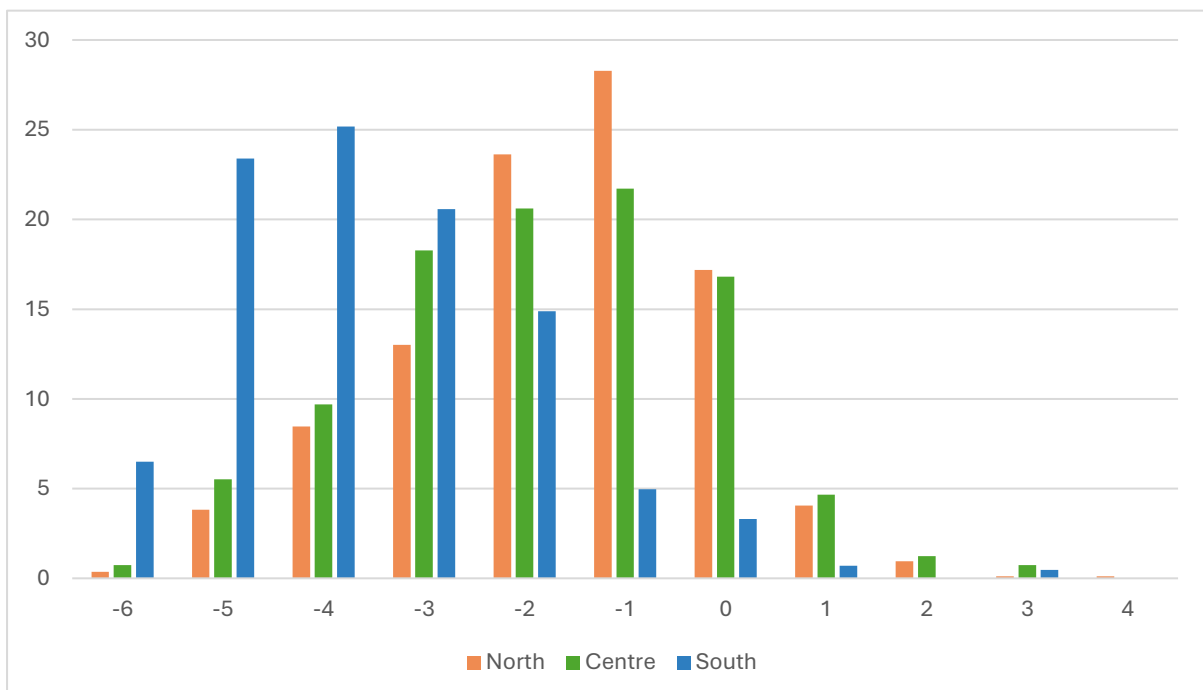
Figure 3.19 shows that none of the respondents raised in a household with 0 or only 1 deprivation now live in a household with more than 4 deprivations, compared to about 20 per cent of the respondents raised in a household with the maximum number of deprivations (6). Indeed, respondents raised in households with 6 deprivations are 3.5 times more likely to live in households with 4 or more deprivations (15.3 per cent with 5 deprivations and 5.2 per cent with 6 deprivations) compared to those raised in households with only 1 deprivation (6.3 per cent). Conversely, respondents raised in households with 0 or 1 deprivation are almost six times more likely to escape all deprivations (50 per cent) compared to those from households with 6 deprivations (8.5 per cent).

Figure 3.19 Unconditional probabilities of attainment in number of deprivations by the number of deprivations in childhood household (%)
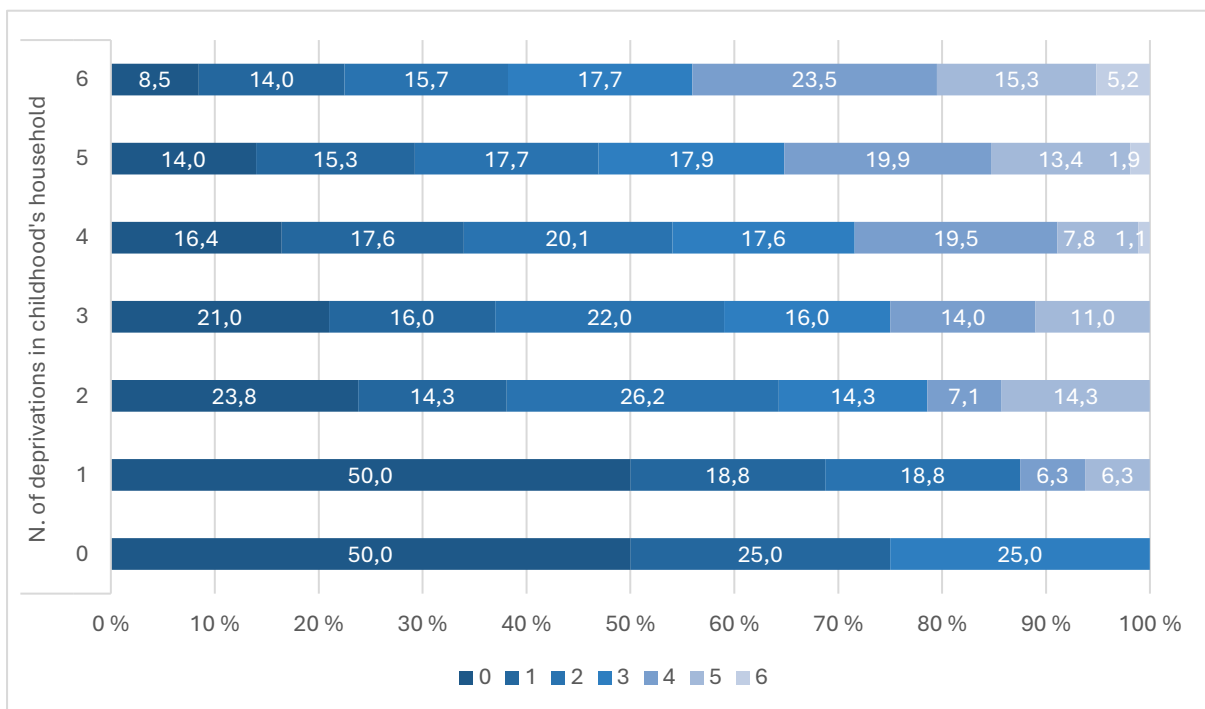
3.4   Intergenerational mobility in subjective well-being

The mobility table and metrics below (Table 3.12 and 3.13) present the distribution of respondents' subjective well-being across generations, comparing their current household's position on the subjective well-being scale with their childhood household's position. This analysis is based on respondents' self-assessments relative to household vignettes representing different levels of well-being.

The majority of respondents' childhood households are positioned at 0 (59.4 per cent), the lowest level of subjective well-being, followed by 1 (28.5 per cent). In their current households, subjective well-being has become more evenly distributed, with notable proportions at 0 (26.5 per cent), 1 (33.9 per cent), and 2 (35.0 per cent). Levels 3 and 4, the highest on the well-being scale, remain rare across generations, though more common in the current generation than the parents'.

Around one-third of the sample reports having remained at the same level of subjective well-being as their childhood household. This is most notable for those starting at 0, where 17.7 per cent of the total sample remains in that same category.

More than half (54.8 per cent) of respondents perceive intergenerational improvements in their well-being, transitioning to a higher subjective well-being level than their childhood household. The most notable improvements occurred for individuals starting at 0 or 1 in childhood, with many moving to 1, 2, or higher categories.

About 11 per cent of the respondents report perceived downward mobility, where their current household is placed in a lower subjective well-being category compared to their childhood household. This is relatively limited but indicates vulnerability to social and economic reversals.

Overall, most respondents report improvements in well-being compared to their childhood households, particularly those starting in the lowest categories. However, immobility and downward mobility remain present.

Table 3.12 Mobility Table in subjective well-being (%)

Subjective well-being in childhood's household (%)	Subjective well-being in current household (%)					Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
0	17.7	21.1	18.7	1.3	0.5	59.4
1	6.1	10.5	10.6	0.6	0.8	28.5
2	2.3	2.1	5.4	0.7	0.5	11.1
3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6
4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4
Total	26.5	33.9	35.0	2.7	1.9	100

Table 3.13 Absolute Mobility metrics. subjective mobility (%)

Immobility	33.8
Downward mobility	11.3
Upward mobility	54.8

Figures 3.20 and 3.21 illustrate the distribution of absolute differences in subjective well-being between respondents' current households and their childhood households, disaggregated by gender and location. The differences range from -4 (indicating significant subjective downward mobility) to 4 (significant subjective upward mobility), with 0 representing no change (subjective immobility).

Immobility is the most common experience for both genders, with around 35 per cent of males and females reporting no change in subjective well-being between their current and childhood households. However, upward mobility dominates the distribution. While in immobility (0) and at +1 males are slightly more prevalent, more than 20 per cent of females report an improvement by 2 steps in the well-being scale, compared to only around 15 per cent of males. Downward mobility is minimal, with negative values representing a small fraction of the distribution, but slightly more prevalent for males than for females.

Figure 3.20 Absolute intergenerational difference in subjective well-being, by gender (%)
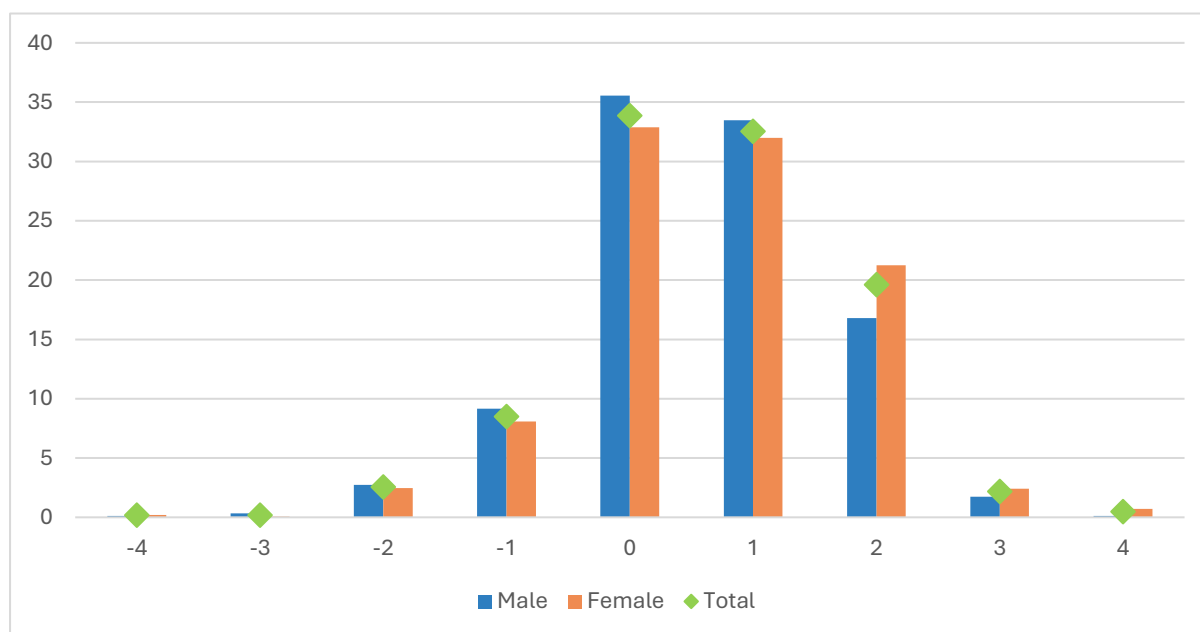
Figure 3.21 shows that upward subjective mobility is prevalent in the South, where respondents report higher gains compared to the North and Centre. In contrast, the Centre and North have higher shares of respondents reporting no subjective change in well-being level compared to their childhood household. Downward mobility is relatively

rare in all regions, but higher in the Centre, with about 12% of respondents in Zambezia and Sofala reporting a decline by one step on the well-being scale. Overall, respondents from the South perceive greater intergenerational improvements in subjective well-being. These findings reinforce regional disparities in well-being mobility, with subjective mobility reflecting similar patterns to what was found for multidimensional mobility in Section 3.3.

Figure 3.21 Absolute intergenerational difference in subjective well-being, by location (%)
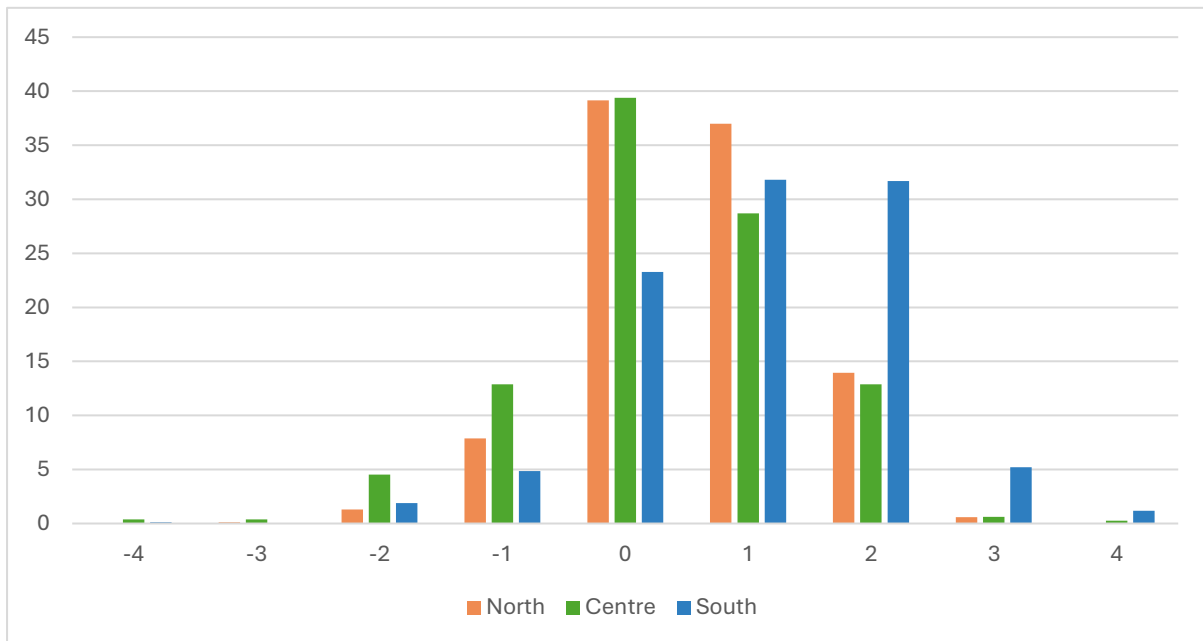
Figure 3.22 shows that respondents whose subjective well-being in childhood was at level 3 or 4 are about 6 times more likely to report the highest levels of well-being (3 or 4) in adulthood (21,7 per cent, not shown) compared to those raised in households at the lowest level (3,6 per cent, not shown), highlighting vast disparities in opportunities at the two extremes of the subjective scale in childhood. At lower levels of current subjective welfare, the disparity is still present, with respondents whose childhood well-being was at level 2 being 1.56 times more likely to achieve level 2 well-being (48.9 per cent) compared to those whose childhood well-being was at level 0 (31.4 per cent).

Figure 3.22 Unconditional probabilities of subjective well-being by subjective well-being in childhood household (%)
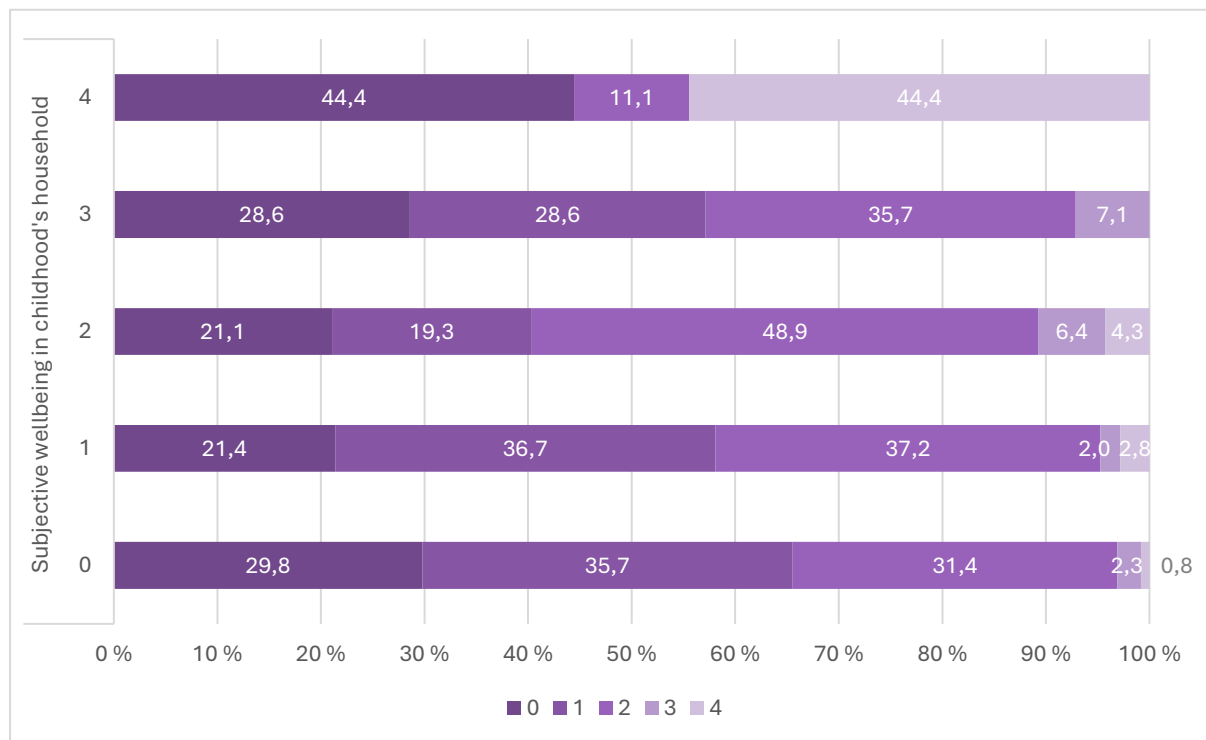
3.4.1 Perceptions of intergenerational mobility: contributing factors and the next generation

In this section, we report the answers to some of the survey questions referring to the perceptions of respondents regarding intergenerational mobility. These survey questions complement the analysis by providing qualitative insights into respondents' perceptions of their intergenerational mobility and the factors contributing to it. The first question identifies the drivers of perceived mobility – such as hard work, marriage, or luck – shedding light on social and structural factors influencing mobility outcomes. The second question shifts focus to the next generation, providing insights into expectations and assessments of mobility for children, which adds a forward-looking dimension to the analysis.

Figure 3.23 highlights respondents' perceptions of factors contributing to their improved living standards compared to their parents. The majority, 65.5 per cent, attribute their better situation to "hard work," underscoring its perceived importance. "Marriage" is the second most cited factor at 17.0 per cent, followed by "Luck" at 6.3 per cent. Smaller proportions credit their improvement to the notion that "Life has been easier" (2.7 per cent), "Help from parents or family contacts" (0.6 per cent), or "Studying" (0.3 per cent). These responses emphasise the strong belief in individual effort as the primary driver of upward mobility, with other social or circumstantial factors playing relatively smaller roles.

Figure 3.23 Answer to "If you think you are doing better or much better, what do you think has helped you to be better off than your parents?" (%)
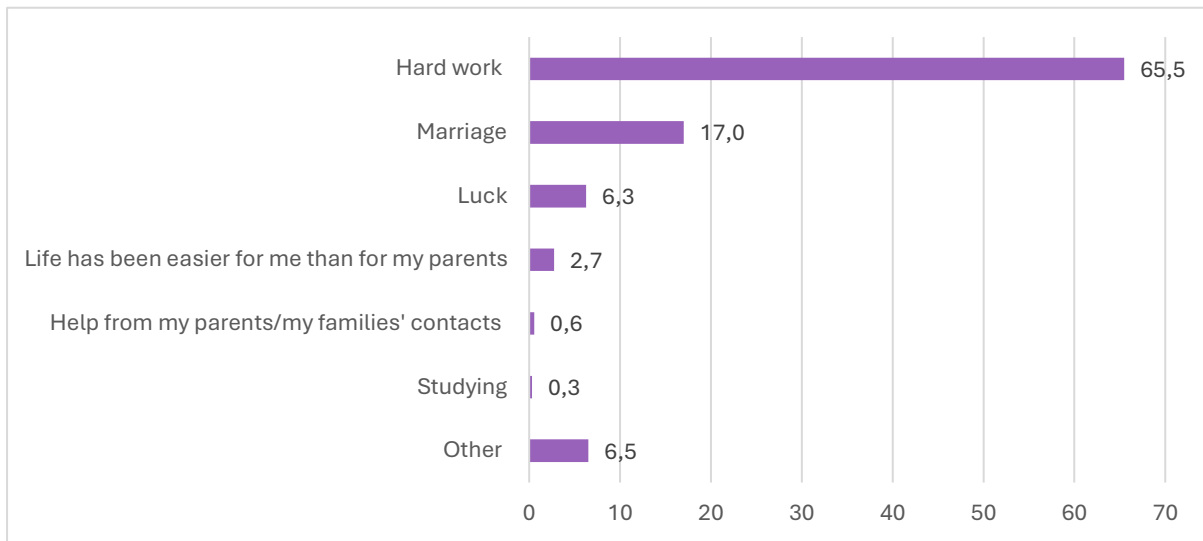
The bar chart in Figure 3.24 reflects respondents' perceptions of their children's current living standards compared to their own at the same age. A significant majority perceive improvement, with 47.3 per cent stating their children are better off and 23.7 per cent indicating they are much better off. In contrast, 16.2 per cent report no change ("neither better nor worse"), while 11.8 per cent believe their children are worse off, and only 1 per cent think their children are much worse off. These responses highlight a generally optimistic outlook on intergenerational progress, with most respondents viewing their children's economic and living standards as an improvement over their own.

Figure 3.24 Answer to "Comparing your children's current situation with yours when you were their age, how do you think your children are doing now compared to you then, in terms of living standard/economic situation?" (%)

39
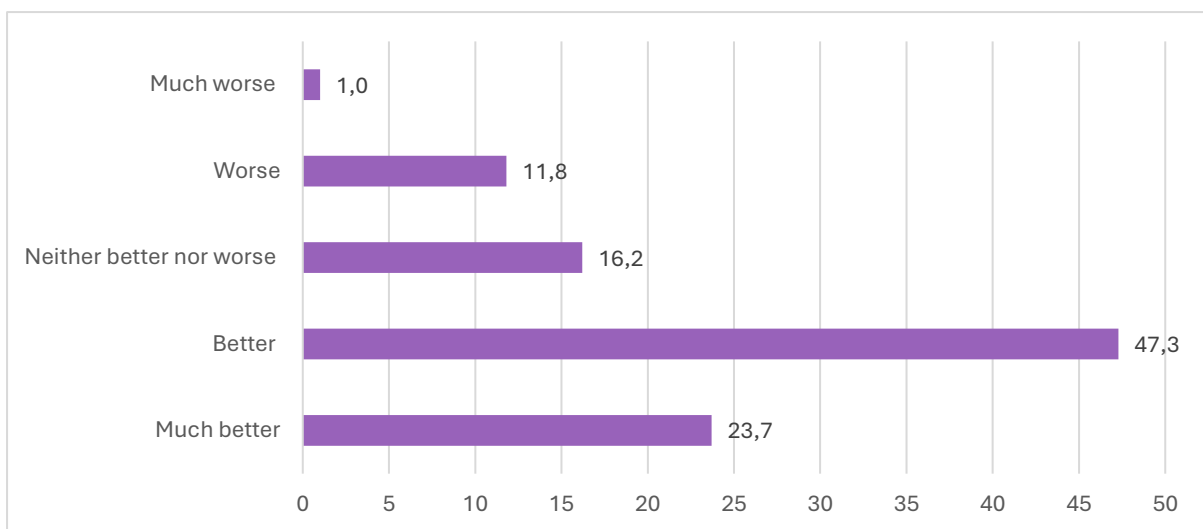
4. Results: Determinants of Upward Mobility

In this section, we investigate the determinants (correlates) of upward mobility in each of the outcome dimensions by regressing a variable that indicates upward mobility (equals 1 if the respondent has experienced upward mobility in the dimension of interest, and 0 otherwise) on key demographic factors, characteristics of the childhood households and its dynamics, and geographic factors. In particular, we look at the association between upward mobility and:

- **Demographic factors**:
    - Gender of the respondent
    - Age of the respondent
    - The square of age of the respondent
    - Whether the respondent was born after Mozambique gained independence (1975)
- **Childhood household composition and dynamics:**
    - Gender of the household head
    - Whether the household head spoke Portuguese or not
    - The number of children of the household head
    - Whether the household head engaged in polygamy or not
    - If the mother or father of the respondent died before the respondent turned 12
    - If any member of the childhood household directly experienced conflict
    - Whether the respondent lived in multiple households from 0 to 12 years old or always remained in the same
- **Geographic factors:**
    - Province: North, Centre, or South
    - If the respondent has ever migrated
    - If the childhood household was located further than 2 hours walk from a health centre

In what follows, we present regression tables estimated through logistic regression across four specifications for upward mobility in education, occupation, and multidimensional and subjective well-being.

4.1 Determinants of upward mobility in education

Table 4.1 looks into determinants of upward mobility in education, where upward mobility is defined as the educational attainment of the respondent being higher than that of their parent. The table includes four specifications, progressively adding demographic, childhood household, and geographic factors, with the fourth column incorporating all the factors jointly.

The gender of the respondent emerges as a significant correlate of upward educational mobility. Female respondents are consistently and significantly less likely to experience upward mobility in education across all specifications, as indicated by large and negative coefficients. Age is positively associated with upward mobility, but this effect diminishes at higher ages, as shown by the negative and significant coefficient of the squared age term.

Childhood household factors reveal several notable associations with upward educational mobility. Having a female household head in childhood is positively associated with upward mobility, a finding that might be explained by the generally lower education levels of female household heads compared to males, as 93 per cent of female household heads had no formal education compared to 79 per cent of male household heads (not shown). Conversely, households where the head spoke Portuguese are significantly less likely to exhibit upward educational mobility, possibly due to the higher average education levels among Portuguese-speaking household heads. Polygamy and the death of the mother in childhood are strongly and negatively associated with upward mobility, indicating significant barriers in these contexts. While the death of the father also shows a negative association, this effect diminishes and becomes insignificant in the full model. Other household factors, such as the number of children, experiences of conflict, or changes in the household during childhood, do not exhibit significant relationships with upward educational mobility.

Geographically, respondents from the Centre and South regions are significantly less likely to experience upward mobility in education compared to those from the North, as evidenced by negative and significant coefficients. Migration and proximity to a health centre, however, do not have significant effects on upward educational mobility.

Overall, the analysis highlights that demographic factors, particularly gender, and specific household characteristics, such as polygamy and the mother's survival, are important correlates of upward mobility in education. Geographic disparities are also evident, with substantial regional differences in educational mobility outcomes.

Table 4.1 Upward mobility in education and key demographic, childhood, and geographic characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	UM in Edu	UM in Edu	UM in Edu	UM in Edu
Female resp.	-1.397***			-1.594***
	(0.0947)			(0.109)
Age	0.113*			0.101
	(0.0604)			(0.0670)
Age^2	-0.000942**			-0.000883*
	(0.000451)			(0.000502)
Born >1975	0.398			0.479
	(0.288)			(0.312)
Female HHH		0.188		0.368**
		(0.142)		(0.164)
HHH speaks Port.		-0.559***		-0.762***
		(0.113)		(0.130)
N children HHH		-0.00470		-0.00757
		(0.0131)		(0.0149)
Polygamy		-0.290***		-0.117
		(0.110)		(0.125)
Mother died		-0.394**		-0.455**
		(0.173)		(0.196)
Father died		-0.286*		-0.282
		(0.152)		(0.177)
Conflict		-0.0470		0.0276
		(0.104)		(0.118)
Changed HH		0.110		0.112
		(0.118)		(0.136)
Centre			-0.604***	-0.606***
			(0.107)	(0.121)
South			-0.543***	-0.244*
			(0.115)	(0.130)
Migrated			0.0748	0.0250
			(0.0946)	(0.105)
Health c. far			0.0125	-0.0146
			(0.0944)	(0.106)
_cons	-2.676	0.0363	0.120	-1.511
	(2.005)	(0.110)	(0.0991)	(2.217)
N	2148	2063	1973	1901

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

4.2   Determinants of upward mobility in occupation

We now look (Table 4.2) at the determinants of upward mobility in occupation. As mentioned in section 2.2., the classification into 5 occupation classes is not strictly hierarchical. We consider intergenerational mobility between the categories of informal upper-tier and farm upper-tier, and between informal lower-tier and farm lower-tier to be horizontal movement rather than upward or downward mobility. That is, in what follows we consider as the lowest step in the occupational scale both lower-tier categories, followed by the two upper-tier categories, while formal employment is the highest category on the scale.

Gender continues to play a significant role in occupational mobility. Female respondents are significantly less likely to experience upward mobility in occupation, as indicated by the consistently negative and statistically significant coefficients. This disadvantage aligns with what was observed for education mobility, highlighting the persistent structural barriers faced by women across mobility dimensions.

In contrast to education, age and its squared term show no significant relationship with occupational mobility, suggesting that year of birth effects may be less relevant for occupational outcomes. Similarly, being born after 1975 does not show a statistically significant association with occupational mobility.

Regarding childhood household factors, some patterns differ from education. For instance, the gender of the household head and whether they spoke Portuguese are not significant predictors of occupational mobility, whereas these factors had an impact on upward mobility in education. The death of a parent, polygamy, and the number of children in the household also show no significant relationship with upward occupational mobility, in contrast to their more pronounced roles in the education model. This suggests that factors predominantly tied to early life circumstances may play a stronger role in determining educational trajectories than occupational advancements. However, one key finding is the positive and statistically significant effect of changing households during childhood, indicating that this factor might provide greater exposure to opportunities relevant to occupational advancement.

Geographic factors reveal additional distinctions. Unlike education, regional differences (North, Centre, and South) are not significant predictors of occupational mobility. Additionally, migration and proximity to health centres, which were also insignificant in education models, show no impact on occupational mobility.

Overall, while the gender of the respondent remains a consistent and significant determinant of upward mobility across both education and occupation, the importance of childhood household characteristics and geographic disparities is more muted for occupational outcomes. The findings suggest that occupational mobility may be influenced by a distinct set of processes compared to education, reflecting potentially

different barriers and opportunities in these dimensions. This differentiation underscores the need for tailored interventions to address specific constraints in occupational and educational mobility.

Table 4.2 Upward mobility in occupation and key demographic, childhood, and geographic characteristics

	(1) UM in Occ	(2) UM in Occ	(3) UM in Occ	(4) UM in Occ
Female resp.	-0.466***			-0.441***
	(0.116)			(0.127)
Age	0.0850			0.0926
	(0.0775)			(0.0823)
Age^2	-0.000640			-0.000669
	(0.000577)			(0.000613)
Born >1975	0.301			0.397
	(0.365)			(0.381)
Female HHH		-0.181		-0.248
		(0.195)		(0.210)
HHH speaks Port.		0.153		0.113
		(0.130)		(0.139)
N children HHH		-0.0234		-0.0266
		(0.0173)		(0.0183)
Polygamy		-0.161		-0.0672
		(0.146)		(0.152)
Mother died		-0.368		-0.296
		(0.235)		(0.246)
Father died		-0.0454		0.0260
		(0.203)		(0.219)
Conflict		0.0553		0.0346
		(0.133)		(0.141)
Changed HH		0.384***		0.345**
		(0.144)		(0.156)
Centre			-0.131	-0.134
			(0.142)	(0.149)
South			0.0140	0.144
			(0.146)	(0.155)
Migrated			0.170	0.144
			(0.121)	(0.125)
Health c. far			-0.123	-0.0978
			(0.121)	(0.125)
_cons	-4.219	-1.590***	-1.660***	-4.439
	(2.579)	(0.145)	(0.129)	(2.732)
N	2379	2281	2192	2106

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

4.3 Determinants of upward mobility in multidimensional well-being

Table 4 presents the determinants of upward mobility in multidimensional well-being, measured as intergenerational transitions out of multidimensional poverty.

Gender exhibits a distinct relationship in this dimension. Unlike the results for education and occupation, where female respondents consistently experienced disadvantages, here gender effects are less straightforward. In the initial specification, female respondents are positively associated with upward MPI mobility, but the effect diminishes and becomes negative when controlling for other factors in the full model, although the coefficient is only marginally significant. Age has a positive, diminishing effect on upward MPI mobility, as indicated by the positive age coefficient and the negative coefficient for its squared term. These relationships lose significance in the full model, suggesting that the association between age and mobility is mediated by other factors. Being born after 1975 remains insignificant in MPI mobility.

Childhood household dynamics reveal nuanced effects. Polygamy, a negative factor in education, positively correlates with upward MPI mobility in the full model. Conversely, the death of a mother has a marginally negative association, consistent with findings for education, highlighting the vulnerability linked to maternal loss in childhood. Exposure to conflict emerges as a strong and significant predictor of upward MPI mobility, in contrast to its role in other mobility dimensions. While this finding is counterintuitive, it may reflect that households that overcame conflict have built resilience to shocks or benefitted from targeted post-conflict recovery programmes.

Geographically, regional differences are pronounced. Respondents from the South are significantly more likely to experience upward MPI mobility compared to those from the North. Migration is also a strong and consistent predictor of upward mobility, indicating that geographic mobility plays a critical role in improving multidimensional well-being. As also occurs in education and occupation, proximity to health centres in childhood does not have a significant effect on upward mobility in this dimension.

The results highlight that upward MPI mobility is shaped by a distinct set of factors compared to education and occupation. Gender dynamics, household characteristics, and geographic influences interact differently, reflecting the multifaceted nature of multidimensional well-being.

Table 4.3 Upward Mobility in multidimensional well-being and key demographic, childhood, and geographic characteristics

	(1) UM in Multi	(2) UM in Multi	(3) UM in Multi	(4) UM in Multi
Female resp.	0.230***			-0.176*
	(0.0847)			(0.0982)
Age	0.108**			0.0609
	(0.0511)			(0.0592)
Age^2	-0.000827**			-0.000528
	(0.000378)			(0.000442)
Born >1975	0.0131			0.0186
	(0.253)			(0.282)
Female HHH		0.0872		0.0839
		(0.138)		(0.158)
HHH speaks Port.		-0.126		-0.172
		(0.0954)		(0.108)
N children HHH		0.00826		0.00376
		(0.0122)		(0.0138)
Polygamy		0.416***		0.245**
		(0.104)		(0.117)
Mother died		-0.300*		-0.221
		(0.157)		(0.177)
Father died		0.193		-0.0391
		(0.143)		(0.166)
Conflict		0.243**		0.409***
		(0.0977)		(0.109)
Changed HH		0.212*		0.0811
		(0.112)		(0.128)
Centre			0.145	0.145
			(0.101)	(0.107)
South			1.772***	1.895***
			(0.123)	(0.134)
Migrated			0.271***	0.221**
			(0.0937)	(0.0978)
Health c. far			0.105	0.0778
			(0.0921)	(0.0963)
_cons	-3.213*	0.102	-0.371***	-2.054
	(1.710)	(0.104)	(0.0968)	(1.965)
N	2487	2376	2287	2189

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

4.4   Determinants of upward mobility in subjective well-being

The regression results (Table 4.4) analyse the determinants of upward mobility in subjective well-being, measured by transitions along a subjective well-being scale anchored to household vignettes.

Gender exhibits a less consistent role compared to the education and occupation models. In the initial specification, being female is positively associated with upward subjective mobility, but this effect becomes insignificant in the full model. This variation contrasts with the education and occupation results, where females consistently faced disadvantages, and highlights that perceptions of mobility may be less strongly tied to gender than objective measures.

Age and its squared term suggest a non-linear relationship in the full model. Younger respondents are more likely to experience upward subjective mobility, but this likelihood diminishes with age, indicating that perceptions of mobility may change over the life course. Being born after 1975 shows no significant effect.

Household characteristics display mixed associations. Changing households during childhood significantly reduces the likelihood of upward subjective mobility, contrasting its positive impact on the occupation dimension. Factors like polygamy, parental death, and the number of children do not have significant effects on subjective mobility, diverging from their stronger roles in education and MPI mobility.

Geographic factors reveal some distinct patterns. Respondents from the South are significantly more likely to report upward subjective mobility compared to those from the North while being from the Centre is negatively associated with upward subjective mobility. This is aligned with the MPI findings and underscores regional disparities in perceived and actual mobility. Migration emerges as a positive predictor in the full model, reflecting the association between geographic mobility and improved perceptions of well-being. Distance to a health centre, surprisingly, is positively associated with upward subjective mobility. This result might indicate that respondents who lived far from health centres during childhood perceive significant improvements in well-being if their current households are closer to such services. Changes in access to essential facilities, rather than the static distance itself, may influence their perceptions of mobility over generations.

In comparison to education, occupation, and MPI mobility, subjective mobility determinants appear to reflect more individual and perception-based factors rather than strictly structural ones. While some overlaps exist, such as the importance of regional disparities and migration, the results highlight the distinct nature of subjective mobility as a measure that captures personal interpretations and life narratives rather than solely objective changes.

Table 4.4 Upward Mobility in subjective well-being and key demographic, childhood, and geographic characteristics

	(1) UM in Subj	(2) UM in Subj	(3) UM in Subj	(4) UM in Subj
Female resp.	0.165**			0.00537
	(0.0839)			(0.0947)
Age	-0.0593			-0.0971*
	(0.0514)			(0.0584)
Age^2	0.000477			0.000756*
	(0.000381)			(0.000436)
Born >1975	-0.314			-0.242
	(0.252)			(0.274)
Female HHH		0.128		0.0671
		(0.136)		(0.151)
HHH speaks Port.		-0.188**		-0.110
		(0.0944)		(0.104)
N children HHH		0.0177		0.0187
		(0.0121)		(0.0132)
Polygamy		0.0489		-0.0533
		(0.101)		(0.111)
Mother died		0.0288		0.0354
		(0.156)		(0.171)
Father died		-0.0270		-0.152
		(0.141)		(0.157)
Conflict		-0.0165		0.0854
		(0.0953)		(0.104)
Changed HH		-0.434***		-0.593***
		(0.108)		(0.122)
Centre			-0.333***	-0.369***
			(0.101)	(0.107)
South			0.843***	0.879***
			(0.110)	(0.119)
Migrated			0.133	0.191**
			(0.0897)	(0.0939)
Health c. far			0.299***	0.286***
			(0.0885)	(0.0925)
_cons	1.898	0.186*	-0.165*	2.890
	(1.717)	(0.103)	(0.0945)	(1.935)
N	2487	2376	2287	2189

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

4.5   Correlation between mobility measures

This section (see Table 4.5) presents the cross-tabulations and Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficients for intergenerational mobility across the four dimensions analysed. These analyses aim to explore the relationships between mobility outcomes across dimensions.

Education and occupation

The cross-tabulation of mobility in education and occupation reveals a near-zero and slightly negative association, with Kendall's tau-b of -0,0081. This indicates a lack of alignment between educational attainment and occupational advancements, suggesting that improvements in education do not translate into corresponding gains in the labour market. This disconnection underscores potential barriers such as mismatches between education and labour market demands, structural inequalities, or insufficient opportunities for individuals to leverage their educational achievements in occupational settings.

Education and multidimensional well-being

The association between mobility in education and multidimensional well-being is also weak, with Kendall's tau-b of 0.0968. Although slightly stronger than the education-occupation correlation, the relationship remains modest. This reflects that while educational improvements may contribute to better multidimensional outcomes, they are not strongly associated with such changes.

Education and subjective well-being

The correlation between education and subjective well-being mobility is similarly weak, with Kendall's tau-b of 0.0520. This suggests limited alignment between mobility in educational attainment and perceptions of improved well-being, indicating that subjective experiences may not correspond to educational outcomes.

Occupation and multidimensional well-being

The cross-tabulation for occupation and multidimensional well-being yields a Kendall's tau-b of 0.0343. The weak positive association suggests that upward mobility in occupation also may not strongly predict improvements in multidimensional well-being. This misalignment points to potential structural barriers that decouple occupational and multidimensional advancements.

Occupation and subjective well-being

Mobility in occupation and subjective well-being is also weakly correlated, with Kendall's tau-b of 0.0398. This weak association underscores the independence of occupational outcomes from subjective perceptions of well-being.

Multidimensional and subjective well-being

The strongest correlation is observed between multidimensional and subjective well-being, with Kendall's tau-b of 0.3020. This moderate positive association indicates that improvements in multidimensional poverty are more closely aligned with individuals' perceptions of well-being compared to other dimensions and suggests that policies improving multidimensional outcomes can enhance individual perceptions of progress.

Table 4.5 Cross-tabulations and Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficients for intergenerational mobility across the four dimensions

	Occupation			
Education	**-1**	**0**	**1**	**Total**
-1	1.6	4.6	1.0	7.2
0	8.0	33.6	6.6	48.1
1	9.7	27.6	7.4	44.7
Total	19.3	65.8	14.9	100.0
	Kendall's tau-b = -0.0081 ASE = 0.021			
	MPI status			
Education	**-1**	**0**	**1**	**Total**
-1	0.4	3.7	3.1	7.2
0	0.5	21.2	26.8	48.4
1	0.6	16.2	27.6	44.4
Total	1.4	41.1	57.5	100.0
	Kendall's tau-b = 0.0968 ASE = 0.021			
	Subj. well-being			
Education	**-1**	**0**	**1**	**Total**
-1	1.6	2.5	3.1	7.2
0	5.3	17.4	25.7	48.4
1	4.7	15.1	24.7	44.4
Total	11.5	35.0	53.5	100.0
	Kendall's tau-b = 0.0520 ASE = 0.021			
	MPI status			
Occupation	**-1**	**0**	**1**	**Total**
-1	0.3	8.4	11.5	20.1
0	0.9	27.5	36.3	64.7
1	0.3	5.1	9.8	15.2
Total	1.4	41.0	57.6	100.0
	Kendall's tau-b = 0.0343 ASE = 0.019			
	Subj. well-being			
Occupation	**-1**	**0**	**1**	**Total**
-1	2.5	7.0	10.6	20.1
0	7.4	22.7	34.6	64.7
1	1.5	4.5	9.2	15.2
Total	11.4	34.3	54.4	100.0
	Kendall's tau-b = 0.0398 ASE = 0.019			
	Subj. well-being			

MPI status	-1	0	1	Total
-1	0.8	0.5	0.1	1.5
0	6.5	18.3	15.2	39.9
1	4.0	15.1	39.6	58.6
Total	11.3	33.9	54.9	100.0
	Kendall's tau-b = 0.3020 ASE = 0.018			

5. Conclusion & Policy Recommendations

The findings from this report provide a novel overview of intergenerational mobility across education, occupation, multidimensional well-being, and subjective well-being in Mozambique, highlighting distinct patterns and critical areas of concern. Mobility metrics reveal notable disparities in outcomes across dimensions, regions, and gender. In education, significant upward mobility is observed, with almost half of respondents achieving higher educational attainment than their parents. However, immobility persists among those whose parents had no formal education, particularly among female respondents, underscoring enduring structural barriers.

Occupational mobility, by contrast, presents a gloomier picture, with lower upward movement and almost two-thirds of the sample remaining at the same occupational level as their parents. The transition from farming to off-farm employment also remains limited, with a larger share of the current generation engaged in farming compared to the previous generation.

In multidimensional well-being, most respondents report improvements relative to their childhood households, particularly in terms of reduced deprivations. However, upward mobility in multidimensional well-being is unevenly distributed across regions, with the North and Centre experiencing lower upward mobility rates than the South.

Subjective well-being mobility, characterised by comparing the respondents' current household's position on the subjective well-being scale with their childhood household's position, shows high levels of upward mobility across the country. This aligns with the general trend of reduced multidimensional poverty over generations, with similar geographical disparities to those found for multidimensional well-being evident in subjective well-being too.

The determinants of upward mobility vary significantly across dimensions. Gender emerges as a critical factor for educational and occupational mobility, while its role is more nuanced regarding upward movement in multidimensional and subjective well-being. In education, factors such as household head characteristics, including their gender and whether the head spoke Portuguese, as well as dynamics in the childhood household, significantly influence outcomes, while they are not associated with upward movement in occupation. Geographical factors are strong determinants of mobility in all

dimensions analysed, except for occupation where location in the North, Centre or South of the country does not play a prominent role.

The correlations between mobility measures reveal limited alignment, underscoring the fragmented nature of intergenerational mobility in Mozambique. Educational and occupational mobility exhibit near-zero correlation, suggesting that gains in education do not consistently translate into occupational advancements. This highlights challenges in the labour market and structural barriers to leveraging educational achievements. In contrast, multidimensional and subjective well-being show a moderate positive correlation, reflecting a closer alignment between objective improvements in living standards and individuals' perceptions of progress.

In conclusion, the findings highlight some progress in addressing the ongoing issue of deprivation across generations, particularly in education and multidimensional and subjective well-being. However, the persistence of gender and regional disparities, coupled with the weak alignment between educational and occupational mobility, points to structural barriers that continue to constrain opportunities for many. These insights emphasise the need for policy interventions that address inequalities, improve access to quality education and employment, and ensure that advancements in one dimension of mobility translate into broader socio-economic progress.

As mentioned above, the weak correlation between educational attainment and occupational mobility suggests that more effort is needed to ensure that education translates into better economic outcomes. The current misalignment between educational and occupational mobility indicates both that educational quantity may not go hand in hand with quality, and that there might be a skill mismatch which prevents translating higher educational attainment into better economic outcomes. In this context, improving education should go hand-in-hand with reforming labour market structures, enhancing job creation, and improving employer demand for skilled labour.

Improving labour market mobility is also crucial. Policies should improve labour market integration, and ensure access to better infrastructure, especially in rural areas. Promoting structural transformation through the diversification of the economy into high-productivity sectors could provide more formal and better-quality employment opportunities. At the same time, the informal economy, which constitutes a significant share of the labour market, requires policy integration, such as better labour rights, access to finance, and support for small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Supporting non-smokestacks industries, such as tourism and agribusiness, can also create new pathways for rural populations to move out of subsistence farming.

Addressing gender and regional disparities is critical for inclusive growth. Gender-sensitive policies should ensure equal access to educational and employment opportunities, particularly in regions like the North and Centre, where socioeconomic

well-being has historically been lower than in the South (DEEF, 2016). Regional development strategies should include investment in physical infrastructure, market integration, and institutional capacity to create an enabling environment for mobility. Expanding social protection programs will also provide vulnerable populations with a safety net, enabling them to take advantage of new opportunities created by economic transformation. These policy actions will not only help improve social mobility but also contribute to the broader goal of sustainable, inclusive economic growth.

References

Alesina, A., Hohmann, S., Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2021). Intergenerational mobility in Africa. *Econometrica*, *89*(1), 1-35.

Alkire, S.and Foster, J.E. (2011). Counting and multidimensional poverty measurement. *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 95(7), pp. 476–487.

Azomahou, T. T., & Yitbarek, E. A. (2016). Intergenerational education mobility in Africa: Has progress been inclusive?. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (7843).

Barletta, G., Ibraimo, M., Salvucci, V., Sarmento, E., & Tarp, F. (2024). The evolution of inequality in Mozambique 1996/97–2019/20. *Development Southern Africa*, *41*(6), 1179–1213. https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2024.2398545

Bossuroy, T. and Cogneau, D. (2013), Social Mobility in Five African Countries. Review of Income and Wealth, 59: S84-S110. https://doi.org/10.1111/roiw.12037

DEEF (2016). Pobreza e Bem-estar em Moçambique: Quarta Avaliação Nacional (IOF 2014/15). Ministério de Economia e Finanças (MEF), Direcção de Estudos Económicos e Financeiros (DEEF). Maputo, Moçambique.

Fields, G. S., Gindling, T. H., Sen, K., Danquah, M., & Schotte, S. (2023). *The Job Ladder: Transforming Informal Work and Livelihoods in Developing Countries* (p. 464). Oxford University Press.

Heath, A., & Zhao, Y. (2021). Rethinking occupational mobility in developing countries. *Social Mobility in Developing Countries*.

Iversen, V., Krishna, A., & Sen, K. (2019). Beyond poverty escapes—social mobility in developing countries: A review article. *The World Bank Research Observer*, *34*(2), 239-273.

Iversen, V., Krishna, A., & Sen, K. (2021). The state of knowledge about social mobility in the developing world. *Social Mobility in Developing Countries*, 3-32.

Kendall, M. G. (1938). A new measure of rank correlation. *Biometrika*, *30*(1-2), 81-93.

Kendall, M. G. (1945). The treatment of ties in ranking problems. *Biometrika*, *33*(3), 239-251.

Narayan, A., Van der Weide, R., Cojocaru, A., Lakner, C., Redaelli, S., Mahler, D. G., ... & Thewissen, S. (2018). Fair progress?: Economic mobility across generations around the world. World Bank Publications.

Ouedraogo, R., & Syrichas, N. (2021). *Intergenerational Social Mobility in Africa Since 1920*. International Monetary Fund.

Piraino, P. (2015). Intergenerational earnings mobility and equality of opportunity in South Africa. *World development*, *67*, 396-405.

Ravallion, M., Himelein, K., & Beegle, K. (2016). Can subjective questions on economic welfare be trusted?. Economic Development and Cultural Change, 64(4), 697-726.

Sakri, D., Sumner, A., & Yusuf, A. A. (2023). Great Gatsby and the Global South: Intergenerational Mobility, Income Inequality, and Development. *Elements in Development Economics*.

World Bank (2022). Mozambique Economic Update Getting Agricultural Support Right. June 2022. The World Bank

República de Moçambique
Ministério da Economia e Finanças

CEEG

UNIVERSITY OF
COPENHAGEN

UNU
WIDER

Com o apoio de:

SUOMI
FINLAND

Embaixada da Noruega

Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

Embaixada da Suíça em Moçambique