

SPACE DYNAMICS AND URBAN TRANSPORT GOVERNANCE IN THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF MAPUTO (MOZAMBIQUE): A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Due to the deterioration of rural living conditions caused by economic and social crisis, and political instability in Mozambique after 1975, there has been an increase in urban population in Maputo. This led to increasing demand for land for housing and services (Araújo, 2006; Mendonça, 2014), and in particular, for public transport (Matos, 2010, 2017). There are evidences of operation of non-licensed transporters legitimized by the government, the so called “*my loves* and *chapas*” from 1987. The current public budgetary challenges; a weak investment in the sector has resulted in a limited supply, and poor quality of public transport challenges the government to improve its governance for housing space planning and urban

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mobility in Maputo Metropolitan Region. This paper aims to analyze the socio-spatial transformation of Maputo region due to the population growth and seeks to understand how these changes challenge the current efforts to improve urban mobility in the area, as well as to understand the modes of governing the delivery of public transport. I have analyzed articles and technical-scientific reports about Maputo and Matola cities transformation from the 1960s, studies on policies and strategies for urban transport in Maputo; I conducted exploratory interviews to the main actors in public transport as I made observations on the functioning of the transport system. I also used statistical data on the population growth and transport in Maputo. Preliminary results show a contradiction between the population growth and housing sprawl, and the availability of transport to serve the new far neighborhoods with consequence in decreasing of quality and availability of transport in greater Maputo. The study contributes to the debate on urban mobility in Maputo region, with a view to designing public policies for sustainable urban transportation system.

Key-words: Maputo Metropolitan Region; space transformation; urban transport; Mozambique.

1. Introduction and Background

The urban transition is a universal phenomenon, however, the determinants, patterns and results are not necessarily the same everywhere. This phenomenon is almost complete in most of developed countries at the beginning of the 21st century, however the growth of cities is now entirely confined to developing countries (Farrell, 2017). In these countries, the growth of cities imposes challenges to governments in order to define urban policies, and ensure the provision of essential public services to meet people's mobility demand (Dimitriou and Gakenheimer, 2011). Hence, the mobility challenges of these countries are different from the West (Cervero, 2013).

The urban transport plays an important role in the social and economic development of communities, so, the design of plans and strategies in this sector not only aims to respond to the growth of urban areas, but particularly, to meet the needs of sustainable urban mobility (Cervero, 2000). In urban areas, Stjernborg and Mattisson (2016) explain that urban transport plays an important role in boosting urban displacement, in the current context of fast cities growth. They are determinant to transform employment structures, business, family life and healthcare, bringing benefits that would have been unimaginable 100 years ago (Liu,

Triantis and Sarangi, 2010; Masood, Khan and Naqvi, 2011).

The demand for city services is expected to increase as the growing trend of the world's urban population. This is also called the metropolitan century. More than 50% of the world population lives in cities, and it is expected that by 2100 approximately 85% of the world population will be living in urban centers, and up to that, urban population will have increased by 1 billion, in 1950, to 9 billion (OECD, 2015).

Urban transport is a critical system in the city, but it is also viewed as one of the basic services to be ensured in the growth of cities, to ensure that people continue to access to social and economic services: employment, education, health and leisure, at affordable costs, within a context of intense demand for land for housing construction (Liu, Triantis and Sarangi, 2010; Levy, 2013). The concept of accessibility is understood as the ease of reaching desired destination given a number of available opportunities to the means to travel from the origin to the destination (Bocarejo and Oviedo, 2012).

According to Seabra *et al.*, (2011), the concept of mobility assumes that people living in cities, towns or villages have accessibility and mobility conditions and choices that allow them to move

safely, comfortably, with acceptable times, and with the greatest energy efficiency and less environmental impact. However, the mobility challenges in the developing world are considerably different than those in wealthier, and so are challenges of coordinating transportation and land use (Cervero, 2013). Determinants such as rapid population growth, poverty and income disparities, (Jachnow *et al.*, 2017) horizontal growth of urban areas, poor roads, congestions are among the most worrying challenges faced by developing cities.

In Mozambique, transport policies and models are fundamentally based on the analysis of economic viability for transporters, seeking to maximize their income as well as to fulfil the demand for transport, mostly in far neighborhoods. Unfortunately, less attention is given to the quality of transport and the way people are carried. And there is still a need for coordination between land use and transport (Allen and Johnsen, 2006).

1.1. Urban sprawl in Mozambique

The urban spaces in Mozambique emerged from a complex process that reproduced specific forms of spatial organization. As a consequence of several economic, political and social factors after the independence in 1975 (see also Macuane, 2006) Mozambican cities have increased their population without an increase in urban services and

infrastructure. This fact led to the degradation of the cities and the proliferation of informality, as a survival strategy for the poor population (Araújo, 1999; see also Francisco and Paulo, 2006).

Despite all, Jachnow, *et al.* (2017, pp. 28–29) indicate some of the benefits of the urban sprawl in Mozambique:

- a) Socio-cultural benefits, such as community lifestyle, valorized by social networks and cultural habits;
- b) The rural-urban connections: mobility, commerce, and some informal activities (small farming and street vendors, etc.);
- c) The capability of building own houses with cement;
- d) The economic benefits related with the land affordability.

The Maputo horizontal growth, poorly planned and disordered, makes it a popular city (Andreatta and Magalhaes, 2011). In Maputo metropolitan area, the emergent neighborhoods are located 20 to 30 km far from Maputo city center to where all converge.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, land is an exclusive State property to which it is up to assign to parties the Right of Use through the concession of a title deed known as

DUAT². However, the sale of land by citizens who have that right whether native or not, is notorious (Mandamule, 2017). Jenkins (2001) has recognized that the informal land occupation is a solution to access land for urban poor.

The city of Maputo is the economic center of the metropolitan region to which the majority of the population is daily attracted seeking for business opportunities, employment and socio-cultural activities. The city of Matola is the largest industrial hub in the country, and is currently a strategic housing hub in the Maputo region. The districts of Marracuene and Boane municipality are currently the regions of attraction for social housing construction in the metropolitan region.

1.2. Urban Growth and Poverty

The African continent is undergoing a fast urbanization (Farrell, 2017). It is expected that the urban population in the continent will triple in the next 50 years, causing a change in the spaces and so, challenging political planners to adopt measures to make this process sustainable and inclusive (Freire, Lall and Leipziger, 2014) in the face of urban poverty reality which characterizes cities in general.

² Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra

Apart of the poor urbanization, most developing economies are witnessing the phenomenon of urban poverty to which governments are seeking solutions (Mitlin, 2004). Some scholars suggest that it result of structural adjustment programs promoted by the World Bank (Jones and Nelson, 1999), for developing countries emerged from their independence and involved in civil wars (Kikeri, Nellis and Shirley, 1992; Kumssa, 1996; Cf. Castelbranco, Cramer and Hailu, 2001).

Many definitions of poverty are associated to the absence or deficiency necessary requirements for survival and well-being of individuals (Wratten, 1995). The concept generally presented in the World Bank define poor people in spatial terms and in relation to lack of services which other urban areas have access to, such as education, health, housing conditions, water, electricity, etc., (Jones and Nelson, 1999).

According to Shimeles, *et al.* (1999), there are several factors that contribute to the growth of urban poverty, including man-made calamities, such as civil wars that displaced families forcing them to migrate to urban centers; the population growth and lack of employment in the countryside, which forces people to seek for employment in the city.

The cities growth in developing economies is seen as tending to put more people in urban areas than those in the countryside (Cohen, 2006).

Urbanization and urban poverty are central aspects when analyzing Africa development. While urban areas are responsible for macroeconomic growth in much of the continent, and offer opportunities for many, they are also places that promote inequality and poverty, with increasing environmental problems, political instability, violence and crime (Tvedten, Roque and Bertelsen, 2013). In fact, the urban poor live with many deprivations such as limited access to employment, housing, education and health services (Acharya, 2010). This trend of urban growth requires new approaches and models of governance for the provision of basic services in order to reduce regional asymmetry, between the center and the periphery.

In Maputo region, the link between poverty and urban growth must be seen in the distribution and structuring of population settlements between Maputo and Matola. According to UN-Habitat (2018), more than 75% of people living in the city of Maputo live in “informal” neighborhoods with precarious houses, mostly self-built. As also referred by Araújo (1997, 1999, 2003), Maloa (2019) describes how urban poverty in Mozambican cities has a historical context in the structures of social organization based on colonial policies and

socio-spatial segregation. Fanon (2005) suggests that the colonialism perpetuated segregationist and racist values, which structured Mozambican cities into two compartments: on one side, neighborhoods configured in orthogonal plans, with vertical buildings, service networks, commerce, basic sanitation, electricity supply, drinking water, telecommunications etc.; on the other side, neighborhoods structured in horizontal housing, precarious in infrastructure and urban services.

Actually, in Maputo, the outskirts areas are attractive as are close to the city center and demand relatively short commute to work or other employment, education and leisure opportunities. These neighborhoods are often characterized by poor urban sanitation, the scarcity and degradation of access roads and environmental risk factors.

1.3. Context of urban transport in Maputo

Currently, the urban transport in Maputo metropolitan region is guaranteed by several means: the Taxi, Txopela or Tuque Tuque (with 3 seats), the train, the boat (linking Maputo city center to Inhaka island), the so called “*chapas*” (buses with 15 and 26 seats), the trucks (also called *my love*), and the buses (of 72 seats) of the municipal public companies of Maputo, Matola and Boane.

Before the independence, in Maputo, formerly Lourenço Marques, the first passenger transport initiative appeared in 1936, with the urban transport company of Mr. Paulo dos Santos Gil operating with 16 buses, operating under a monopoly regime (Machanguana, 2014, 2020).

The structure and governance of urban transport service since 1950 has followed the economic, social and political changes in Mozambique. In 1950, Mr. Gil's company came under the tutelage of the Municipal Chamber of Lourenço Marques with the designation of Municipal Road Service, still with a monopoly in the sector (EMTPM, 2017). In 1977, as the Decree nr. 20/77, of 28 April, the Company passed to the tutelage of the Ministry of Transport and Communications.

Due to the increasing demand for transport and the State's inability to reinforce the fleet, in the 87/88 years, the first private urban transport operators appeared, also known as "*chapas*", and afterwards, also appeared the "*my loves*", trucks carrying people as an alternative to the lack of transport in Maputo. The name "*chapa*" is related to the way in which the first private (informal) passenger transport was operated. To signal the stop and go, a collector tapped the car's plate so that the driver would stop or go (and still today). The "*my loves*" are informal but also considered "*chapa*", although with a specific designation because of the way people

travel. Due to lack of safety equipment people use to lean on each other to unfall during trip.

1.4. Urban growth and transport demand

It is recognized that many cities in Subsaharian Africa are undergoing massive spatial transformation owing to rapid urbanization (Agyemang, Silva and Poku-Boansi, 2019) forcing the increasing need for travel, shifting gradually from the walking mode to car use. In this regard, urban transport and urban sprawl are closely related. To understand this relationship it is necessary to analyze the transformations of space over time, and their cause and effect (Aljoufie *et al.*, 2011).

Transport is indisputably essential to ensure the accessibility, particularly for those who live far from public services (Farrington and Farrington, 2005). Lack of urban transport has a negative impact on people's possibilities and opportunities in life as it limits their access to city services (Dibben, 2007), knowing that ensuring accessibility is the ultimate goal of policies related to urban transport (Costa, 2008).

Studies in Mozambique (Matos, 2017; Mabucanhane, 2018) show that the supply of urban transport is misfit with the current trend of urban expansion. The (poor) distribution of buses is explained by the fact that traditionally the supply of

transport is based on demand and not by the need to provide transport services to all neighborhoods, regardless of the dimension of demand. As a consequence, the expanding neighborhoods, with unpaved roads are served by informals, with inadequate cars. In these neighborhoods, it is mostly used the “*my loves*”, and minibuses with 15 and 26 seats (*chapas*), mostly degraded because of the pave conditions in Maputo city and outskirts. While in areas close to the city center, with paved road, it is used buses with 15, 26 and 72 seats. It is estimated that daily more than 230,000 people are carried by all kind of means of transport in Maputo area (Machanguana, 2020), and Maputo city center still is the main detination.

In terms of expenses, urban people spend 12.5% of their income on transport (INE, 2015). The rural population spends 6.5%, while the largest proportion of their income is for food (over 53%). Recent studies (Mendonça, 2014; Matos, 2017) found that in Maputo metropolitan area the poorest people spend 30% of their income on transport. These people mostly live in the new neighborhoods in Matola, Boane and Marracuene.

1.5. Public transport supply in Maputo metropolitan area

The demand for transport in the metropolitan area is served by the transport structure with 5 networks:

- a) **The network of semi-collectives**, commonly known as “*Chapas*”, with buses of 15 and 26 seats, actually with 2435 active vehicles (OMT, 2021);
- b) **The Metropolitan Structural Network (REM)**, coordinated by the Metropolitan Transport Agency (AMT), which has 7 corridors and 385 buses, and 12 “mixed vehicles”, serving 300,000 people per day, organized into 10 transport cooperatives and 5 municipal public companies;
- c) **The informal transport network** “the so called *MyLoves*”, of small unsafe pickup trucks without municipal license to carry passengers, which are mainly used on routes in expanding neighborhoods, on unpaved roads. They often serve as feeders for the large terminals to the buses entering the cities. There is no data of their quantity neither how many people carry per day.
- d) **The Public Railway Network** managed by the public company ‘Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique (CFM)’ with 3 main lines: Goba, Ressano Garcia, Limpopo. In 2019, the company carried 501.8 million people per km (CFM, 2020);
- e) **The Metro-Bus network**, a mixed road and rail network managed by Sir Motors (a private company), focused on the economic needs of the middle class. There is no access to data on number of people carried per day.
- The metropolitan structural network is presented as follows:

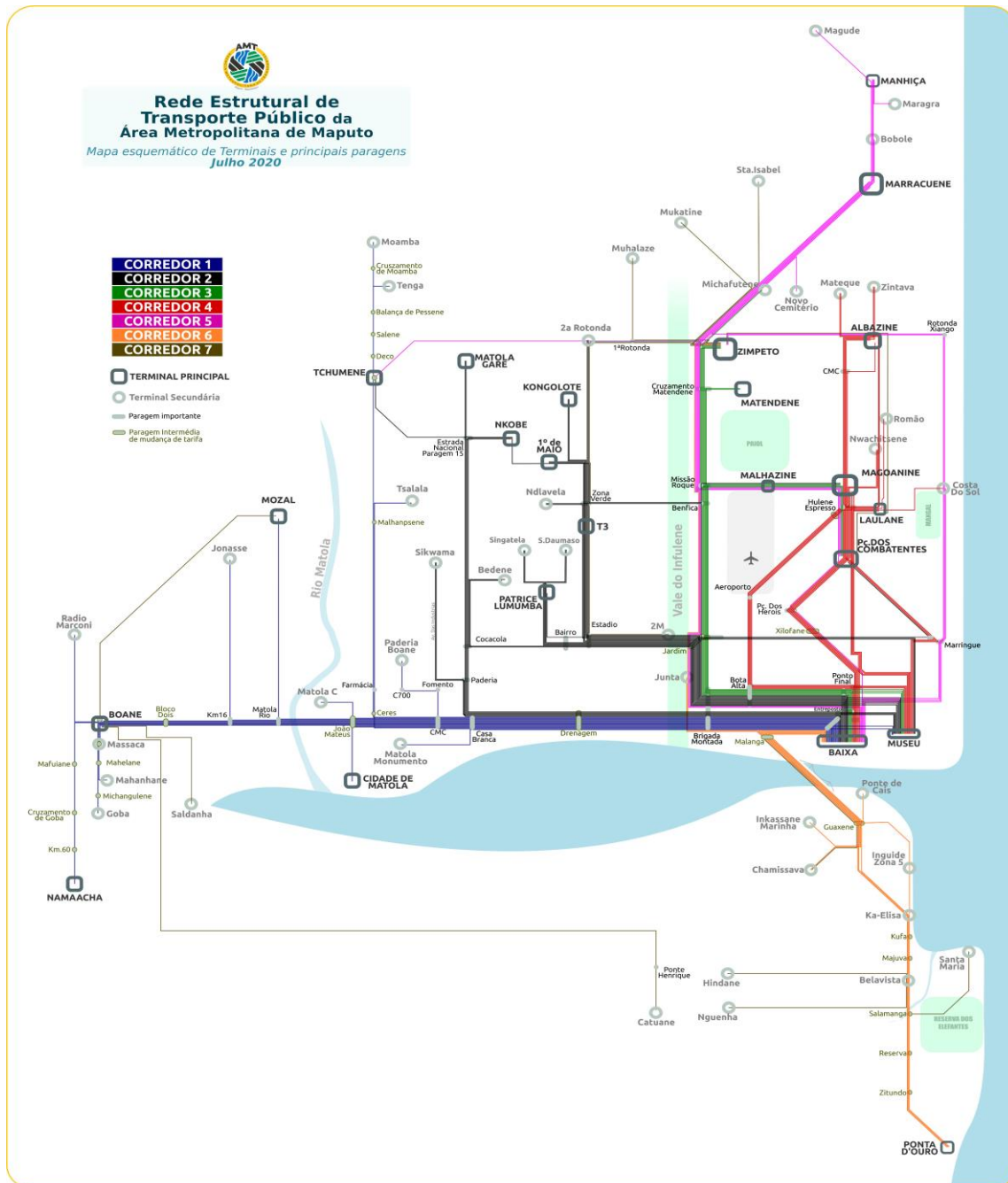


Figure 1. Metropolitan Structural Network
 Source: AMT (2019)

1.6. Current Public Transport Problems

Studies in developing countries reveal that the main problems of urban transport are related to the growth of urban areas, and occur when the transport system fail to satisfy the requirements of urban mobility (Rodrigue, Comtois and Slack, 2013). These can be caused, for example, by poor planning decisions, generating impacts on the relative costs of accessibility and development (Litman, 2016).

One of the main issues related to urban transport development in Maputo metropolitan area is the lack of effective coordination mechanisms between central, provincial and municipal governments (JICA, 2014).

An observation on the functioning of the urban transport system in the metropolitan region of Maputo confirms the studies by Mendonça (2014) and Matos (2017) that the current public transport scenario in Maputo metropolitan area is not functional and therefore needs changes. The main problems of urban transport are summarized as:

a) The movement of public transport vehicles is irregular. There is an intense traffic during the peak hours (7:00 am - 9:00 am, 4:00 pm - 6:00 pm) and reduced traffic between 10:00 am and 2:30 pm;

- b) for boarding and disembarking, private transporters often stop where the passenger wants, and usually overload the cars;
- c) due to strong competition between private operators, they usually hinder traffic by stopping in the middle of the road to embark and disembark passengers, as well as perform dangerous maneuvers, and are susceptible to accidents;
- d) private operators often deviate their routes operating on other routes where there is more demand, especially during peak hour;
- e) Minibuses leave as soon as (over) load and are usually faster, but they also systematically violate driving rules, and are also seen as the ones that most cause accidents;
- f) in general, the vehicle's safety conditions are not satisfactory, with severe mechanical deficiencies (lighting, noise, exhaust fumes, brakes failures, damaged body, dirty, uncomfortable seats, etc).
- g) there are transporters unaffiliated at transport associations, mostly the "*my love*".

A study by JICA (2014) shows that, in general, in the Maputo metropolitan area people travel a lot on foot and very little on a bicycle (45.9%), followed by *chapas*/minibuses (32.9%), the particular cars or taxi (10.2%) and buses from public companies

(EMTPM, ETM, ETB) (9.2%). The data reveals the importance which should be given to policies aimed at urban transport.

2. Objectives

This paper aims to analyze the socio-spatial transformations of Maputo region due to population growth and seeks to understand how these changes challenge the current public efforts to improve the urban mobility in the area, as well to understand the modes of governing the delivery of public transport service.

3. Methodology

3.1. Secondary Data

In this research I make a qualitative descriptive analysis based on the content of a specific literature on urban transport, namely scientific and technical literature, research and field reports published; news (media) and technical reports. I did an internet search using keywords, such as public transport, urban growth, urban mobility, Mozambique, Metropolitan Area of Maputo, *chapas*, urban poverty. The field research took place between 2018 and July 2019. This study is focused on mass land transport, specifically buses (private/public), and trucks (also called *my loves*), considering its impact

on urban mobility, although other means of transport are highlighted.

3.2. Primary Data

Based on documentary analysis, non-participant observation and testimonials from urban transports stakeholders I conducted unstructured interviews with actors and transport managers, namely the Director of the Transport and Communications Development Fund (FTC), the Provincial Director of Transport and Communications of Maputo, the Municipal Director of Transport and Transit of the Municipality of Maputo, the president of the Corridor 1 transport cooperative, four drivers and four *chapa*/buses collectors.

3.3. Data Analysis

The interviews were based on questions that emerged from documentary analysis, seeking to answer the gaps in the literature. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed in order to find the answers to the questions previously raised.

The document analysis showed a picture of the population growth, the transport demand or/and supply, the political frame of the development of transport. The analysis of interviews helped to fill the gaps in information which secondary sources presents, namely what justifies the persistent

discrepancy between the political discourse and the reality on the field of urban transport.

4. Input data

4.1. The study area

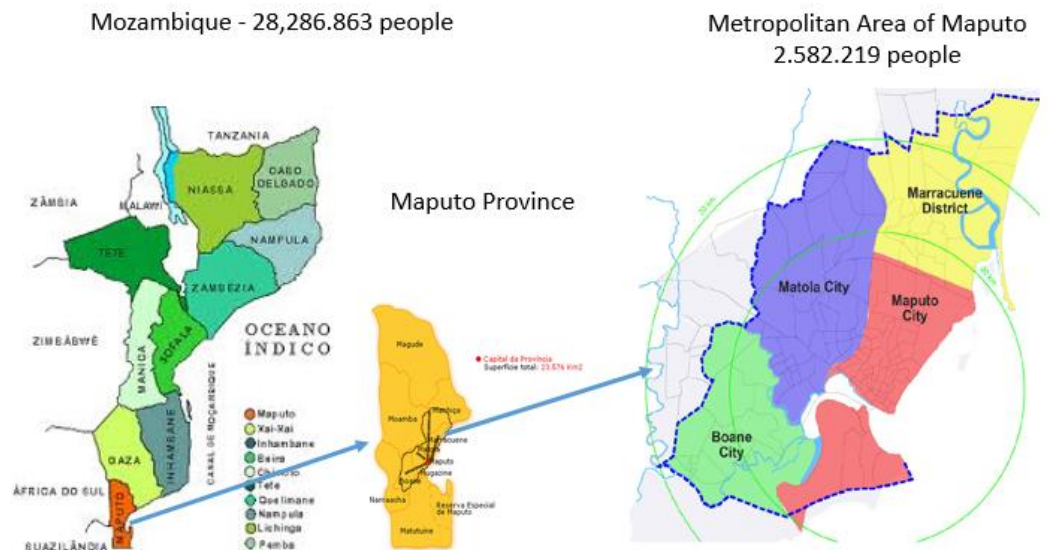


Figure 2. Metropolitan Area of Maputo

Source: Google Maps (Map of Mozambique and of Maputo province); OMT (2018) – (Map of Metropolitan Area of Maputo). Edited by author.

The cities of Maputo and Matola are the most important in the metropolitan region. The city of

Maputo is attractive for all economic activities, financial and social services. The government main institutions are located in Maputo city center. It is also mandatory all the companies have their headquarters offices in Maputo city center.

4.2. Socio-demographic data

The population of Mozambique was 28,861,863 in 2017 (INE, 2019). This population grows at a rate of 2.8%, a gross birth rate (thousand/inhab.) of 37.9%, the infant mortality rate 75.9%. The GDP growth rate is 3.7%, and the GDP per capita (USD) is 446.18.

The growth of the Mozambican population is considered fast, and it is expected that by 2050 it will reach 60 million inhabitants (Francisco, 2019). The median age has reduced from 19 to 16.6 years, which means a huge threshold for the younger population, influencing the rate of economically active population from 69.2 in 2007 to 57.6 years in 2017. The Human Development Index remains low (around 0.4), compared to other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries.

Currently, the metropolitan population growth tends to move people from the center to the periphery, opening new neighborhoods in Matola, Boane, and Marracuene district.

About 2,582,219 people live in the metropolitan area (10.9% of the population of the country). The population of this area almost doubled from 1997 to 2017, as shown below.

	Extensio n Km2	Census 1960	Census 1970	Census 1980	Census 1997	Census 2007	Census 2017	Density 2017 Pop./Km 2
1. Mozambique	801,590	7,595,000	9,408,000	12,130,000	16,099,246	20,632,434	28,861,863	36
2. Maputo Province					806,179	1,225,489	1,968,906	
- Matola city	373				424,662	671,556	1,032,197	2,767
- Boane District	820				56,703	102,555	210,498	257
- Marracuene District	666				84,975	84,975	230,530	346
- Maputo City	347				966,837	1,111,638	1,120,867	3,232
3. Metropolitan Area of Maputo (Maputo city, Matola, Boane e Marracuene)	2,206				1,533,177	1,970,724	2,594,092	1,176

Table 1. Evolution of the Population of Mozambique & Maputo Metropolitan Area

Source: edited by author, based on OMT (2018).

Matola has a fast population growth compared to other cities within the metropolitan region. People are attracted by the facilities to access to building materials and land. The access to Maputo is facilitated by a wide road network (e.g. National Road 4 that connects to South Africa).

5. Discussion

The urban transport policy options for Maputo are based on the need to set a balance between the demand and supply. Therefore, the strategies adopted until then include the incentive by the Transport and Communications Development Fund to the creation of private transport cooperatives, and an agency of regulation of the urban transport system, the Metropolitan Transport Agency of Maputo.

Several public policies on urban transport aimed to respond to the demand of transport without much concern in defining a governance model that looked at the capacity of the infrastructure, the availability of roads in view of the growth of the housing areas, the capacity and quality of transport needed, fitting the population and geographic groups, cost and equity.

The fuel subsidy allocated to the transporters aimed to stabilize the travel fare, encourage the improvement of the quality of service offered and bust the small carries. However, its results were negative as the public transport service has further deteriorated, and the “*my loves*” have increased uncontrollably. Filipe and Matine (2017) show how this subsidy has become a source of enrichment for some economic groups in the public transport sector

but with less impact on enhancing the transport service (in quality and quantity).

The 1000 bus plan, replacing the fuel subsidy, aimed to empower the operators (public and private) with a repayable financing in 5 years. This plan, in the medium term, seeks to stimulate the rise of large transport companies and to empower municipal companies with a view, in the long term, to the elimination of "*chapas*" and "*my loves*". The following table resumes the modes of governing public transports in Maputo.

Post Centralized Economy	Regulation	Public-private cooperation
Period		
1986 – 2008	2008 – 2016/7	2017/8 - actual
Socio-Economic Context		
Economic Rehabilitation Programs: PRE, PRES; Privatization programs; Entry of private operators.	Increasing of fuel costs; Transporters strike (2008 and 2010).	Financial crisis due to the cut of foreign aid to the State Budget; Persistent high demand for transport, especially in the new housing areas of greater Maputo.
Political Options		
Licensing of passenger transport in minibuses (16 and 22 seats). Use of truck to carry passengers	Fuel Subsidy to the transporters; Creation of EMTPM, EP and ETM,EP; Cooperatives of transporters; Approval of the Mobility and Transport Master Plan for the Maputo Metropolitan Area (2012 - 2035).	End of fuel subsidy; Creation of the 1000 bus plan; Metro bus; Metropolitan Transportation Agency (AMT).
Results / Impacts		

Transport quality degradation; Failure to comply with travel routes; Lack of transport at critical times (morning and end of day); Use of trucks (commonly called <i>my loves</i>).	Transport quality degradation; Increasing use of “ <i>my loves</i> ” (authorized, although not licensed).	Persistent weak supply of public transport; Prohibition of the circulation of “ <i>my loves</i> ” in the cities of Maputo and Matola during the day. Introduction of a developed truck to carry people, used in unpaved roads in far neighborhoods
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Table 2. Modes of governing public transport in Maputo

Source: By the author (2019)

Finally, one of the essential aspects of spatial development in Mozambique is the institutional coordination, as observed by JICA (2014). Historically, the urban development plans are prepared by each local government (municipal, district and province). This is also the case in the Maputo metropolitan area. The metropolitan concept itself is still under development, and therefore there is no spatial development plan for the area as a whole.

The other key issue in spatial development is the misalignment between urbanization plans and the provision of transport services to the new neighborhoods of Matola, Boane to Marracuene. As a result, mobility conditions deteriorate as the population grows rapidly, and as they increasingly seek for transport to Maputo city center.

Maputo city continues to concentrate the main services, including most employment and trade opportunities. The creation of new centralities is, in fact, necessary to decongest the city, but also to promote the development of new neighborhoods. To improve institutional coordination in the development of mobility, the Metropolitan Agency of Maputo (AMT) needs to achieve an institutional recognition and have power to control and coordinate all other stakeholders in transport as well as being an integral part of the municipal and provincial planning processes.

6. Conclusion

This preliminary analysis concludes that the trend of vertical growth in Maputo metropolitan region, characterized by the opening of new neighborhoods, makes the workplaces (Maputo city center) more distant from the housing zones.

Most of the political initiatives for the development of public transport in Mozambique have not yet been able to solve the problem of insufficiency and poor quality of this service, whether from neither private nor public companies. The reasons have to do with a number of economic factors, such as the low investment in transport infrastructures (roads, buses, trains); and a weak coordination between institutions that govern the public transport system, with regard to the competence of institutions which license, supervise and finance the urban transport sector.

For example, in a context where transport routes are, in many cases, inter-municipal, each municipality still has autonomy to issue licenses. However, the metropolitan agency does not have this competence. The authority given to municipalities to license passenger transport is enshrined in a law (law 2/97, of 18 February, law of local authorities, revoked by the law 6/2018, of 3 August), while the metropolitan agency has been

created by a Decree (Decree 85/2017, of 29 December), inferior to the law.

Despite the existence of a metropolitan agency to coordinate the urban transport system in the region, the effectiveness of govern plans to improve the quality and quantity of transport offered to citizens is still far from being achieved, because:

First, the existence of multiple providers (public, private and clandestine), makes it difficult to establish effective policies to guide the exercise of the activity. This is a challenge for the Metropolitan Transport Agency of Maputo to address.

Second, the current model of financing public transport, through cooperatives, aims, in the medium and long term, to prevent the operation the informal transport, the “*my love*”, and to solve the problems of lack of transport in cities. However, the persistent weak investment in the sector makes the existence of these operators necessary. Recognizing this difficulty, the Metropolitan Transport Agency has introduced a new model of passenger transport for expansion areas with cover (tent), seats, called “mixed vehicles”.

Finally, the development of the metropolitan urban structure requires a strong institutional coordination of municipal, district and provincial governments,

where the Maputo Metropolitan Agency should have a greater role.

This preliminary study is significant and opportune because it raises the interest for scholars to further research the dynamics of the main actors of metropolitan development and how they can cooperate to crystallize the concept of metropolis and develop a Metropolitan Plan for sustainable development that include land occupation and urban transport provision.

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Interviews

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Interview 1	Director of Transport and Traffic.	Municipal council of Maputo
Interview 2	President of COOTRAC I	Corridor I Transport Cooperative

		(Zimpeto-Pç Trabalhadores/Museu)
Intervie w 3	Director	Transport and Communications Development Fund (Ministry of Transport and Communications)
Intervie w 4	Provincial Director of Transports and communication s (Maputo)	Ministry of Transport and Communications
Intervie w 5	CEO	Maputo Municipal Transport Company (EMTPM, EP)