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Gender, Choice and Migration

Household Dynamics and Urbanisation in Mozambique

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise stated, this thesis is my own research work carried out from March 2005 to May 2007 as a PhD scholar in the Graduate School of Humanities, Forced Migration Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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ABSTRACT

Very little empirical research has been done on migration in Mozambique and the existing material emphasizes labour migration. Migrants are an essential component of international, regional and national economies and a significant channel of the flow of labour. However, there are scholars who have conventionally perceived migration as a negative with respect to its relationship with development, rapid urbanisation; its resulting consequences and their impact upon the household structure.

While it is true cities perhaps offer more advantages – better economic conditions and amenities – in reality they become a detriment reducing theirs group's capacity to maintain a level of satisfaction. Conversely, because of migration into urban areas, rural areas become depopulated and register a decline in the labour force. Still, there is positive insight to be gained about migration. Through remittances, migrant workers provide money and goods to those who are left behind. Poor family members who remain at home use the cash to pay for services such as healthcare, education, agricultural tools, small enterprises, water tanks, solar panel, irrigation schemes, etc.

The migration process is begins with a motive or reason. This means a decision is taken: move or not to move, based upon a complex set of factors. Such factors may involve many people, households and families or the community; and all depend on the circumstances in which the decision is made. Also, their level of knowledge of opportunities and localities to go to or avoid is very important for any decision connected with migration. Lastly, the decision to relocate or not depends upon the judgements of individuals or groups about migration being the right thing to do under circumstances. It must be remembered – such a decision may or not be the correct thing to do, from someone else's perspective. From this point, I drove my research to understand how the decision to migrate occurs. My investigation took into account, the household's structure and how gender relations have been built as well as the extent to which this migration has contributed for urbanization.

In Mozambique, there was an increase in female migrant between the first post-independence national census of 1980 and the second national census of 1997. There are, however, visible geographic differences of the locality of rural-urban migration in relation to the place of origin for these women. In Maputo, capital of Mozambique, there is an evident increase in women from southern part of the country but

considerably fewer numbers originate from the north. Some justify it is the distance that makes the difference. The reasoning is: the distance from the furthest Northern Province to Maputo is about 2,700 km. This thesis demonstrates that beyond the issue of distance and weak transportation facilities, there are other influential factors which also contribute to the creation of those differences. Therefore, these factors are analysed within this thesis.

Most of the conclusions I advance in this thesis were made possible through understanding the gender construction in Mozambique – within the context of the changes which have occurred over the thirty years since independence. In fact, a married woman from the south of the Zambezi River, a patrilineal society was not able to make any decision without the authorization of the husband or husbands' relatives. This is because she was owned by her husband as he had made the payment of *lobolo*. The act of paying *lobolo* gives the husband the right to decide everything about his wife's life – including authorization to do businesses, travel, and so on.

In the north, the situation is the exact opposite. The migration of women commenced with the beginning of the liberation war in 1964. At that time, many girls joined the FRELIMO's guerrillas, usually following orders from their parents and/or following their boyfriends.. In reality, for these women as well as for their parents, it was not an easy decision to take. Northern Mozambique is a matrilineal and highly Islamic society, where women do not have free mobility unless in specific situations such as war.

Approximately 148 people were interviewed about their life histories. Focus Group Discussions made it possible to obtain a clear picture of gender migration in Mozambique. The thesis shows some considerable differences in how the decision to migrate occurs within the household in both the southern and northern regions of the country.

The thesis concludes by stating that migration in Mozambique is firstly a continuation of traditional routes of trade and labour migration in both northern and southern Mozambique. Secondly, in northern Mozambique, the overall trend of migration into the city capital is still low. This is due to the great travel distance. However other influencing factor is the northern region's strong connection of the regional economy with bordering countries to the north – Tanzania and Malawi.

Thirdly this thesis demonstrates that in northern Mozambique, women are still tied by patriarchy norms with a little evidence of the impact of past-independence

events. Fourthly, women from southern Mozambique have gained relative freedom to move from their homelands without previous agreements with in-laws. Lastly, the thesis demonstrates that post independence events have changed the structure of households and way of life matters including migration. This is done outside the traditional structure of the household greatly impacting southern Mozambican culture.

As far I could ascertain in this research, it is a fact that women's migration and gender relations in Mozambique must be analysed in reference to a specific space and chronological contexts. This is due to several lifestyle adaptations over the course of 30 years of independence which have influenced women – either directly or their households. Additional outside influences, such as global economic changes also impact the lives of female migrants in Mozambique.

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GLOSSARY

AFRIKANER The name given to the white South Africans of Dutch ancestry.

ACNUR Alto Comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados (United Nations High Commission for Refugees)

AIDS Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

APIE Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado (States Housing Administration)

Bairros Neighbourhoods

CEP Centro de Estudos da População (Centre for Population Studies)

Chipani An Ajaua Word that means: “held during the morning”

CMC Cooperative Muratori de Mentistici de Ravenna (An Italian contracting enterprise, which involves road construction, housing, etc.) that has been established in Mozambique since late 1980’s.

DPCCN Direcção Provincial de Combate as Calamidades Naturais (Provincial Directorate of Natural Disaster Combat)

EP1 Escola Primária do Primeiro grau (Primary School of Grade 1), which includes grade 1 to 5

EP2 Escola Primária do Segundo grau (Primary School of Grad 2), which includes grade 6 and 7.

FDG Focus Discussion Groups

FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Front Liberation)

GCIM Global Commission on International Migration

GDP Growth Domestic Product

GIS Geographic Information System

GPA General Peace Agreement

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IAF Inquérito aos Agregados Familiares (National Household Survey on Living Conditions)

IMF International Monetary Fund

INE Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas (National Institute for Statistics)

INGC Instituto Nacional de Gestão das Calamidades (National Institute for Natural Disaster).

INSTRAW United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.

LOBOLO Traditional wedding where the bridegroom pays a gratituity or dowery to the bride's relatives – namely parents and/or grand parents.

MINED Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education)

MOZAL Mozambique Aluminium

MUKHERISTA A cross border trade woman

MUKHERO Trade association of cross border traders in Southern Mozambique.

MULUMUZANA A Shangana word that means "head of the household" or "the boss of the household"

OMM Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (Mozambican Womens' Organization)

PARPA Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza (Action Plan for Poverty Reduction)

PÉ DE MEIA A Portuguese word that is means savings by hiding. Literally means "socks foot."

RENAMO Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (National Resistance of Mozambique)

SAMP Southern African Migration Project

TEBA The Bureau of Employment

STD Sexual Transmitted Disease

UEM Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Eduardo Mondlane University)

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Program

UNESCO	United Nations for Education, Science and Culture.
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNPD	United Nations Population Division
UPP	Unidade de População e Planificação (Unity of Population and Planning)
VIENTE	Someone who came; the in-migrant
WLSA	Woman and Law in Southern Africa
XIBALO	Coercive labour
XITIQUE	A Shangana word meaning “an informal credit system”

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The first attempt to formulate a theory of migration principles was realised by Ravenstein in the 1880s (1885 and 1889) and was set down as the 'Ravenstein Laws' (Peters and Larkin 1999:198). These laws are based on economic and geographic variables, particularly those concerned with the distance factor and temporary or permanent changes of residence. There is a general perception that more people now, than ever before are moving from one country and region to another (Martin, Martin and Weil 2006). Migration has also been found to respond to rural-urban differences in expected incomes rather than actual earnings (Akinboad and Lekwape 1997).

An uncounted number of people have crossed internal boundaries. Such internal migration is more difficult to assess, since there are no "real" borders being crossed and people have various reasons for relocating within their own country. This movement has been the result of many complex interactions such as seeking safe places (civil war and natural hazards), looking for employment, fleeing customary laws, studies, curiosity, visiting family etc. Martin, Martin and Weil (2006:11) state: "migration is a response to differences, which occurs internally or internationally".

While theories argue that people move because of economic factors, there are also many other reasons to be considered. These include decisions made within the household structure, travel distance, as well as historical links developed over the centuries with neighbouring countries. It is clear the decision to migrate is not always made by isolated individual actors themselves, but by people who are part of the same household or somehow related. A key question arising in the research was: what is the definition of a household?

The Mandimba district in northern Mozambique and the city of Maputo in southern Mozambique are two examples of extremely disparate migration dynamics. The first is supposed to be the place of origin due to its socio-economic situation. Conversely, the city of Maputo as the country capital is supposedly viewed as the final destination for many Mozambicans – from both rural and urban areas of the nation.

This thesis demonstrates that the capital city is the destination of choice for people from the nearby provinces while rural people in the Mandimba district have "chosen" the nearest provinces and neighbouring countries as their destination areas. This happens because Maputo is very far away and costly for the poor to reach.

Yet, the thesis goes beyond the economic and geographic aspects as reasons for migration. This researcher asserts socio-cultural structure shapes both areas of the study and influences most decisions for migration. Therefore, the thesis demonstrates there is an option for people not to migrate since they still consider their homeland as the place where they have access to natural resources. These resources are: the soil, water and forest. Additionally, these people can also feel connected with neighbouring countries.

This thesis discusses the issue of gender, choice and migration within household dynamics as well as its impacts upon urbanisation in Mozambique, particularly in the city of Maputo. By doing so, I looked at the structure of current households in the country. Family structure has been changed by several events marking the country in the years since independence. These include many factors: the socialist regime; forced settlement in communal villages; forced migration through "Production Operation;" the civil war – refuges and internal displacement persons; natural hazards; the serious economic crisis, as well as global trends affecting the economy.

Migration in this study is broken down into its main causes – contexts and the socio-economic and cultural environment within which the decision for migration is made from the rural northern or southern perspectives.

The study analyses the circumstances under which such migration has occurred. It examines the links used by migrants as well as their access to resources of land and management of income within their strategies of survival. In Maputo, experiences of female and male migrants from all over the country were taken for this study. In Niassa, it was very difficult to interview women and in Maputo, it was hard to locate men. The difficult to find women in Niassa province was truly related to their customs in which they needed authorization by their husbands or a family male, while in Maputo to find men was related with the fact of being busy in their daily survival. Others did not want to be interviewed or were in a state of drunkenness.

Analyses of results were made in recognition of three points of view:

Firstly: Recognition of feminization of migration as a trend characterizing global migration. In fact, scholars such as Brydon (1989), Chant (1992), Chant and Radcliff (1992), Dodson (2000), Jolly and Reeves (2005), Martin, Martin and Weil (2006), point out that female migrants have reached almost the same numbers as male migrants. July and Reeves (op cit) state that the female proportion of international

migration has risen slightly, reaching 48 per cent in 1990 and nearly 49 per cent in 2000. It views women not as mere attachments of men but as migrants in their own right.

Secondly: These women are migrating in search for jobs – often doing so independently of family decision.

Thirdly: Gender relations established either within households or in the community have made women important role players as remittance senders. Therefore, their contribution to enhancing welfare and well-being in their communities of origin is significant.

The study has also taken note of the fact women have contributed to the country's rapid urban growth. This prompts the need to analyse the diverse experiences of various groups of women. This study utilised qualitative data collected by me in Niassa and Maputo. It offers important evidence concerning migration and decisions for migration. Such information is important and will be useful for academics. Importantly, it will enrich the literature on gender studies in Mozambique as well as help to examine the structural causes of gender inequalities within the context of households and socio-cultural organization. In addition to that, the study will unveil the circumstances in which migration decisions are made within the household and how migration can contribute new opportunities for both women and men to improve household life. Additionally, following July and Reeves' perspective, Chant, Chant and Radcliff, Brydon, Jolly and Reeves, this study will demonstrate that through migration, women can provide a vital source of income for themselves and their families. Migration also allows them to potentially earn greater autonomy, self confidence and social status. Through the gender migration perspective, this study can create possibilities to generate gender sensitive development through the promotion of public policies and initiatives that optimize the Mozambican National Population Policy.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

Aims

This thesis discusses the issue of gender, choice and migration within household dynamics as well as its role upon the growth of the city of Maputo. By doing so, I examined the structure of current households in Mozambique and how the decision to migrate occurs in this structure. The idea was to fill the gap in migration gender studies in Mozambique with the publication of the study. In addition to this, as

other countries have gone far in gender migration studies, my intention also is to generate gender sensitive development through the promotion of public policies and initiatives that optimize the migration management within the country. As well, I want to contribute to the designing of more gender-sensitive, migration-related policies and programmes within the country. These would include Policies and programs for women migrant workers, sustainable migration management policies, as well as the importance of integrating a gender perspective in all fields of activities. As a matter of fact, Mozambique has gone quite far in terms of gender policy (see Action Plan for Poverty Reduction II, 2005-2009 and the Mozambique National Action Plan for Woman Advancement 2002-2006), as well as equality of employment opportunities and access to benefits to both migrant men and women.

This postulation started from the following general aims:

1. To compensate for the relative paucity of detailed studies dealing with migration and particularly women's experiences of migration compared to their male counterparts. To identify during migration, if women have faced some constraints in their decision to move.
2. To arrive at some clarity concerning what implications migration has upon household structure as well as how these movements have affected urbanization.

   Women's movement trends towards urban areas follows the same tendency as in other developing countries, which according to (Chant 1991) can be predicted in the medium and long term by some of the following changes:

a) Reduction of income from agriculture in rural areas, which will expose the population to dependency on the market.
b) Changes in the structure of agriculture in terms of age, since those who are left behind are mostly children and their grandmothers.

Gender role and socio-economic factors undoubtedly impacts the migration dynamic in Mozambique. Hence, the choices and effects of gender migration within the household form the core of rural and urban dynamics. Consequently, by focusing upon the research of both women and men as heads of households, this allowed the writer to identify the choices for migration as well as follow livelihood strategies.

Objectives

The overall objectives of the research thesis were to:

1. Document the degree of rural-urban migration and its effects upon urbanization.
2. Establish the varying social networks and socio-economic infrastructures women and men use in migration.
3. Document the choices/calculations made by individual migrants and potential migrants – people who have not yet moved or have chosen not to migrate – in the context of the household structure.
4. Isolate the gender specific elements feeding into such decisions.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

The readiness to relocate is not new. People have moved either to urban areas or to other locations in their region or eventually have crossed international boundaries. People have been mobile for centuries as several scholars point out (Zelyinki 1980, Kaplan 1984; Hanlon 1990; Harries 1994, Adepoju 1996, Weeks 1999, IOM 2003; UN Development Report 2009). Some of these movements were dramatic in the way they occurred – such as forced migration to plantations and mines – and those related to wars and natural hazards, to name just a few IOM (2003), Jolly and Reeves (2005), Martin, Martin and Weil (2006).

There is also the tradition of seasonal and long-term movements. The circumstances under which these movements occur make it necessary to discuss the decision to migrate. Not every migrant decides about his/her own movements. Who makes the decision to migrate depends basically upon events which surround people, and the structure of the household, in both matrilineal and patrilineal societies (Stichter and Parpart 1988; Chant 1992; 1998). Most decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of economic, social and political pressures as well as incentives. The chance of a better living elsewhere – the opportunity to make a living – can be the other engine for migration. This is particularly prevalent amongst the youth (Jolly and Reeves 2005). Links of information have shown to be an important tool in understanding the system under which migration occurs, particularly those related to women – Jolly and Reeves (op cit).

Lately the "feminization of migration" discussion has been widespread in Africa – and as a global phenomenon – because changes in the global economy. In the past, women tended to be viewed as mere attachments to male migrants. As Brydon (1989) points out, modern discourse represents an idea of a forward-looking, male-dominated public sphere. Reviewing the literature, Brydon (1989:125, Scott 1995:23)

justified this as historical since migration in Africa has been largely the movement of men. However, scholars have recognized that women likewise have migrated. The question is not the sex composition of migratory flows, but the fact of women being independent in their decisions for migration and being contributors as remittance senders. This has been recognized by Instraw (www.un-instraw.org/feminization.of.labor.migration) and Jolly and Reeves (2005) that by 1960, women already made up nearly 47% of all international migrants, a percentage that increased by only two points during the next four decades, to about 49%. That is to say what has been witnessed in recent history and the present is not really a feminization of migration, but is also the recognition of the women's migration and the ways in which the movement has occurrued. The main point to be analysed is: How did it come to be a "women's independence" decision?

Apart from the migration process which is generated by distinct aspects, migration is also a consequence of the gender system (Chant 1992; 1998; Colson 1999; Indra 1999; Jolly and Reeves 2005). For example, the division of labour within the household envisages that women do reproductive work such as child-bearing, domestic and agricultural work while their male counterparts engage in activities that guarantee cash money.

Anthropologists and historians divided Mozambique into two societies. One is located to the south of the Zambezi River and is patrilineal[1]. The other lies north of the same river and is a matrilineal[2] society. Women living in a patrilineal system cannot decide to migrate unless they are in a position enabling them to follow their men or they have the permission of parents-in-law. Indeed, this division of labour determines that when they marry, women of the patrilineal system are expected to move from their residence of origin and follow their husbands (Kaplan 1995; Fernando 1996; WLSA Mozambique 1997; Braga 2001).

Conversely, in the matrilineal system, the above mentioned authors point out, when people marry; men are expected to move to the wife's parent's house or community. However, after a period of time which varies between 1 and 4 years, the husband can ask permission from his in-laws to take his wife to reside in an other parish – or closer to the man's relatives (Braga 2001: 241). However, as Hanlon

[1] The descent and the control of property, resources, etc. are men – as fathers, paternal uncles, and sometimes, sons of women (Brydon 1989:50).

[2] In the matrilineal line, the descent and property is passed on through women in the family (ibidem 1980:50).

(1990:150) and Fernando (1996: 28) point out: in matrilineal societies, the public authority is vested in men. In such situations, the men of authority are maternal uncles, brothers and sometimes sons of women. The difference with patrilineal societies is that in this last instance, all decisions are taken within the husband's relatives' side of the family.

The commonality in both societies is that decisions are made by men. However, it is clear in the point that the decisions are not made in isolation and a network of influence affects all important decisions. Also decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of economic, social/political pressures and incentives. So who is highly influential when important decisions in migration are made in the household or community? Who makes the decisions on migration? To what extent are women included in this process? This thesis seeks to explain the context of how decisions are made in both matrilineal and patrilineal societies.

In the southern African region, scholars prior to 1970's assumed males were the migrants and the females were left behind, engaging in agricultural work and reproductive tasks. As Wright (1995:787) points out, this idea was built under the frame of the structural features of capitalist development. Predominantly, the migration of men was necessary so they were available to work in the mines, on farms, railways, and at factories instituted by the colonial state.

In this context, migration studies related to the migration of women were neglected. This oversight came as the result of the assumption that women were solely confined to domestic work, and thus, not reported as part of the wage work, although their contribution in agriculture and domestic work. Also due to gender discrimination, it may be less acceptable for women to move about and travel on their own. In the past, it was unthinkable, to have a woman be the head of a household and the bread winner, since the role of family support, to earn money was confined to men. "In this context, migration studies have tended to render women invisible" (Wright 1995:776).

Unequal power relations between men and women were also illustrated through the various interviews presented in this thesis. These power relations are illustrated by the decision to migrate, by the person who chooses the place for settlement, by income management, and by the ownership of land and house. As shown in this research, many women – both in the town and in rural areas – occupied vulnerable positions. After reviewing the interviews, it has become clear that migration has impacted the

households and the migrant experience reflects the socio-cultural background of the people involved.

This long run of male migration has made many women defacto heads of households and they were required to take on certain tasks usually carried out by men. When a household embarks upon migration, whether it involves a man or a woman, that movement necessarily disrupts the household's structure. This happens in the sense that currently, 'modern' households can be headed by children or grand-parents in the places of origin. And, in destination areas, there are a growing numbers of households headed by women – single mothers, divorced or abandoned women and widows. The other picture revealed in this migration process is that, in most cases, once men from southern Mozambique reach Maputo, they tend to cross regional borders, mainly into South Africa, as some SAMP studies attest. (de Vletter 1998, de Vletter 2006).

However, men coming from northern Mozambique tend to settle in Maputo and do not dare to cross the border into South Africa. That reason for not daring to migrate to South Africa might be explained by "*fear of unknown and the language*" as they said. Looking at women, some from southern Mozambique do cross regional boundaries in trade, while their counterparts from north tend not to cross borders. Instead, they sell in their backyards. So looking at these differences, it is important to explain why they exist.

It was also important to examine how migration has been perceived within the country. Migration has grown in Mozambique, as well as the number of women who leave their homes to find new places for survival (see the census results of 1980 and 1997) but this development has largely been ignored. And finally, it was crucial to learn why there are regional differences in migration trends. In fact, what makes the difference is the decision to migrate, which depends on the interaction of joint of factors experienced or perceived within the gender relation structure. At this point, for instance, Indra (2004) points out that in studies such as migration analysis of social issues affecting the lives of those who flee (in this specific case, refugees) and those who do not have to be gendered and classed.

Scholars such as Chant (1991; 1992) points out that in the past, single or lonely migrant women were associated with prostitution. In the present, women are more equally compared to their male counterparts since reasons impelling them to migrate are related to work and the creation of income to feed the household they left behind.

Therefore, migration has become an optimal way of meeting livelihood requirements. Lastly, women are important actors in the ongoing urbanisation process. Cities have since become feminized in the sense of growing numbers of women not born in those centres.

It is urgent to document these gender studies as well as those related to migration, considering that migration, *per se*, is responsible for the change in household structure, gender relations as well as the growth of the urban population in Mozambique.

1.4 Internal migration: A research question

For years, migration studies in Mozambique have centred on labour migration – a study around mines and plantations, either internally or internationally, as well as the movements around the towns or cities (See studies of Penvenne 1988; Harris 1994; Covane 1996; Das Neves 1998, De Vletter 2000). Concentration upon labour migration has meant only male migration was considered, neglecting other types of migration, particularly that of women in an independent category of study.

Contemporary Mozambique has little information on gender migration even though there have been evident increases in the phenomenon as well as the rapid growth of urban areas, particularly in the capital city of Maputo.

The city of Maputo has registered a rapid population growth between the two post-independence censuses (1980 and 1997). The city has become the destination for migrants of both rural and urban areas. However, the fastest growth of its population points to a peculiar demographic structure showing an increase of people coming from nearest provinces. Mostly, these are women from every province in the country, but with a lesser extent from Niassa Province. For instance, between 1980 and 1991, urban populations grew yearly by 4.5%; while between 1991 and 1997, a relative decline of 1.7% growth was registered (Araújo 1999; INE 1999).

According to Araújo (1999 and UNDP (1999), the reason for the decline between 1991 and 1997 was linked to the return of former refugees to rural areas. This assumption came as a result of empirical evidence from the global trends at the provincial level, immediately following the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992 (see the UNDP reports of 1998; 1999). However, for those who have been living in Maputo for more than 20 years – people such as me – we can observe that independently, statistics contradict the assumptions made by Araújo and UNDP. In the

field, I have also observed more contradictory evidence. Large new *bairro*s such as CMC, Zimpeto Matendene and Gwava have appeared in the Maputo since 1997. Most of my interviewees confirmed they were born outside of the city.

The capital city became an attractive subject of study and analyse the consequences of rural-migration into rural and urban areas. For the purpose of this study, I looked at the women who were inbound-migrants. I also did the same with men in order to analyse the process of decision-making to migrate. Additionally, I sought to explore how that decision affected households.

A look at the literature attests to the long history of migration in Mozambique. It shows that the studies undertaken comprise the southern region and in terms of topics, only deals with labour migration. There is also an emphasis placed on the role of southern Mozambique as a reservoir of unskilled and cheap labour for gold and diamond mines as well as sugar cane fields in the Republic of South Africa. At this point, it has been cited that studies on internal migration and household decision-making are needed, particularly those referring to female migration.

Therefore, this study adds to the body of existing literature pertaining to migration studies as well as a conceptual contribution to migration choice. Furthermore, the study shows the ways in which gender relations structures the causes and consequences of migration, since gender relations affect who migrates and who are left behind, why people migrate and how the decisions are made. The study demonstrates how women and men respond to economic policy in different ways. As well, it contributes to a general understanding of the issue of the right and choice to move established within the post-independence constitution of Mozambique. Lastly, the internal migration studies revealed their importance – particularly on the issue of National Population Policy.

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis discusses, in its seven chapters, a number of specific migration issues through data collected in Niassa and the city of Maputo. Therefore, the chapters are organised as follows: **Chapter 1** refers to Introduction and the relevance of the study while **chapter 2** discusses the research methodology. In this chapter I explain why I gave privilege to qualitative methodology and not quantitative methods, as the tools for my research. In **chapter 3** I discuss the key concepts and the literature review. **Chapter 4** is all about the migration background in Mozambique aiming to

understanding the study area *per se,* as well as the factors and patterns of migration. **Chapters 5 and 6** discuss the dynamics of households in migration within contemporary Mozambique. I also examine the opportunities and challenges of migrants in both rural and urban areas. Finally, **chapter 7** draws conclusions and outlines some policy implications. It also includes a bibliography list. This helped me confirm some theories dealing with migration – ideas that have been formulated over centuries of migration studies. This study presents appendixes with additional information supporting the thesis, such as questionnaires (life histories and Focus Group Discussions), tables of relevant findings and a list of interviewed people in both study areas.

CHAPTER II
Data Sources and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This section discusses the methodological aspects used during the research as defined at the very beginning of the research proposal. I intended to gather data on decision-making experiences of migrants and to collect up-to-date information about migration and its contribution to urbanization in Mozambique. The first question posited before the research was: what methodology do I have to employ in order to assess migration studies in Mozambique? Considering that at any point in time, people may take a decision to move on their own or acting in accordance with others, how can these decisions be captured? And what is the best way to measure the different steps an individual takes until he or she reaches the destination – and how to differentiate the causes of the each movement? Life histories helped me to understand the migratory history of an individual, but it became difficult to categorize every cause or reason that impelled moving.

The present study was carried out in the city of Maputo and Mandimba district in Niassa province. It builds on the insights of exploring the choices and decisions of both women and men in their movements within the household structure; marked by the patrilineal and matrilineal structures, respectively.

Fieldwork research was carried out in two opposite areas in terms of society structure, human development, climate and geographic position. Maputo is the capital city of the Republic of Mozambique. Mandimba, the second study area, is a rural area located in Niassa province near the border of the Republic of Malawi. It is situated in the north-west part of the region at an altitude of 800 m above sea level. It is predominantly a matrilineal society. Mandimba represents one of the more distant districts of Mozambique with the lowest ratio of rural-urban migration to the city of Maputo. The city of Maputo, as a subject of this study, is the main destination of inbound-migrants. And, as WLSA Mozambique (1997: 18) has noticed, it constitutes for historical reasons, an excellent laboratory where families and groups of families from various lineages and organizations interface.

Research methods included the collection of 148 individual interviews, plus 5 Focus Group Discussions, distributed in the two areas. In addition, I interviewed a number of key-informants on the decision-making process. Predominantly, decision-making processes discussed in this thesis are basically formed by the administrative

chiefs and the community leaders in both place of origin (Mandimba district) and the destination area (the city of Maputo). The Literature review on gender, migration, livelihood strategies and other settings was duly considered.

2.2 Selection of study area and context

As soon as I decided to study internal migration, I was faced with many problems pertaining to how I would study migrant women in a country where women's studies and migration information did not exist. What was my study area to be, since again, no references for this kind of study existed until the present? Of one thing I was certain: I had to study migrant women from rural to urban areas. I needed to know what precipitated their decisions to migrate, as well as their survival strategies in the city. I also needed to research their management of resources such as cash-income and land access. Finally, I decided upon studying migrants from Niassa province, as it is one of the most forgotten regions in terms of studies – including migration.

Considering the lack of statistics, it was difficult to establish the extent of migration in that province. It was clear, however, that over the years, migration had characterized the region – from the liberation war, on through the civil war until the present. Women from this area were used and integrated in the liberation war as guerrillas. Later, they were sent to Maputo to protect the city as a consequence of sabotage allegedly perpetrated by Portuguese at the time of their exodus. Thus, there was a need to replace Portuguese civil servants who also were fleeing the country.

If, over years, the migration of men has slightly increased in search of paid work outside the area, the migration of women has also increased. This can be seen in the census results of 1997 (INE 1999), which says: women like men are on the move in the direction of the cities in search for better life, contrary to the trend between 1970 and 1980. Yet from these same statistics, we are not able to conclude anything about how and what the circumstances were, which made women to decide to migrate, nor does it indicate the structure of the household.

Lastly, and not the least, I provide reference to analytical tools leading me to begin with the collection of data. I began with an open viewpoint, gradually constructing my ideas and making them more functional. During the fieldwork, I realised some concepts did not apply to what I wanted to research. Some of these ideas centred on household, home, place of birth and marriage. As per experience, I found it very difficult to differentiate married and unmarried women, who made the decision

for migration or if the decision to migrate was independent or not. Although I found evidence of "independent decisions for migration", it was, to a certain point, difficult to define if it was or not – considering that since its independence Mozambique has experimented with different processes such as forced settlement in communal villages, production operations which forced people to carry internal travel permits, as well as the internal displacment of people due to civil war (1976-1992) and floods.

This confusion increased even more when entered into indepth histories of the migrants' lives. Furthermore, some definitions have proved impractical as realities within Mozambique can differ markedly. Also, some ideas simply didn't work because, as WLSA Mozambique (1997:22) points out, in Mozambique there are two structures of societies in which residence is with the wife's family and the social father of the couple's children is the wife's brother. Conversely, in patrilineal societies, the residence of couples is with the husband's family. The social father is the biological father and the children belong to the husband's family.

With the increased cost of living "home" and "house" have gained new definitions. Thus, new ideas influence the definition of the term, "household." There is a Portuguese saying, which roughly translated means: "It is not the fact of having the key to a house that opens the door. Possessions do not make a family unit." This is especially true today because many people who live in the same house are not necessarily members of the same family. It has been observed and found in this study that several people, especially youth in their early twenties and even late twenties, share a house as well as contribute toward some household expenses.

This is because the cost of living is extremely high. Olson (2004) quoting Boserup (1970) refers that household or families are composed of individuals whose productive roles and ability to benefit from production are determined or at least strongly influenced by the structure of gendered relationships. In this context, Indra (2004) in her analysis of gender relationships says that gender has nothing to do with women's issues. Rather it is power relations, privilege, and prestige informed by situated notions of maleness and femaleness.

Kinship relations are structured in a different way and the lines of descent determine the nature of the relations of reciprocity, in terms of rights and obligations. This statement calls attention to the issue of research which cannot regard Mozambique as an "all-in-one" interpretation of social/economic events, and this especially applies to migration.

For instance, here are some ideas I have had to modify. I determined that the concept of married women goes well beyond what was defined by written laws and customary laws. I found in the city of Maputo, for instance, even women who are not legal wives consider themselves as married. As well, some divorced and separated women – particularly those involved in trade or when they are in businesses – wear wedding rings and refer to themselves as married. The reason is this: "*If you say you are single or divorced or separated no one will respect you. They will abuse you. A separated woman is still not seen in a positive way*" (Focus Group Discussion[3], Maputo, 1st March 2006). In Mandimba for example, I found that separated women are strongly "encouraged" to move on, or not to be in touch with married women because she could be a bad influence on them.

Another issue I had to seriously look at – but was not part of my research at the beginning – were beliefs such as the "push factor" for migration. I found a high belief in witchcraft and spells, which has contributed to population movment. It is also commonly believed-in by the so-called literate and well educated. According to some interviewees, the well educated do not return to their places of origin and do not build houses there because they fear death due to bewitching. Those who fear witches do mobile within the district. They move from one village to another one, which makes witches one of the migration factors.

2.3 The methodology frame: qualitative and quantitative data

The investigation was developed using qualitative tools although to some extent, there is a combination of both methods.

The quantitative technique presents some disadvantages since it eliminates/excludes the human factor. For example, personal feelings and life experiences as well as the environment where the interviewed people lived are not reflected.

This researcher has little expertise when it comes to statistics, but I do understand the value of undertaking statistics techniques as an essential requirement for research if we want to make comparisons.

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[3] Renata Ntchamoco, Estefánia Bernardo, Severina Paulino, Ana Maria Costa da Silva, Maria Estrela White and Cristina Wetimane.

However, qualitative methods cannot provide statistical data such as numbers, or percentages of migrants moving into the city of Maputo. For that reason, I had to turn to published statistics even though they were out of date, reflecting the situation in 1980 and 1997; the two post-independence censuses.

I gathered profiles of the migrants' lifestyle and living conditions through direct observation. Neuman (2000) argues that qualitative methodology allows researchers to focus upon cases and processes. It examines a great variety of aspects while it scrutinises just a few cases. Statistical analysis also requires a greater number of units or cases related to the investigation. Moreover, qualitative methods, allow for the inclusion of many aspects of the lives of the subjects interviewed.

The techniques I utilised allowed me to observe the sequence of events occurring during the migratory lives of the interviewees, including short moves – including distance and time – within the villages, districts and *bairros*. Information obtained during fieldwork data collection complemented and verified the quantitative data missing in both censuses. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods allowed me to create a "data portrait" of these migrants and their decisions to migrate – as well as those who decided not to migrate.

Secondary data was used including books and thesis available at the University of the Witwatersrand Library, Internet resources as well as information available in Mozambique at the former Centre for Population Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University; the National Institute for Statistics and National Archive in Maputo.

Apart from general information on household structure and demographic issues, occupation and income, specific information was gathered on:

- Migration experiences; reasons for outward-bound-migration and inbound-migration; the time when migrants left rural areas and arrived in the city; and when decisions were made to leave their previous place of residence;
- Socio-cultural factors playing important roles in shaping the decision to migrate
- Migration trends – channels and patterns
- Land and cash-income management

Several key informants were interviewed. In Mandimba, I interviewed the district administrator, traditional leaders, heads of the Administrative Posts, leaders of FRELIMO party, program officers of NGO's, directors of Agriculture, Health,

Education, Culture, Youth and Sports, the acting director of Women and Social Affairs, the district commander of Police and the chief of the Cross Post of Mandimba. In Maputo, it was very difficult to interview the chiefs. However, I did interview the president of the *Mukhero* Association, the General Commander of Frontier Guard, the former National Director of Immigration, the Director of Immigration in Maputo, and the National Director of war veterans at the Ministry of Former Freedom Fighters of the National Liberation War as well as some heads of the *bairros*.

The idea was to find key-informants who could provide information about the phenomenon, as I mentioned, there was a government policy on migration. These I organized in four sets:

1. Administrative leaders, which included community leaders or traditional leaders who gave me the idea of the dynamics of migration and structure within the villages;
2. Politicians – since they knew processes during the colonial period, liberation war and after independence; the third was formed by
3. Bureaucrats, Trader associations who provided information about the cross-border process

2.2 A Glance at the Existing Data

Migration Pattern Data in Mozambique

There is a widespread assumption that migration data is obtained from the population census or public registers for a given time interval, in which, respectively, counts migrants and their movements. Unfortunately, this is not true. (Oberai 1987; Gould 1994) touches on the question of "how to collect information on socio-cultural aspects which can be used and understand and explain the gender approach of rural-urban dynamic migration"

To begin with, there is a particular concern regarding census data – its adequacy of information on transitions Oberai (1987:5), Gould 1994 (3). Gould for instance (op cit), points out that people can be born or die only once and also not marry or divorce frequently in the course of lifetime, while many people change their place of residence any number of times, which makes relocation very difficult to follow. This approach omits information concerning the dimension of rural-urban migration and the advantages it can bring both to the sending and receiving areas.

Another source of migration data is the sample survey. This can be designed to provide information both about the migrants themselves as well as their movements. So, what migration data was available? That was the first question of my research!

What Quantitative Data Exists in Mozambique?

One of the most common problems in migration studies within Mozambique is the lack of reliable data. What has worsened the situation it is that the Government did not continue with the tradition of census-taking every ten years. This oversight occurred because of the country's unstable political situation. Sixteen years of civil war (1976-1992) which was immediately followed independence precluded a census from being taken in 1990. Nevertheless, two National Surveys were conducted during that period. They were intended to be of national scope, but were scaled back, covering only the less dangerous areas of the country. They were the Reproductive Behaviour of Mozambican Women Survey in 1987 and the National Demographic Survey in 1991. However, these were focused entirely upon fertility and mortality issues, with no mention of migration.

The two national censuses contain information on fertility, mortality and limited information on migration. This situation can be considered "normal" in Mozambique since, the migration issue is not a primary concern of the government. Currently, their primary issue is on poverty reduction. There is no specific mention of migration as a priority (PARPA 1999). Besides this, the two post-independence censuses considered only information referring to: place of birth, duration of residence and place of residence, In fact, the tendency of asking only these four questions is a prominent feature of migration data collection practised in several countries around the world (Gould 1994; Oberai 1995).

An observation can be made about internal migration data from the two post-independence censuses. In both situations, it appears as additional information. Very little has been developed on who migrated, when they migrated and how the decision to migrate was made, etc. Some information has been recorded, related to international migration. However, those statistics refer to foreigners living within the country. There is a scarcity of analysis in terms of where they came from and why they were there.

Fortunately, numerical information of population growth in both censuses (1980 and 1997) can be easily found. On the other hand, the 1997 survey shows a better quality of migration information than in 1980. This is not surprising since, over

the years between the first and the second censuses, people were better trained to deal with census information and were also made aware of other methods of data collection. In the meantime, several surveys have been conducted and, by the simple fact of repetition, have made the people conducting them more qualified to deal with these processes.

The existing data on migration – derived from the 1997 census – indicates 90,847 foreigners were living in the country. The interesting finding is two of the poorest provinces, Tete and Zambezia have the largest concentration of foreigners. Both provinces are bordered by Malawi. It is likely these foreigners use Malawi as their corridor to reach Mozambique.

Tete possessed the highest number of foreigners followed by Zambezia and then Gaza province, in southern Mozambique. There is a slight difference between Maputo province and the city of Maputo, while the province of Nampula constitutes the lowest number of foreigners. Nampula and Inhambane provinces are the only ones, out of 11 provinces which do not have international borders.

Lastly, through the data collected, it was possible to observe that: the urban population rate of Maputo grew. In-bound migrants are relocating from southern provinces but there is a little representation of in-migrants from Niassa. And finally, the migration of women grew significantly in comparison with data derived from the previous census.

What Qualitative Data Exists in Mozambique?

Besides quantitative data, some thesis documentation with relevant bits of information about women as business traders and cross border traders were found in the archives of the Department of Women and Gender studies at the Centre for African Studies in Mozambique, Eduardo Mondlane University. As well, some studies undertaken by the Women and Law in Southern Africa branch in Mozambique (WLSA) were also available.

Mozambican scholars such as WLSA (1997), Casimiro (1999), whose publications I consulted, called attention to the fact that women, as a specific category, were not new in the history of Mozambique. Although, there was not any interest to conduct a study, the issue dated back to 1970's. The liberation war (1964-1975) impacted how migration was conceived due to the enactment of the women's emancipation policy. Since then, some women have readily dared to "break" with some of the more inhibiting cultural rules. Under this umbrella of emancipation, some

women have embraced the right to decide about their own lives, including the option of changing their residence. It was FRELIMO's policy to pay particular attention to both men and women (WLSA 1997; UNDP 2001). The then guerrilla movement established the Women's Detachment through the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) founded in 1973.

For FRELIMO, there was no reason to end the foreign exploitation of women who then would only be exploited by Mozambican men (Hanlon 1984:157). Since independence, the socialist government has reflected the importance of emancipating women under the principle of equality between men and women (Constitution of the Republic in 1975). This principle was taken up again, and consolidated, in the 1990 Constitution, particularly in Article 67, UNDP (2001).

Empirical studies showed female migration from Niassa into the city of Maputo was still not significant, nor into other cities or provinces. In 1997, there were 269 women and 495 men from Niassa, representing only 0.09% of the total immigrants in the city. The largest numbers of women immigrants were/are those coming from Inhambane (a southern province), which is 8,301 individuals and corresponds to 0.99 per cent of the total immigrants (INE 1999:49).

Did this mean Niassa was not following globalization trends? What had been happening with these women? To what extent do females of southern Mozambique have the autonomy to decide to migrate or not?

2.3 Methodological Procedures during the Fieldwork Research

Qualitative information came from Focus Group Discussions, life histories, in-depth interviews and observation. The Focus Group mainly discussed issues of socio-cultural structures, access to land and the impact of migration within the community. Focus Group Discussions were also used to ascertain factors of migration and survival strategies utilized in urban areas, as well as the status of migrants in both rural and urban environments.

The life histories technique consisted of gathering information of life experience of each migrant. In this gathering, I asked about their decision-making processes – how it was decided they would migrate – and pertinent migratory experiences. The observation aspect also examined the environments of the people interviewed as well as their surrounding areas. Issues related to how migration had contributed to the economy of the departure areas and to the survival strategies of

migrants in the arrival area were also discussed. Thus, I observed, took notes, recorded interviews, transcribed them, and translated them verbatim from Portuguese into English.

A written interview guideline was formulated in English and translated into Portuguese for the Focus Group and Life Histories (see appendix 1). Guidelines included open-ended questions on the many aspects of migration – attitudes towards migration, planning to migrate, making the decision to actually migrate, the migration chain/network, choice of migration destination, the migration experience, land and income management, as well as the effects of migration upon the household.

For the interviews, four undergraduate students – three females and a male – possessing good language skills in Shangana or Ronga as well as Portuguese were used as interviewers. A three-day training session took place in Maputo. It consisted of discussions as well as learning how to properly conduct interviews. Following this, they were ready to enter the field.

In Niassa province, I used two fieldwork guides – a woman and a man – from the communities who were able to speak in Portuguese and Ajaua/Yao, Emakhuwas or Nyanjas; the languages spoken in the study area. These were particularly important in order to conduct interviews and engage in Focus Group Discussions since I am only fluent in Shangana and Portuguese. To complete the information, I interviewed several administrative officers in Maputo and in Niassa. Additionally, I was able to interact with the local chiefs – traditional leaders and the secretaries of the heads of *bairros* in the city of Maputo.

The Focus Group Discussion

Focus Group Discussions took place at the headquarters of each neighbourhood and were conducted separately for females and males. However, some situations allowed for simultaneous discussions with both sexes. Focus Group Discussions were taped-recorded, with the consent of the respondents. These were fully transcribed by members of the research team. Transcription took place in the field immediately after each session. By doing this, the next session could occur only after the previous one had been completely transcribed. In Mandimba, all aspects of taking-notes, typing and recording of interviews were done by me. This was necessary because my fieldwork guides lacked ability. The woman only knew how to read and write while the man had just a 5^{th} grade education. However, both had a good command of Portuguese.

In- depth interviews and life histories

In-depth interviews and life histories were related mainly to the migration experience. I sought to learn why people moved and why they stayed. I also queried various groups of people about their decisions for migrating. Interviews were conducted either in the respondent's homes or at their offices to avoid any disturbances. The aim of these interviews was to clarify aspects that the literate, statistics or the Focus Group Discussions did not cover or did not deal with in depth. These questions were related to perceptions of migration, the migration experience, the decision for migration and the consequences of migration upon the individual and her/his future plans.

Life histories helped in the sense that I could identify the minor movements of people – particularly those displaying itinerant characteristics and had lived in Mandimba only three to four years. Also, in Maputo, I observed a significant number of interviewed women were commuters. For reasons of survival and to guarantee retaining hold of their land they cultivate crops, travelling distances varying from 50 to 700 km from the city. Obviously, those who need to go further distances have homes there and they visit family in Maputo every month or quarterly, depending on the season. From these findings there arose a question about a new category of households. Perhaps I could call them "split households." This itinerancy characteristic occurs within internal borders and alongside regional borders. In Maputo, it was easier to identify the movements of those moving from one *bairro* to another – including those who migrated from one municipal district into another.

Sixty-three life histories of women were gathered in Maputo and another 26 in the Mandimba district in Niassa province. The age of the interviewees varied between 18 and 71 years. As this was a gender study, I also interviewed some men in both areas of study. I did this in order to assess their feelings about migration and why they had decided to move. In making their decision to migrate, did they consult their spousal counterparts? This was done with the idea that I could make comparisons in terms of migration factors and migration decisions taken within the household. I also wanted to establish the status of gender relations in the migrants' area of origin as well as at their destination. I interviewed 28 men in the city of Maputo and 31 in Mandimba.

In Maputo, I found it difficult to locate men to be interviewed, unlike Mandimba, where they were very willing to be interviewed – particularly men who were there through "Production Operation." Women in Maputo were easier to

approach for interviews, unlike Mandimba where it was very difficult. The reasons for this are explored in next chapters.

Observation

This method consisted of participating in various individual and community social events and taking notes. I asked questions of random people, especially at the informal markets or in places where migrants – according to their place of origin – usually socialized. My research also consisted of walking around and looking at what was taking place. This technique was used in both Mandimba and in the city of Maputo.

Observation consisted of two phases. The first was basically exploratory fieldwork visits and the second occurred during the fieldwork. Firstly, I was trying to ascertain the conditions in which I would be working. I was very familiar with the city of Maputo since I live there. It was in Maputo that I coordinated my research project on Forced Migration and the New African City, with the Forced Migration Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. However, the Niassa environment was completely new to me, but I was fortunate that administrative structures and the traditional leaders were very supportive. Secondly, during the field interviews, I was able to evaluate people's housing conditions and their daily life.

In Mandimba for instance, I discovered the houses were very rustic and made of non-durable materials such as reeds, mud and clay. Most of these houses had only one bedroom. In the backyard of one particular hut, it was possible to identify at least two granaries, one large and the other, small. The bigger granary was used for storing grains while the small one served as seed storage. The poorest households had only one granary.

In these households, it was not common to have just fruit trees in the yard. I also saw maize plants, vegetables, beans and some bananas trees. The reason for this, as far as I could ascertain, was because of their temporary residential status in such villages. I eventually learned this transience of the people was linked to soil exhaustion.

For cooking, these people use firewood and for lighting, paraffin lamps on stands as well as candles. Water for drinking, cooking, cleaning, etc. came from rivers, lakes, boreholes and ponds. The staple food was maize, sorghum, beans, pumpkin

leaves and fresh or smoked fish from the rivers and lakes. Among the children, there were no signs of malnourishment such as red hair or swollen bellies.

Agriculture is characterised by a mixture of crops and livestock husbandry, and is the major source of income. Some domestic animals such as chickens, ducks, goats and dogs were found in various households. However, I did not see any pigs, but perhaps this is because the majority of these people are Muslim. In addition to farming, these households also undertake non-farming activities in order to increase income. Thus, trade and small-scale industry such as metal work, oil producing, sand extraction, carpentry and crafts – mats, wooden-spoons, carvings, etc. – were activities conducted by men. The men transported these products to be sold in Tanzania, Malawi and in the nearby provinces.

On the other side of the duty roster, women's activities consisted of selling agricultural products – maize, sugar cane, cassava, raw bananas and vegetables – in the front yards of their homes. They also sold home-made commodities such as crocheting, bread, bananas cakes, pots, etc, but they never took their wares to the public markets. Those I saw selling in the markets were women from southern Mozambique who came in with the "Production Operation." On the way to the border of Malawi, it is common to see women carrying 20kg bags of maize and maybe some chickens in their backs while they walk or ride bicycles. On their return from Malawi they will be carrying bags of maize flour. The activity of grinding is done in Chiponde village, in Malawi, which is located 5 km away from the Crossing Post of Mandimba. In the district, I found several abandoned shops built during the colonial period as well as abandoned farms now overgrown with bushes. These were particularly visible in Lissiete village, as well as destroyed drainage and irrigation equipment.

The local market was supplied by goods from Malawi and nearby Nampula and Zambezia provinces. There were signs of long-established trade with Tanzania, evidenced by the types of sarongs found in markets. In the bush, it was possible to see mango and coconut trees out in the high grass – signs attesting to itinerancy.

The city of Maputo is very familiar to me and characterizes most Sub-Saharan African cities. As the UN-Habitat report (2008:23) points out, "these cities are characterized by rapid rural-urban migration and progressively higher rates of natural urban growth." Coming to Maputo, apart from the fast growth of the city, as a city dweller I have seen a decline of life conditions since 1975. This deterioration has been

characterized by congestion, crime and environmental degradation. The city's drainage and sewage systems are poorly serviced.

In households located in cement area, people were living in apartments of one to three bedrooms. However, they were shared housing for three up to eleven people. Electricity, gas, firewood and charcoal were used for cooking while lighting came mostly by electricity and paraffin lamps. The reed or slum area is mainly occupied by the poor where the houses are simple huts and are mostly located in the swamps. From a population density of 1,600Km^2 in 1980 to 3,222 hab/km^2 in 1997 INE (1997) the city dwellers have doubled in comparison with previous census of 1970.

In several households, I found some signs of malnourished children possessing characteristics previously described. I found women busy selling a variety of goods in their front yards, as well as doing dreadlocks or plaits. Some were discussing business, particularly those who are cross-border traders and those involved in the informal credit system. Apart from this commercial activity, agriculture is their only source of income.

Agriculture has developed in the *Zonas Verdes* (Green belt); a demarcated area, dividing Maputo from the city of Matola. Some also do agriculture work in Boane district located 30 km away from Maputo city centre. Others, on a weekly or monthly basis, travel distances of 50 to 700 km to work in Gaza and Inhambane provinces. In some households, I could ascertain that some wives were settled in Inhambane in order to do cultivation as a means of income generation. They visit their husbands and children on the weekends or at the end of the month. Some visit only on a quarterly basis. The reason for this commute is explained by the following:

a) The need to increase the household income;

b) To guarantee their husband's land will not to be taken by aliens or squatters

c) To guarantee they will keep the land which some inherited from their parents following the independence. Generally the land used by women belongs to their husbands. They guarantee retaining the property for their children by settling there and cultivating crops. While they are there, they can also improve household diet and income by selling the products they grow.

.4 Sampling and research procedures within the household

Sampling

The sampling was not easy to take since I did not have a representative stratified sample of population either in the place of origin or to the destination area. I could have used GIS but due to the lack of actualized mapping, it was not possible. In the place of origin, I selected a number of households from the administrative district structures. There, I tried to ensure incorporating a representative number of women who:

- Were heads of households represented by widows, divorced/separated or abandoned and single mothers. Women fitting these categories were not easy to find in Mandimba since after being widowed, or divorced they remarry again. Also, because of the way the matrilineal system is organized, it is very difficult to find a woman who is the head of household as she is likely to have an elder brother (*Mbumba*) who takes care of her. However, I could more easily identify an *apwyiamwene*[4] – a widow.
- Married once – was a very difficult category;
- Women who had been married more than once.

Since it was my objective to establish gender relations among migrants, I also interviewed the husbands as well as everyone else in the household who were over eighteen years. The objective was to ascertain the kind of socio-economic relationships developed within the household in the context of migration.

Most of the interviewees agreed to give interviews in their workplaces; mostly in their vending stalls and some were interviewed in their offices. Only in Mandimba, was it possible to conduct interviews in the interviewees' homes. This was because these women did not stay away from their homes for long periods of time. The only exception was when I joined them at their places of cultivation. Men were interviewed at their workplaces – mainly in the markets, bus-stops or after attending church or a mosque.

In Mandimba district, I received useful support from the administration since the villages are sparsely distributed. The secretary of the administration district

[4] The Queen.

circulated my work to various Administrative Posts by radio to each chief. Following this, each chief contacted each traditional leader informing people about my work.

In Maputo, since I did not have any accurate figures about their numbers or where migrants were located, I decided to use a sampling technique based upon "someone who knows someone." In this process, I was able to find a good representation of migrants coming from all over the country.

In Maputo, the location for interviews depended upon the preference of the interviewee. In Mandimba district, most interviews were undertaken in the home of the interviewee, with the exception of informal traders, cyclists, passengers 'raiser' and the Focus Group. The Focus Group in Maputo was held in a restaurant frequented by the businesswomen. The duration of these interviews varied from 90 minutes to three hours.

The household and headship of the households

These concepts are discussed in detail in chapter three.

In-depth interviews and life histories in selected households

The in-depth interviews consisted of both open-ended questions and closed-questions (see appendix 1) and were based upon listening and recording the answers. (Not all interviewees allowed their interviews to be recorded). This technique allowed us to understand the perspectives of the interviewees. All interviewees were assured about the confidentiality of their responses. This included not recording their replies if they requested it, as well as taking photographa and not writing down their names or their full names. In some instances, we used fictitious names or nicknames. However, others were very eager to give their names in full as well as having their answers recorded – as can be found throughout this thesis.

Focus Group Discussions

In Maputo, three different age groups were gathered for focus group discussions – 18-24; 25-49 and over 50). Following this, two groups were formed in Niassa – 25-49 and over 50. This was done to explore the points of view and the experiences of different groups of women, of different ages and levels of education – no schooling, primary school and secondary school and importantly their marital status. Marital status was crucial to understand their background with respect to the type of household they came

from, how the household is structured, thus who determines or decides in the matter of migration.

People in the Maputo Focus Groups had some schooling and both were comprised of cross-border traders. In Mandimba, the women forming my Focus Group Discussions were illiterate peasants. The men's Focus Group was formed by the former "un-productives" – those who were there by Production Operation – with some being educated up to 4th grade. This group in particular, all spoke either Shangana or Portuguese. It was my intention to have more participants, but this was not possible because many said they were too busy.

In Maputo, I managed to formulate two groups – one female and the other, male. However, there were several disturbances, particularly among men who were quite undecided. First, some refused and then changed their minds, arriving late. Others, who had agreed, left when the newcomers arrived. I decided to interrupt the proceedings and did not include those interviews in the study.

The Profile of interviewees

Interviews were conducted in Mandimba district and in the city of Maputo. The socio-cultural, demographic and migration characteristics of the migrants interviewed are presented in the next discussion. The idea was to create a profile about the people who agreed to recount their life histories. I took into consideration information about gender, age, profession/occupation, type of residence, lifestyle conditions, type of household and the society ruling that household.

The information was simplified into tables where I present the socio-cultural and demographic characteristics of the interviewees. The idea of illustrating a table of what I called "socio-cultural characteristics" was to give a profile of the interviewees' background considering that a matrilineal society is slightly different from patrilineal society in terms of who decides within the household. That is, how does he or she interact with other members, how the marriages are organized and the future residence of the married couple and the structure of the family? In doing so with a simple table, I indicated their matrilineal or patrilineal background, type of marriage – monogamous and polygamous), etc. I also defined types of households such as the nuclear household.

For example, the nuclear family consists of mother, father and children only, and does not include extended family. This is a family structure in which uncles, aunts, and

cousins are regarded as close relatives and everyone has an obligation to help and support each other.

As for the size of a household, I considered the number of people living in that household unit. Currently, in Mandimba, there is a trend to concentrate between 7 and 10 people into a household. In Maputo, the number is between 4 and 6.

The table (2.1) shows interesting results in terms of the high number of polygamous marriages in the city of Maputo, unlike the Mandimba district. Before explaining why polygamy so is high in the city rather that in the rural district is important to accept that polygamy is widespread in Mozambique. According to Arnaldo (2003:141) referring to the 1997 Demographic Health Survey, "28 per cent of married women lived in polygamous unions. That percentage increased from 25 in 1970 to 28 in 1997" Arnaldo indicates that polygamous marriage was high in patrilineal societies rather than in the matrilineal. Some reasons for high polygamy rates in Mozambique are related to the need of agricultural labour supply. As many women a man can have as much the labour is got for the field. For men, polygamy connotes greater wealth as he can support more than one wife. While for women, polygamy offers the benefits of solidarity, companionship with co-wives, help with childcare, farming and other domestic activities.

However, what is to be questioned is why the occurrence is higher in urban rather than rural areas, considering that the usual situation is the opposite. At this point, I would support the idea brought forward by WLSA Mozambique (1997) in the study on "Family in changing environment in Mozambique." It states that polygamy is growing in the city due to the increase in poverty. Add to this the responses of some of my interviewees said to be in polygamous marriages who say it is a way to "*have facilitations in businesses.*" According to them, "*you are more respected if you are married.*" Also, they were willing to be in a polygamous marriage "*because we are freer than those who are in monogamous marriage since we are involved in businesses.*" The important point is that the majority of these interviewed women participating in polygamous marriage are re-married. This means they are in the second marriage and were already married before coming to Maputo.

The proportion of households headed by women varies across the country and between rural and urban areas. According to the census of 1997 (INE 1999) female headed households represent less than 23 per cent of all households at the national level and is slightly more concentrated in the cities than in rural areas. In the

meantime, the table shows only one woman as head of the household in Mandimba while in Maputo they are 23. The size of the households in both rural and urban areas is comprised of families with more than four members.

Table 2. 1: Socio-cultural profile of interviewed people

Variables	Mandimba	Maputo city	Total
1. Socio-cultural organization			
Matrilineal	51	20	71
Patrilineal	06	71	77
2.Type of marriage			
Monogamous	53	35	88
Polygamous	04	56	60
3. Type of Household			
Nuclear	00	05	05
Extended family	57	86	143
4. Headship of household			
Men's headship	56	68	124
Women's headship	01	23	24
5. Size of household			
≤ 3 people	01	02	03
4 and 6 people	14	40	54
7 and 10 people	35	27	62
>10 people	07	22	29
6. Period of migration			
Before 1975	01	03	04
Between 1975 and 1990	45	74	119
Between 1992 and 2005	11	14	25

In light of the existing literature, empirical studies of migration conducted in Mozambique over the last five years, combined with personal observation and experience allowed me to track the periods in which migration occurred in this country. In doing so, it can be said migration has been shaped by a number of events. These include the independence and the Socialist regime which directed people where to settle, work and to study.

This same system forced people to live in communal villages in Niassa province mainly in Mandimba and Majune districts, relocating them from the cities. In addition, the historical mine labour migration, the civil war, natural hazards, the Structural Adjustment Program, the signing of the 1992 General Peace Agreement and the increase of poverty contributed to the necessity for migration. The effects of these occurrences now help researchers to understand the nature of population mobility.

From the fieldwork experience, I found it difficult to determine who was married and who was not. The dimension of marriage in the capital city has gone beyond the traditional definition as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique

(Civil Code, chapter IV). The legal designation of "marriage" considers people to be wed when they have fulfilled civil, religious or traditional ceremonies.

Still, women who were not formally or traditionally recognized as married declared themselves to be married as soon as they acquired a partner. This is done in spite of the fact that the relationship is considered illegal and of no more consequence than an affair. However, they say a woman is more respected when she declares she is married rather than divorced or separated. This was especially true when such women were dealing with businesses (FGD with *mukheristas*, Maputo).

Most of these women wore wedding rings to give credence to saying they were married. In fact, when the question of "marital status" arose, including the type of marriage they preferred, their answers were more related to the advantage of marriage. That is to say polygamous marriages existed, although the relationships would not be recognised legally.

In many cases, the "real" or legal wife did not recognize the "other woman" or did not know about the other "wife" at all. This situation contributed to certain confusions around the definition of headship of a household – especially among women from southern Mozambique. They would say: "*Mulumuzana*[5] *is staying in the other house.*"

Since it had become complicated to define who was and was not married, I decided to accept how the interviewed women classified themselves. In doing so, singles were mostly comprised of women between the ages of eighteen and twenty two. Women who had left their husbands declared themselves as separated. Although, in several situations, I was able to find all categories of women namely married, single, and widows.

In Mandimba, almost all women were married. Only two women identified themselves as widows. One was an *Apwyiamwene* (queen in Yao language spoken in Niassa) and the other remained widowed because, according to her, "she *was too poor and no man wanted to marry her*." This was why she was still living alone, contrary to the trend in which "*a woman after being widowed soon got married – and others managed to get married even after a divorce. The reason for this was because in their culture, a woman could not live alone. She had to marry to protect her reputation.*"

Another situation found in Mandimba was that marriage was strongly related with age so, girls age fourteen – and even twelve years – were already married. Again, as in

[5] *Mulumuzana* is a Shangana and Ronga word that means "the head of the household." Some call the head of the household as "papai" or "bava," which means "dad."

Maputo, classifying the type of marriage was not easy. It was difficult to separate monogamous (a marriage with one man with one woman) from polygamous marriages (marriage of one man to more than one woman simultaneously). Every women interviewed declared herself to be married – even those who were in legal relations or assumed to be the second or third wife. They were married according to their own beliefs, in spite of living in separate houses or their relationship not being legally recognised.

In this study, I discovered more polygamous marriage than monogamous unions in Maputo. Among interviewed men in Maputo, most declared themselves as being in a monogamous marriage. The interesting thing is, in Mandimba, although most of people were Muslim a religion that allows marrying up to four wives, polygamous marriages were scarce. Wives in polygamous Muslim marriages are ensured equal rights, and equal conditions of life (according to Albino Wasse, traditional leader of Meluluca, 6th June 2005). Therefore, the following postulations can be stated:

- The Coram promotes polygamy but such a situation depends upon the wealth of the husband. So, a poor man dares not to marry more than one wife. Both women and men when they are not happy with their current marriage situation can separate or divorce and seek another partner. One interviewed man said: "*Marriage ends because it has to end like everything else.*"
- Since the customary laws of the matrilineal system requires a man to join the wife's parenthood village, a polygamous marriage would not fit in this structure. However, there were exceptions as in the case of a man being a traditional leader (see the example of the traditional leader of Meluluca, Albino Wasse) who, because of his position, was allowed to marry several women. This meant he could bring his wives to his house or village. That leader had two wives in Meluluca and another in Mandimba town. The woman, living in Mandimba, according to him "*stayed there in order to look after me during the times I travel to that town for either official or private matters*" (Albino Wasse, Meluluca 28th May 2005).
- Unlike Maputo, in Mandimba it was not common to find a woman who occupied a place outside of marriage (as a lover) with children. These people do not recognize illegal relationships. If the husband discovers any evidence of cheating, the marriage ends. Affairs among Emakhuwas are more discrete.

"*When they have an affair, the lover is introduced as a cousin or uncle in an effort to conceal. – While the Ajaua does it openly. When it occurs, this means the marriage is finished.*" – Amurali Mualave, born in Murebuwe, Cabo Delgado province, Nyerere village, 31st May 2005).

Period of migration

In terms of the period of their migration, the majority declared they moved from their homelands between 1975 and 1990. Reasons for migration were related to socio-political events such as independence, civil war, Production Operation, Forced Armed Service, policy orientation and poverty.

Demographic profile: sex, age, marital status, children, literacy and professions

Table (2.2) is about demographic characteristics. I divided the term "marital status" into three categories: (1) Single – all those who had never been married, including single mothers. (2) Married – including the following unions: civil or formal, religious, cohabitation and *lobolo* (southern Mozambique*)* or *N'doa* (Mandimba*).* The remaining categories were: (3) separated/divorced and (4) widows/widowers.

In Niassa, two age groups were questioned considering that in Niassa, married girls, age 14 or 20 years, required authorization from their God mothers to give interviews. Therefore, I mostly interviewed women over 24 years and a few in the 18 – 24 age groups.

In Maputo I was able to interview people age 18 up to 70. I considered the number of children in each household as well as literacy and their professions or occupations. The majority of interviewees in Maputo had a minimum of schooling and were involved in informal activities.

In Mandimba, the people were peasants and had no schooling. A small number of people had completed primary school and were able to read and to write. Here, I considered literacy to mean having the ability to read and to write in any language. The Mandimba district, a remote rural area, possessed one secondary school meaning there was no hope of finding people with schooling beyond that level. In the entire district, I found one Congolese refugee medical Doctor who was working at the district hospital. I also located one Mozambican graduated in forestry engineering, who coincidently, was the district director of agriculture. Among the interviewed women, only one had a 7th grade education and another had studied through the 10th grade. Both women

worked as civil servants at the district administration. The one with 10th grade was the acting district director of Women and Social Affairs.

Apart from political instability caused by the civil war, resulting in destruction of several schools, there were other reasons for lower education in the district such as socio-cultural practices dominating the villagers of the district. These included early marriage, trade, cultural beliefs and mobility. This statement is attested to by the following interview given by Betty Manda (Mandimba 25th May 2005), who is a Mozambican programme officer at the Swedish Cooperative Centre in Mandimba district.

She said: "*Illiteracy among the Ajaua people is very high because of the high degree of school drop-outs associated with initiation rites, early marriage and trade.*" I would add that itinerancy is also another factor for not finishing any degree at school. This obviously reduces opportunities for further studies. On the contrary, in Maputo, most of the interviewees – both women and men – were at least able to read and write. Several had completed secondary school. I also found some with incomplete primary and secondary school educations. Some even had post-secondary education. Two women and two men canvassed had university degrees. However, none came from Mandimba.

In relation to profession or occupations, I found in Maputo, female interviewees were mostly house workers, hairdressers, dressmakers, street vendors, sex workers, housewives and civil servants including teachers, nurses and administrative officers (clerks). Also included in this group were businesswomen including those who were cross-border and long distance traders involved in the informal economy. Among men, I also interviewed businessmen/vendors as well as civil servants and a lawyer.

The issue of cross-border trade has gained the dimension of gender since, at one time in Maputo; such business activity was only for women whereas in Mandimba, it was exclusively for men. The peculiarly of this is the fact that women from Niassa particularly – and northern Mozambique in general – are still not involved in businesses requiring cross-border travel to supply their store houses. They do not travel long distances. Instead, they remain involved in domestic businesses. This is very unlike women from southern Mozambique who actively participate in cross-border trade.

In Mandimba, the interviewees were mostly peasants and, apart from the directors who were relatively educated, only two were clerks as I have mentioned

earlier. It had been my intention to have interviewed nurses or school teachers but it did not happen. As the district administrator (May 27th 2005) said: "*Here in Mandimba, you cannot find women performing in these professions. We use to have them but they were transferred to Lichinga, and some went to Maputo. The reason for this is because teachers and nurses, most of them, were not born in this district. Once they get married, they decide to follow the husbands.*"

The next table (2.2) indicates demographic variables – namely sex, age, marital status, and literacy, number of children and profession or occupation.

Table 2. 2: Demographic profile

Variables	Mandimba	Maputo city	Total
1. Sex			
Female	26	63	89
Male	31	28	59
2. Age			
18 and 24	05	28	33
25 and 49	42	50	92
50 and 70	04	17	21
Over 70	01	01	02
3. Marital status			
Married	53	65	108
Single	02	10	12
Divorced/separated	01	15	16
Widow/widower	01	01	02
4. Number of children			
Without children	01	00	01
1 and 3	06	30	36
4 and 10	49	59	108
Over 10	01	02	03
5. Literacy			
Never schooled	25	07	
Read and write	20	30	
Primary school	10	32	
Secondary and high school	02	17	
Technical	00	02	
Some university	00	03	
6.Proffession/occupation			
Clerk/Civil servant	03	09	12
House-maid	00	11	11
Cross border trade	02	12	14
Informal market	00	34	34
Hairdresser/dressmaker	00	02	02
Sex worker	00	03	03
Peasant	47	02	49
Lawyer	00	01	01
Pensions/Veteran	00	09	09
Cyclist/kwasheiro	04	00	04
Working/stone house/technician	01	03	04
Petrol station/ night guard	00	05	05

Life conditions: property, type of dwelling and housing facilities

The following table (2.3) depicts the living conditions of the household. Several elements were taken in account – ownership, types of houses and facilities such as water, lighting, cooking and toilet:

Table 2. 3: Living conditions of the household

Characteristics	Mandimba	Maputo city	Total
1. Property			
Owner	55	27	82
Rented	00	36	36
Shared flat/apartment/house	00	20	20
State/property	02	08	10
2. Type of dwelling			
Flat /apartment	00	29	29
Residence	02	13	15
Annex	00	27	27
Thatched hut	49	03	52
Barrack	06	19	25
3. Facilities			
3.1 Type of Toilet			
Flushed water	02	69	71
Latrine	26	22	48
Bush	29	00	29
3. Lighting			
Electricity	07	69	76
Lamp stand/candles	50	22	72
4. Cooking			
Electricity	00	13	13
Gas	00	22	22
Charcoal and firewood	57	56	103
5. Water			
Tape inside	00	69	69
Tap outside	02	05	07
Public tap/fountain	00	17	17
Borehole	24	00	24
River/lake	31	00	31

Learning about where migrants were living in the city of Maputo made it pertinent to ask whether the household was located in the cement or in the reed *bairros* according to the configuration of the city. In Mandimba, the district was divided into headquarters or town and villages. Mandimba is the place where the majority of people are peasants.

Table 2. 4: Where living

Characteristics	Mandimba	Maputo city	Total
1. Cement bairros		44	
2. Reed bairros		47	
Total			91
3. Town	07		
4. Village	50		
Sub-Total			57
Total			148

Migration Profile

In this study, I found several typologies of migration including: (1) rural-rural; (2) between villages or between districts and between provinces; (3) from rural area or village to provincial capital; (4) from provincial capital to Maputo and (5) from provincial capital direct to the city of Maputo. Cross-border migration was common mainly between Mandimba and Malawi and Tanzania. In Maputo, cross-border migration occurs between South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. These people operate either as cross border traders or temporary migrants. This is also happening in Mandimba.

In Mandimba, itinerancy was very common. In general, trends of migration were observed within the three geographical regions namely south, central and northern. People from all over the country moved to Maputo and during the 1980s, some went from southern Mozambique to the Mandimba district. Their period of residence distinguished a migrant from a non-migrant. The time frame differentiating visitors from traders was six months, as shown on table (2.5).

Table 2. 5: Time of residence and place of origin

Characteristics	Mandimba	Maputo city	Total
1. Period of residence			
≥ 6 months	01	00	01
7 and 11 months	08	01	09
1 year and 5 years	12	19	31
Over 5years	36	71	107
2. Region of origin			
Northern	47	29	67
Central	01	21	31
Southern	09	41	50

Rural and Urban Migrant Dwellers

The data was collected in two different areas – Mandimba, a rural area, and the city of Maputo. At this point, it was difficult to find households defined as non-migrant since all households, to some extent, had a migrant member in their life cycle. I defined migrants as having a change of residence from their place of birth for a period of six months or more. The reasons for such migration could be the civil war, work or other reasons not specified. Within these households, I elected to examine the following groups of people: women who were heads of their households as well as those who were not.

In Mandimba it was difficult to locate such women since women there cannot be the head of the household. This is due to their socio-cultural structure thus it is extremely difficult to locate a woman living alone. This meant that in rural areas traditional values and rules are still stronger than in urban areas like Maputo. In the city of Maputo, it was easy to find and talk to women heading households. As a matter of fact, women as heads of households are fairly well distributed.

Table 2. 6: Places and number of people interviewed in the rural area

District of Mandimba	**Village/neighbourhood**	**Interviewees**		
		Women	**Men**	**Total**
Headquarter Administrative Post/Mandimba town	Mandimba town/Headquarter district	2	5	7
	Julius Nyerere	1	4	5
	M'bawue	4	4	8
	Chikwenga	1	3	4
	Mironga	2	3	5
	N'tondooco	5	2	7
	Nassato	4	3	7
	Naucheche	3	1	4
Administrative Post of Mandimba	Lissiete	2	2	4
	Meluluca	2	2	4
Administrative Post of Mitande	Mitande headquarter	0	2	2
Total		**26**	**31**	**57**

The Urban Migrant dwellers

The sampling selection was assembled according to previously defined criteria, making use of the technique of "who knows who." After initial contact with those who agreed to filling-in the profile previously defined, I began development of the preliminary questions to be asked. These referred to place of birth, the year of arriving

in Maputo – or wherever their location was – and then I went on with the full interview.

I used the so-called "snowball" technique consisting of each interviewee nominating someone among their acquaintances who fitted the criteria in terms of age, work, friendship or residence for the following interview. This technique was useful in locating migrants from Niassa province, since according to the statistics of 1997, there were only 257 women living in the various neighbourhoods of Maputo. However, I discovered most of the women (90%) were living in Sommerschield in the Military *bairro*. Later, I discovered there were many more women from Niassa, who were spread throughout the city. Particularly, Niassan women had congregated in the Zimpeto neighbourhood, located 15 km from the city centre.

The Military neighbourhood or *bairro* is part of the finest area in Maputo. A significant number of people from Niassa live there as well as people from the other Northern provinces of Mozambique. Mostly, they are veterans of the liberation war. In fact, this borough was the most difficult to gain access. Besides being populated by war veterans and the demobilized military, there is a widespread idea that this neighbourhood is the centre of illicit trade. This *bairro* is known as "Colombia" because of fire-weapons trade, and the sale of drugs as well as high levels of drug and alcohol consumption.

I was really frightened of going there to interview my subjects. To avoid the situation, I asked Mr. Canjaulele, a former Majune, district administrator of Niassa province to assist me. He and Mrs Chitupila, a female war veteran, introduced me to their fellows in "Colombia." In this sense, for sampling, the snowball technique was very useful. Fortunately, I did not have to go into the neighbourhood. I just interviewed the participants at their workplaces, mostly in the markets. I also turned to Mr. Zawangoni, the national director of the National Directorate of Freedom Fighters of the Liberation War to summon people to be interviewed in the Ministry where he works.

The following table (2.7), summarizes these interviewed people and their location in the city of Maputo.

Table 2. 7: Places and number of people interviewed in the city of Maputo

Municipal district	Neighbourhood	Interviewees		
		Women	Men	Total
I	Alto Mae 'A'	4	2	6
	Alto Mae 'B'	3	1	4
	Central 'A'	3	1	4
	Coop 'A'	5	3	8
	Coop 'B'	2	2	4
	Malhangalene 'A'	7	5	12
	Malhangalene 'B'	10	3	13
	Central 'A'	2	1	3
	Polana Cimento 'A'	1	0	1
	Polana Caniço 'B'	4	1	5
	Ministry of Former Combatants (in replacement of Military neighbourhood)	6	6	12
II	Malanga	5	1	6
III	Maxaquene 'A'	1	1	2
IV	T3	4	0	4
V	Zimpeto	5	1	6
IV	Zonas verdes	1	0	1
Total		63	28	91

2.5 Constraints during the Research

It was very difficult to conduct these interviews since the interviewees were, on many occasions, not available. Everywhere, I encountered constraints. My main roadblocks occurred in the city of Maputo. In fact, in all of Mozambique, Maputo is the most difficult locality to conduct any kind of research. Difficulties arose from the tardiness of interviewees since they tend to be involved in many activities to ensure their survival. Indeed, the best time to conduct interviews was during the evenings. This however, was a big challenge for me because, in some households, people did not have electricity. Therefore, these interviews were conducted under lamplight and candlelight.

Another problem with night interviews was exhaustion. Potential interviewees often said they were too tired to answer questions at night. And, since Maputo has been a target area for study, over the last several years people are tired of answering questionnaires. – This was particularly true during the civil war when most researches were concentrated in this city. Was also, some potential interviewees were drunk when they were polled and this made it problematical to interview them.

In general, the Field Discussion Groups were the most difficult to conduct since there were so many curious people, particularly in Niassa. In Maputo, I undertook an

FDG in a restaurant where we had lunch and then conducted another in the market. In Mandimba, I conducted FDGs in places where meetings were usually held.

Due to the extent of interviews (life histories) and the volume (148), I did not integrate all my findings into this thesis. In the future, I hope I will be able to utilise the remaining interviews through writing articles and presenting some of these findings in conferences.As a matter of fact, I have already started.

Constraints in the fieldwork: the city of Maputo

a) Permission from the administrative headship was a hindrance because no one was allowed to conduct research without their authorization. Getting the green light took approximately two weeks. For each and every neighbourhood, I had to apply for permission.
b) Some interviewees were suspicious about the research. Some considered the questions as an invasion of their privacy. Some decided to conclude before the end of the interview.
c) Some interviewees expected to be employed after the interview. This was particularly true for those who were involved in sex-work activities and domestic work. In fact, interviewing sex workers was not easy because they thought I was there just to make fun of them or to judge them. One of these sex workers, as a joke, invited me to go to her place of work to see her in her work environment. Some were drunk and some told me that I was interfering with their jobs. However from this group, I could ascertain they had fled the oppression and aggressiveness of their husbands or boyfriends. It was an attempt to escape from poverty and suffering. One told me that she "*was there in order to buy a house.*" Finding this group of interviewees was not difficult because they can be found in open spaces alongside 24th Avenue and Julius Nyerere. What proved to be difficult was obtaining interviews from them. One sex worker whom I interviewed was introduced to me by a neighbour. My neighbour had been working in that activity for ten years and came from Chibuto, in Gaza province. In the end, I managed to interview three sex workers. They asked me not to reveal their names and not to say explicitly they were sex workers. I had to pay them with some beer.

d) Some sex workers agreed to be interviewed in the hope their children could get a room at the university since they learned – after introductions – that I was lecturing at the university in Mozambique.
e) Some asked for money.
f) All refused to be recorded.
g) Sundays were not productive as potential interviewees said they had to go to church, visit relatives or sick people in the hospitals. Others said they would be visiting people in jail. Some declined saying they had to attend to home maintenance.

Apart of all these constraints, in the end, I had managed to interview 91 people.

Constraints in the fieldwork: the district of Mandimba

Doing research in Niassa particularly in Mandimba was quite easy. This is because it is not common to receive researchers except for specific reasons such as the census, national surveys, electoral registration, and so-on. For example, I recalled that the last research undertaken in the district was by a "*white Brazilian researcher who spent one week in Meluluca in 2001.*" This research dealt with reintegration of refugees in the post-civil war era. Unfortunately, no one could tell me from which institution that researcher came. Therefore, I was unable to track the results of that research.

The district administration provided me with some facilities such as an interview room and they even supplied an office for my personal use. The administators put me in touch with a lady from the village that had excellent language skills in Ajaua, Nyanja and Emakhuwa. She was able to accompany me during my research. A gentleman was appointed as my fieldwork guide. Having these locals as fieldwork guides was very important in opening 'doors' for me. They introduced me in each village and locality, helping to dispel doubts among the community members.

Besides the facilities provided by the district administrator, I was introduced to the community leaders (chiefs). This endorsement made people more willing to be interviewed. For some, it was an opportunity to interact with new people from a different culture who spoke a different language. My first language is Shangana.

The fact of coming from a patrilineal background, to some extent, made it quite hard to understand some kinds of behaviours. Such cultural differences included *"a man living in the parent's-in-law's house or village in order to be tested for his ability*

to impregnate a woman or for taking care of a family." Culturally-speaking, for me, there was a sense of not taking marriage vows very seriously since "*the man is auditioned for a period of time to see if he is good husband material or not.*" If he did not behave/perform properly or does not produce good crops, he can be sent away from the hosting household. If he "*is not able to get the woman pregnant, this also is a valid reason to be dismissed from that marriage.*" Similarly, in every situation, I found some hardships. They are listed as follows:

a) Authorization to conduct research was required by the administrative structures – the District headquarters and the chieftains in the villages. Indeed, Mandimba is similar to most countryside areas of Mozambique. There is the formal power represented by the district administrator as well as the chiefs representing the local villages. This means for any research to be conducted, it is required to go through these structures.

b) Some women required authorization from their husbands, parents or eldest brother in the absence of parents or uncles. Young women – age 18 or less to 24 required permission from their God-mothers to participate in my interviews. The only way to get the blessing of the God-mothers was to allow them to be part of the interview process. They argued that "*this kind of work exposed girls and young married women to a better world" out there" – better than the life they were living. They believed the young women would think this way because I was carrying a laptop and a "photography machine" and a bag. They would become excited by these things.*" Further, they said: "*it was because of these things that people bring from the city which makes the youth – particularly girls – lose their heads.*" This was a comment made be a Godmother in Ntodooco village, 12th of May 2005).

c) Some women refused to be interviewed arguing they would not be able to answer the questions. Even though I explained it was not a test for marking and no one would fail or pass, I was not able to convince them. Others referred me to their husbands.

d) The local languages in the region are Emakhuwa, Nyanja and Ajaua. Since I speak only Shangana and Portuguese, I was forced to depend upon an interpreter. However, after two weeks, I was able to follow what they were saying. This is because these languages contain some common words with Shangana.

e) Roads linking the Administrative posts were in very bad condition. Some were literally impassable because they were broken by streams of water. Very often, I had to enter into the water in order to reach a village. These obstacles presented themselves in Meluluca and Mitande, villages situated in southern district of Mandimba.

f) Lack of motor transportation forced me to hire a bicycle. Cycling is the main means of public transport in the region. Travelling distances of twenty to forty five kilometres took three to four hours – and sometimes more – to reach these villages. Unfortunately, I was not able to leave early enough to interview the people in these villages and return before nightfall. And riding a bicycle at night was out of the question, particularly in Lissiete, Meluluca and Congerenge. In these areas, wild animals such as lions, snakes, monkeys and crocodiles forage along the rivers. I learned first hand, that some monkeys, such as dog-monkeys, were especially aggressive towards women.

g) I did not interview people prior to the Flame of Unity (chama da unidade) in the Mandimba district, occurring on the 26th and 27th of May. For two days, traditional leaders and the villagers were in preparation for the ceremony, which celebrated the 30th anniversary of Mozambique's independence. To make things worse, during these two days, the electricity was not functioning properly so I was not able to use my laptop to transcribe the interviews.

h) On May 25th, 2007, a couple from N'todooco village insisted they had to be interviewed as a couple and no one could separate them. They argued they had the right to be interviewed because they were veterans of liberation war. They had struggled for the independence of Mozambique and it might be of interest to the University to know their history as combatants of the country. They claimed to have taken part in the civil war. The husband claimed he was a soldier. The wife recounted a terrible experience of living six years in captivity at one of the RENAMO's headquarters. What made things worse was their state of drunkenness. Hardly had I accepted to interview them together when they began quarrelling. I tried to divert them to the subject of my research. I asked about their status of abandonment because they were not receiving their war pensions with any regularity. Fortunately both spoke Portuguese, so I did manage to interrupt when they diverted from the subject. Often, the wife was shouting at the grandchildren or was asking for another drink and more snuff

while the husband was asking for his homemade cigarettes. At the end of the interview, they offered me some drink and fresh maize, peanuts, fresh beans and a chicken.

i) I did not conduct any interviews in Congerenge as the timing coincided with a death ceremony. In these cases, from the day of the death until the 3rd day following, mourners have to perform the *Ziarat*[6] ceremony. I was not allowed to conduct interviews during that time. Since the place was located 45 km from the Mandimba headquarters and because of irregular transport – I was dependent on a bicycle – I did not return. In Mitande, I conducted three interviews with the acting Administrative Head, the Mwene or king, and one other gentleman. I also interviewed the commander of the Police district of Mandimba.

j) An interview with a passenger-raiser was interrupted because of the arrival of a taxi and the interviewee had to raise passengers.

k) By the end of the day, I again faced the lack of electricity and was forced to handwrite my report. The only boarding house where I was residing was also a restaurant and entertainment centre housing a disco, billiard hall video arcade and a cinema. Therefore, the power was directed to them and not to the rooms. The only time I could use my computer was in very early morning or when I returned early from the fieldwork. Since the electricity came from Malawi, according to the district administrator (Mandimba, 30th May 2005), Thursdays were the worst days. On Thursdays the power was cut for maintenance.

In spite of all these described constraints in Mandimba, I found these formerly 'un-productive people' eager to be interviewed. I could facilitate a Focus Group Discussion with them using either Shangana or Ronga. It was a way of familiarization and apart from questions about their migratory experiences they were very keen to know about Maputo and the other southern provinces. After twenty-three years of forced displacement, most have never had the opportunity to visit their relatives.

What I found of great interest was – even through all these years of living within a matrilineal environment – these former 'un-productives' have not yet assimilated into that form of organization. They still organize their style of living as they did when they were living in southern Mozambique, their place of birth. (One said he would not be

6 A Muslim death ceremony.

"*married because he was not a basket*," His meaning was: only baskets are carried by women.

At the beginning of these interviews, many spoke of being very upset about their forced migration experience. However, after four hours of interviews – the longest duration for any interviews – we became friends. I was even invited to invest in agriculture since Mandimba had land and not much in the way of requirements preventing access to the land. They promised to help me in every situation related to land access. In fact, I did get many offers from them as well as from the traditional leaders.

Constraints related to literature and written sources

Locating literature referring to Mozambican migration studies was difficult. Finding research pertaining to migration and gender studies about Mozambique was even more-so. In the meantime, I have to agree with Chant (1992), Colson (1999), Indra (1999), Dodson (2000), Boyde Grieco (2003) and Adepoju (2004) when they argue that gradually, the addition of women, or gender as a variable approach has appeared in more and more research. Yet, this research ultimately did not question the underlying models used to explain why people moved, where they went, and how they integrated.

Instead, differences between men and women were noted, and then explained as reflections of different sex roles. In the neoclassical economic models and the push-pull demographic models of the 1970s and 1980s, migration was seen as the outcome of individual decisions. The responsibilities of women as wives and mothers – and the role of men as breadwinners –were thought to influence the decisions of women. These gendered responsibilities were believed to explain why women were less likely than men to participate in migration decisions or in the labor force of the host country when they joined their husbands.

To be fair, I have to recognize that the growth of literature on gender and migration across the continent and in the Southern African region is quite significant, but there is little focus on Portuguese speaking countries. Adding to this problem was a scarcity of documentation related to the legislation of various forced migration operations imposed upon Mozambicans. An example of this is "*villagization*," where travel permits are used to track and control the movements of people.

As mentioned earlier, there is a great lack of information concerning general migration. Nevertheless, the WLSA in Mozambique has carried out several studies about Mozambican women with an emphasis on the southern part of the country. Information about Mozambique's social-cultural structure is also quite well developed. Beyond that, I found only one study, a PhD thesis by Manuel G. Araújo (1988), focusing upon villagization. However it did not at all deal with *Operação Produção*.

Because of this lack of documentation, I relied upon the declarations of those who experienced those restrictions. In Maputo, nobody wanted to talk about this issue but in Mandimba, a significant number of people were eager to recount their life histories and experiences of villagization. So, most conclusions I advance in relation to this issue, in the context of migration studies, was derived from the viewpoints of the respondents. It does not come from any written document which could support my assumptions – or what the interviewees have said.

2.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis required lengthy reading of notes taken during the research as well as considerable time listening to the recorded interviews. This was followed by transcription and translation into English. Various forms of data were gathered into different categories. These included type of society structure; marital status; place of birth; age; level of education; profession or occupation; their migration experience; their age during migration – childhood, youth or adulthood; their decision and choices for migration: origin and destination areas, if they followed step migration; as well as resource management – land, money/cash, etc.

Some of these notes were confirmed with the respective literature considering some of these experiences were already recorded either in internal literature or international literature. The volume of information I was able to gather, to some extent, became a huge task to manage.

CHAPTER III

Key-Concepts and Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to analyse the existing literature on migration, gender studies and social and economic organizations. Meanwhile, several terms are used in this thesis as basic concepts for understanding the environment in which this work was developed. In order to avoid misinterpretations, I felt it necessary to clarify the meaning of each main key concept used in the thesis. These definitions came from various scholars' points of view and were applied according to their appropriateness to the Mozambican case. Others were allocated according to my experience. As a consequence, throughout this thesis, words and concepts such as migration, mobility, gender and gender relations, patrilineal and matrilineal societies, home, homeland, bairro, urbanization, household and family and household survival strategies, to name a few, will be used.

3.2 Conceptualizing matrilineal and patrilineal societies, gender, migration, households and families, homeland and urbanization

The focus of this study is gender migration and choices and urbanization in Mozambique. As can be seen, the topic covers several means, which require certain reflection.

Migration scholars maintain that migration is not a new phenomenon of this century or of the last. Migration has occurred because of differences in production, economy, political dissactsisfaction, persecution, natural hazards, and so-on. Different typologies occur depending on the cause of migration, duration or length of the move and the space or territory where the movement takes place.

Adepoju (2008) argues that the dominant migration in sub-saharan Africa is rural-to-rural and for many, it has also served as an alternative to rural-urban migration. The limited prospects of, and options for, internal migration in face of deepening poverty and socio-economic insecurity have obliged people to cross borders to seek their livelihoods in more prosperous countires. Rural-rural, rural-urban or cross border migrations have occurred in Mozambique as a response to all types of inequalities and political programs. So what does migration mean? Why and how has it happened? Who are the migrants? When does it occur? Where is the destination?

Martin, Martin and Weil (2006), state women represent a growing share of migrants, as economies of destination countries offer more service jobs and barriers to migration erode for women in sending countries. What are these barriers and how are structured? How do these women decide to move? How has that decision been made?

This thesis seeks to analyse migration within the gender framework and organization of the household. Therefore, what does gender mean? Indra (2004:3) defends that "neither in talk, research, analysis, policy, nor programming can gender be equated solely with women, nor solely with women's activities, beliefs, goals, or needs. Gender is instead a key relational dimension of human activity and though informed by cultural and individual notions of men and women – having consequences for their social or cultural positioning and the ways in which they experience and live their lives." How gender has been perceived as a category of analysis in research? And how has it been impacted upon the decision for migration?

With respect to household and family, Chant (1998) argues that it is the primary social living unit where important life decisions including migration are made. What then does the term "household" mean?

When it is applied to urbanization, the UN-Habitat (2008) says it is a poverty-driven economic survival strategy which involves migration. Urbanization in Africa is the growth of the urban population, which is partially due to rural-urban migration. To what extent has migration been responsible for this urbanization and who are the migrants?

Lastly, migration occurs in a structured specific society. Patrilineal and matrilineal constitute the systems in which households organize their lives and production. Uchendu (2008:10) says: "patrilineal and matrilineal (societies) differ in detail but have a good deal in common all over the world. She further argues that Africa has no definitive evidence of a fully matriarchal society outside what exists in myth like the popular Kikuyu legend..."

Uchendu does recognize that Africa has significant areas which are matrilineal, particularly in central and East Africa, North Africa (in Algeria) and West Africa (in Ghana an Nigeria). Matrilineal society is found in northern Mozambique which is comprised of three provinces, which is contrary to the patilineal culture which is dominant in seven provinces. How then have matrilineal and patrilineal cultures been perceived by the scholars? In both patrilineal and matrilineal society, the power is invested in a male figure. This figure can be the father-in-law or brother-in-law in

patrilineal culture or uncles and bothers in matrilineal society, as acknowledged by Amaral (1990), Medeiros (1997) and WLSA (1997). These societal organizations in which households are involved demonstrate gender relations characterized by disequilibrium in decisions among women and men.

There are many ways of answering these questions as this next chapter suggests. Given the fact descent and inheritance is the main point of a society's organization, it is understandable women and men are required to ask permission in order to migrate.

Migration as well as marriage appears to be issues needing discussion in an organization such as a family. In what situation do women have the autonomy to make the decision to migrate? As Indra (2004) points out, cultures and social organizations which include either matrilineal or patrilineal systems illustrate ways that particular societies, cultures, classes, political forces, laws are differently organized for women and men, thus gender relations.

Matrilineal society

Anthropologists say the basic rule defining patrilineal and matrilineal societies is descent and inheritance. In matrilineal society, these are transmitted through women, while in patrilineal societies, wealth, etc. is passed on via the male family tree.

Geographically, Mozambique is divided in two distinct societies – matrilineal and patrilineal as well as an interface which is a mix of both patrilineal and matrilineal. All areas situated north of Zambezi River are structured in matrilineal society while south of the river is structured as a patrilineal society. However, alongside the Zambezi River, there are no clearly demarcated zones. In provinces such as Tete and Zambezi, there is a mix of both societies within their borders. Empirical evidence shows these societies – not to mention the entire country – werewere affected by several external influences. These included the country's independence, women's emancipation, urbanization, as well as market and global changes. All will be demonstrated in this thesis.

"Matrilineal" does not have the same meaning as "matriarchy," where the power belongs to women. Matrilineal means the line of succession goes through the maternal lineage (Amaral 1990; Fernando 1996; Medeiros 1997; WLSA Mozambique 1997; Braga 2001). In this kind of society, children belong to the mother but there is no "bride price" or dowry paid. In such societies, it is important for a man to have sisters

since they have the function to transmit the rules and norms regulating family, as she is the leader's councillor.

However, this does not mean she has decision-making power. That power is actually invested in her uncle, her mother's brother. Also, it is important for youth, both boys and girls, to have a maternal uncle because it is his responsibility to educate, support and help them in sorting out their problems and worries. In this society, men play a vital part as the head of the family. It is the uncle or bothers who has the power to control things. He is looked upon as the defender and provider and is much respected. During a marriage, he has to pay for the bride's wedding clothing and if he is rich, he even contributes towards the feast as well.

The matrilineal woman trusts in her brother's judgements because the brothers will look after her children. In fact, the matrilineal society in northern Mozambique gives power to the brothers of women. However, it has to be noted that over the years following independence and under the light of several political, social events little changes have occurred. But in general, people living in that system are still ruled by established custom.

Perhaps it was because of this that one male interviewee in Maputo said: "*I am willing to go back home to look after my sisters who, fortunately, are married. However, I cannot return because I am married to a woman from Gaza province.*" Their marriage consisted of joining the couples without any payment and is only a symbolic ceremony called *N'doa* in the Ajaua language.

In matrilineal society, polygamous marriage only occurs when a man is wealthy. In relation to residency or settlement, generally in these societies, the husband resides in the community or village or house of his wife or the wife's parents. This continues until the birth of the first child and the first harvesting. In these societies, the responsibility of bearing children (few or many) rests upon the husband's shoulders. If no children are produced, the marriage can be dissolved.

In such a case the soon-to-be-discarded husband must pay *I'nlashe*, which is compensation for not fulfilling his husbandly duties. In this society, marriage also means providing specific services to the wife's lineage. A woman in a matrilineal society cannot take any decision without consulting her maternal uncle or her brother. Even in the case of a change in residence, the uncle or brother will decide.

Patrilineal societies

Here, the line of succession occurs through paternal lineage. The man is the main link of lineage, thus the children belong to him. *Lobolo*, marital compensation (or dowery), is paid to the in-laws by the groom prior to the marriage. *Lobolo* is important because it ensures the future of the children the couple will eventually bear (Domingos 1996; WLSA Mozambique 1997).

Polygamous marriage is very common because, in terms of tradition, a patrilineal woman bears children for the husband's lineage. Regarding residence or settlement; generally in these societies, the wife resides in the community or village or house of the husband. In patrilineal societies, the responsibility of bearing children is the wife's. If she fails to conceive children, the marriage can be dissolved and the man can look for another woman. In these societies, only the woman can be infertile. No man can be infertile. All decisions are taken by the husband and in his absence; the in-laws play an important role. A woman cannot make any decision without consulting her husband or her in-laws.

Homeland

Homeland is a conceptwhich incorporates a number of different meanings: political (related with Apartheid or racial segregation), social (place of birth and identity) and economic (ownership). As a matter of fact more and more households are becoming transnational (Schultz and Morrison 2004).

According to the Oxford advanced learner's dictionary, "homeland" means one's native country or areas reserved for black people in the Republic of South Africa**.** Obviously in this thesis, I do not refer either to a country or to the land reserved for blacks. I use the word to define the place where people were born. Since there is no direct translation in Portuguese the closest word "*Terra Natal*," which literally means "land of birth," or "birth land." Indeed, I have realised that beyond this concept, there are many different interpretations revolving around place of birth and the essence of homeland. When people talk about homeland, many think about where their house was built; about where their parents were living; and even about the location of the clinic where they were born.

Homeland is perceived in different ways. It can be the place where we were born or where our parents or other original family members are located. Schultz and Morrison (2004), Gomes (2009), Ryang (2009) point out that the notion of homeland connotes images of a place deeply rooted in the past. It can refer to the nation as a

domestic space through the use of families. Homeland is tied to the discourse of Diaspora and exile and to ideas of loss, desire and homesickness. The homeland is ones birthplace, one that you were uprooted from and perhaps still desired, but could never truly return.

Also, it is related with the concept of home in terms of displacement and its instability. It is as Schultz and Morrison (2004:10) point out "a place that has to be examined with identity." Furthermore, homeland also implies a complex historical connection, a shared memory of the past tied to the land itself. Indigenous cultural knowledge, for instance, often emphasizes a relationship with place and the ancestral beings who created it.

Gomes considers homeland to be an enigma and it has become a fluid concept which is not necessarily exclusively associated with country of birth due to the transnational movements of people. Such movements of individuals occur for a variety of reasons including work, business, lifestyle, study, family, trauma, humanitarian and human rights. Both permanent and temporary migrants have been subject to a wealth of experience which confuses the concept of home. The fluidity of the concept of home usually lies with the experiences of the migrant both in the home and host country. Some migrants are forced to leave their birth countries because of personal or national trauma (human rights violations, politics, war and natural disasters), while others leave by choice and for less traumatic reasons (lifestyle, work, study and family).

Ryang in her analysis of homeland argues that while some migrants settle in their host countries with minimal discomfort, others encounter challenges in settlement such as hostility and suspicion. Some migrants more easily integrate into their host society by perhaps assimilating into already established ethnic or cultural communities. Others find assimilation more difficult because of the lack of community support. However, joining an established ethnic or cultural community can also result in less assimilation into the wider community, therefore creating a dissonance in the concept of home for the migrant.

Migrants having their new place of residence elsewhere and employed or doing businesses for a fixed period of time may move back and forth to what they consider their home. Particularly in African cultures, people are tied up with their homeland due to the link with spirits. So it does not matter how far away they live, they make concerted efforts to visit their homelands.

Lastly, Schultz and Morrison, Gomes and Ryang agree there are different notions of home and homeland and these illustrate a range of meanings, interpretations and political uses. So what does "homeland" mean to Mandimbians?

The people of Mandimba define "homeland" as the place where their parents, particularly, the mother, were living by the time of their birth. Therefore, the homeland is not where the hospital was situated at the time of birth. Their homeland is the village where their mother was born or was living at the time of their birth. Interviewed people born in Maputo did not refer to the municipal district or *bairro* where they were born. Instead, they just mentioned being born in the city of Maputo. So, for these people, their homeland is the entire city of Maputo and not a given municipal district or *bairro*. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, "homeland" means the place of birth declared by the interviewees.

Bairro or neighbourhood

The word for "neighbourhood" in Portuguese is "*Bairro."* However, a literal translation of "bairro" in English means "district." In order to not cause confusion with the administrative division within Mozambique, where district is the unit below the province, I preferred to treat the individual *bairros* as neighbourhoods. The city of Maputo also has the status of a province, so it is divided into Municipal districts and *bairros*, just like the other towns and cities in the country.

Gender

Women around the world have been migrating more in recent decades and have thus constituted an increasing share of migrant populations almost everywhere (UNPD 1998, Jolly and Reeves 2005, Martin 2005, GCIM 2006). The recognition of gender studies as a discipline or study has accompanied the growing interest in gender studies.

Indra (2004) argues gender studies have evolved in parallel with the development and feminist discourses within the Anthropology domain. Further, she sys gender studies have been a process of negotiation and struggle involving multiple actors such as academics and researchers, women's activist groups, government policy makers, bureaucrats, and international agenecies. Following the UN Decade for Women Conference in 1975 was there any interest in integrating women into

development sudies. These initial studies focused only on women but later evolved into gender.

Studying gender in all its dimensions includes the understanding of what economic, political, social and environmental factors affect them. Migraion is part of that. Gender studies in Mozambque are growing. WLSA have developed studies since the late 1990s. However, there remains a glaring neglect where gender and migration are concerned.

Jolly and Reeves (2005:6) quoting the International Labour Organization (2003) say worldwide, the percentage of female migrants has risen from 48% in 1980 to 49% in 2000. For these scholars, what makes this escalating figure interesting is the fact more women are migrating independently and they are main income earners instead of following husbands or male relatives.

Fry (2006) says: "currently women make up around half of the world's migrant population, even without taking into consideration short-term and seasonal movements. Despite the widespread prevalence of female migration, there are still some common stereotypes about its nature: that it is mostly women and girls accompanying their male heads of household, or dominantly by young, unmarried women, mostly for marriage or for some defined work enabled by contractors."

However, from my own research, I can declare women migrate for many reasons other than marriage. This is both more widespread and more complex than often suspected. Indeed, a study carried out by SAMP (2006) in Mozambique on "female cross border traders" has demonstrated there is a diversity of migration patterns among women, and such diversity has increased latterly by the political stability in the country. This allows people to move freely without a fear of being attacked by armed bandits

Several scholars on gender and migration studies such as Chant (1992), Chant and Radcliffe (1992), Chant (1998), Colson (2004), Indra (2004), Jolly and Reeves (2005), Martin (2005), Fry (2006) agree women migrate for long and short periods, over short and long distances. They move for many reasons, and employment is becoming an increasingly significant reason. Young migrating women are more predominant but older women migrate as well. Both single and married women migrate and they move with and without their families. So how does it happen in Mozambique? This thesis answers that question!

Within this gender migration study some of the questions posited are: How have decisions been made in favour of migration? Have these been made by individuals or within the household? What are the factors that impel people to migrate or not to migrate? Indra (2004) in her article "Not a room of one's own – engendering forced migration knowledge and practice" asks the following question: How do households headed by women impact upon or are specifically impacted by migration?"

Answering some of these questions Jolly and Reeves (2005) say most decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of economic, social and political pressures and incentives. Inequalities between regions create incentives to move.

With respect to migration experiences Indra (2004) says migrants respond according to their experiences with different cultures and individual notions, and Colson (2004) says a study about gender and migration shows the substantial ways in which gender fundamentally organizes the social relations and structures influencing the causes and consequences of migration.

So what does gender mean? And, how have scholars studied migration and gender? Brydon, (1989a; 1989b; 1989c), point out gender is a complex social construct based upon biological sex, but is not the same as sex. It can also be argued that gender alone drives us, and that sex is an incidental feature. Chant (1989, 1992) and Chant and Radcliffe (1992) in this context state gender is tangled with identity, expression, presentation, relationships, child-rearing, societal role and structure, pairing, games, and eroticism.

Gender is misused as a reason for discrimination. Gender is often assigned the status of natural law, but it is not absolute, and its concepts vary over time and between cultures. The current social power structure rigorously enforces a set of arbitrary gender rules. This enforcement in some way damages everyone, but is extremely restrictive for males, and it is literally devastating to those of us who cannot or will not follow the rules or play the "right" games.

UNESCO (1999:53) in "Gender mainstreaming implementation framework" says the concept of gender carries out the roles and responsibilities of men and women created by families, societies and cultures. The concept of gender also includes expectations held about characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviours of both women and men (femininity and masculinity). Gender roles and expectations are

learned. They also can change over time and they vary within and between cultures. Systems of social differentiation such as political status, class, ethnicity, physical and mental disability, age and more, modify gender roles. The concept of gender is vital because, applied to social analysis; it reveals how women's subordination – or men's domination – is socially constructed. As such, the subordination can be changed or ended. It is not biologically predetermined nor is it fixed forever.

Moser, Tornquist and van Bronkhorst (1999: 27), refer to gender as the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relationships between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through the socialization processes. The authors maintain these attributes are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a women or a man in a given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in the responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities. For these scholars gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context.

Carling (2005:1) States: "Gender was introduced to social sciences in order to underline the difference between socially and biologically determined sexes. It is a multifaceted phenomenon, and is seen in different ways." It refers to the differences between women and men which are socially, rather than biologically determined (Chant 1991; 1992; 1997). Jolly and Reeves (2005:5) agree defining gender as: "the differences and commonalities between women and men which are set by convention and other social, economic, political and cultural forces. Also Jolly and Reeves (2005) say the concept of gender is vital because, applied to social analysis it reveals how women's subordination, or men's domination, is socially constructed. As such, the subordination can be changed or ended. It is not biologically predetermined nor is it fixed forever.

Chant (1998) and Carling (2005) and Chiuri (2008) all agree gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women which are created in the family or household, societies and cultures. These also include expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviours of both women and men (femininity and masculinity). In an allusion to gender roles Caring (2005), Jolly and Reeves (2005) suggest gender roles and expectations are learned. They can change over time

and they vary within and between cultures. Systems of social differentiation such as political status, class, ethnicity, physical and mental disability, age and more, modify gender roles.

Within the discourse of gender, three concepts have been advanced over time: Women and Development (WID), Women in Development (WAD) and gender and Development (GAD).

Moser (1987, 1993), Indra (1999), Moser, Tornquist and Bronkhorst (1993), Braig (2000) all say this approach aims to integrate women into the existing development process by targeting them, often in women-specific activities. Indra (1999:11) says "Women in Development was initially – and today often remains– an add-on approach grounded in traditional modernization theory." Indra says this approach has largely accepted the existing social structures both of the local societies in question and of development programming.

The above mentioned authors in WID agree in the aspect the goal of this approach is to better integrate women into ongoing development initiatives, to ensure as Indra says "they fare better under them, and to differentially allocate aid anddevelopment resources to women in great need."

Indra in analysing Women in Development considers this to be conceptually and otherwise limited and currently very controversial, although she/he is still considering its usefulness in a wide range of contexts.

Braig (2000:13) states in her book, "The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure," that this approach has its roots in Boserup`s theory. And, in this book, Boserup emphasises development theory has underestimated the role of women in production. It was because of these inequalities around women in production that the UN launched a debate on the topic. The first International Women's Conference took place in 1975, declaring the next 10 years as the International Decade of Women. In the mid-1980s the "empowerment approach" came to the forefront, and was integrated into some of the "gender approaches" in the 1990s.

As Braig and UNESCO point out, dealing with issues of women or gender in development theory and practice comes across as a significant phenomenon. On the one hand, for some time, current thinking has been about development theories. This includes the search for new approaches which in the main, do not refer to theoretical discussions of women and gender research.

Conversely, development policy is regarded as one of the few policy fields in international relations in which women's or gender issues have become pertinent to theory and policy. Some scholars hypothesize it is merely another fashionable topic which everyone talks about for a while but can confidently be expected to fade into insignificance. Or is the debate on gender issues different in the context of development processes and international relations? Is it a gain in knowledge for working out new approaches in development theories and policies? Exactly what is the current definition of WID, WAD and GAD?

Women and Development is, according to Indra, a neo-Marxist approach which arose in the late 1970s as a response to Women in Development. Indra quoting Rathgeber (1990:492) says the WAD approach highlights the relationship between women and development processes and focused upon the role of classical development in maintaining elite national and international structures of power.

Moser (1987, 1993), Moser, Tornquist and Bronkhosrt (1993), Indra (1999) say the weakness of Women and Development is: it was not grounded in a comprehensive gender analysis. As Indra says "WAD approaches, however, failed to go to the heart of on-the-ground gender realtions or women's roles in everyday reprocudtion." This is why according to her, WAD never gained much favour.

Because of the obvious gaps within WAD a new approach was developed and became known as the Gender and Development approach, which embraced a gender and development orientation. This theory, as Indra says, emphasizes gender relations and not women specifically. She asserts "the GAD focuses more forcefully on the social construction of production and reproduction."

In contrast to WID, the GAD approach introduces the concept of social justice and improvement of the quality of life for men and women. There is definitely still a need for women-specific and men-specific interventions at times but these should complement gender initiatives. Research shows the success of both sex-specific and gender activities are directly linked with the depth of the gender analysis related to them.

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach focuses upon intervention, to address unequal gender relations which prevent inequitable development and often lock women out of full participation. GAD seeks to have both women and men participate, make decisions and share benefits. This approach often aims at meeting

practical needs as well as promoting strategic interests. A successful GAD approach requires sustained long-term commitment.

In her GAD analysis, Indra has gone further when she brings this approach into the household analysis. She has found, with the emergence of GAD, the world's many millions of households headed by women and other nonnormative forms of households have reappeared in a new light. There is now bargaining and decision-making renegotiation occurring within the households and this approach has contributed to a tendency to view poverty as a process. This quite the opposite of looking to to the state as a means to meet basic needs.

This thesis discusses the issue of gender relations and migration decisions within the household. The next question is related with gender relations and the meaning of the household with the idea of understanding how decisions for migration are made and in which context.

Gender relations

Townsend and Momsen (1987), Chant (1992), Chant and Radcliffe (1992), Parpart (1993), Hirshamn (1995), Jolly and Reeves (2005) point out male-female relations remain a tense topic within most societies. These tensions are explained by imbalanced job opportunities to job, access to resources and decision-making within the household. These imbalances also occur in the workplace in wages and prospects for advancement. Tensions between traditional and modern values and between patterns of socialization within the household also affect the social relationships established between men and women. Even among modern urban dwellers, family loyalty, family obligations, and family honor remain strong considerations.

As Brydon (1989a), Moser, Tronquist and Bronkhorst (1999) says even though the modern societies professing to have modern values may define the ideal family as one in which equality exists between spouses, wives who actually attempt to establish themselves as equal partners usually meet with resistance from their husbands. Among more traditional families, both men and women generally expect husbands to be dominant, especially with respect to matters involving household interactions with the public. Wives are expected to be obedient accepting the decisions made by the husband – including the decision to migrate. However, several

studies[7] have shown more and more women are migrating as independent actors or as heads of households.

Women and men display differences in their migratory behaviour decision-making. Duch decisions are greatly shaped not only by migration opportunities but also by gender relations and their particular society – matrilineal or patrilineal. Therefore the next step is to determine what gender relations are.

It has been said gender is a relational concept as well as acentral organising principle of social relations (Indra 1999). Also, gender is used more broadly to denote the meanings given to masculine and feminine, asymmetrical power relations between the sexes. This also includes the ways men and women are differently situated in and affected by the social process (Townsend and Momsen 1982, Brydon 19989a, Indra 1999). Adding to this, Moghadam (2003:16) says gender differences operate within a larger matrix of socially constructed distinctions, such as class, ethnicity, religion, and age, which give them their specific dynamics in a given time and place. Gender is thus not a homogenous category.

Previously Moser, Torquinst and von Bronkhorst (1999: 15) have referred to gender relations as not being men or women, but the social relationships between them; like relations of class, ethnicity, nationality and religion, gender relations are socially constructed. They vary across time and culture and are not fixed or immutable. Chiuri (2008:169) also associates gender relations to social constructions undergoing constant renegotiations where, in Africa, the household relationships are characterized by inequality in the distribution of work, land, income, consumption and contribution to productivity, based on gender and age. This inequality is most pronounced in the division of labour between men and women and boys and girls within the same household.

Consequently, gender relations are interactions in terms of power and dominance structuring life's opportunities for women and men. Thus, gender divisions are not fixed biologically. Instead, they constitute an aspect of a wider social division of labour (Ostergaard 1992). For Carling (Op cit) gender relations simultaneously

[7] Some of these studies are as follow: Townsend and Momsen (1982), Moser (1987), Brydon (1989a,1989b, 1989c), Chant (1989), Momsen (1991),Chant and Radcliffe (1992), Miles (1997), Chant (1998), Dodson (1998), Moser, Tornsquist and von Bronkhorst (1999), Braig (2000), Dodson (2000), Boyd and Grieco (2003), Colson (2004), Indra (2004), Carling (2005), Jolly and Reeves (2005), Fry (2006).

produce and are reproduced by social practice. This encompasses men's and women's roles in society and the way in which these roles are linked to ideas about modernists and femaleness.

Gender relations determine the structure of migration and all aspects of making the decision to migrate within a household or extended family. In this study, my analysis went within the socio-cultural structure determined by the matrilineal and patrilineal schemes. Households headed by both females and males were interviewed in order to ascertain how gender relations are constructed in the process of migration decisions.

Household and headship of household

There are several debates on the definitions of "household" and "family" in gender and development literature. One of these arguments is related to the fact household and family are often used as synonyms. However, there is an important distinction between the two terms. A lack of acknowledging this distinction has created some confusion, due to the unclear frontieirs between family and household.

In fact, it is not easy to create this frontier considering the transformative experiences people have had to endure. Difficult economic conditions have resulted in increased poverty and the need for migration. In order to survive, people must uproot their lives and often have to share living space in order to meet the expenses of daily life. In Mozambique, the idea of family has been changed by the economy; the term "household" has become broader. "Family" was previously understood to be people of the same blood or very close neighbours. Today "household" is related with sharing expenses, and eating from the same plate, as scholars make the point clear.

In explaining the term "household," Chant (1998) says feminist scholars have emphasised the importance of the household as an institutional arena which gender roles, relations and identities are shaped and influenced in fundamental ways. For Chant households are not natural units with fixed forms and meanings across space and through time but are socially constructed and inherently variable. Chant goes further, calling attention to the fact some scholars classify households as spatial units characterized by shared residence and daily reproduction -– primarily cooking and eating – in some countries, and in this context, Mozambique can be included.

Still households might just as readily be understood as kinship units or as economic units or even as mere housing units. Household refers to the basic unit of co-

residence and family. It refers to a set of normative relationships. Considerable socialization occurs within domestic units where meanings and messages about gender are transmitted inter-generationally through actual and idealized familial roles of parenting, conjugality and household headship.

Finally, Chant (1998:7) says: "the household, in all its different cultural connotations, is the primary social living unit. In it are encapsulated a cluster of activities of people who live together most of the time and provide mutual physical, socio-psychological, and development support and functions within the broader organization on environment of the community."

Household headship is a crucial concept as it is the target of my thesis. Throughout this thesis, I have tried to discuss a variety of issues such as:

How does the household impact upon migration?

How is the household specifically impacted by migration?

As can be seen throughout this thesis, I have demonstrated household, home, family and the private sphere has a tremendous effect upon those deciding to enter into migration.

Colson (2004:22) defines households as families who are composed of individuals whose productive roles and abilities to benefit from production are determined, or at least strongly influenced, by the structure of gendered relationships. For Colson, gender differentiation would appear to play itself out quite differently in urban and rural areas due to the greater number of female headed households. In Mozambique, a woman may head a household if she was single, widowed or abandoned.

Parpart (1993), Hirshamn (1995), Colson (2004) say the division of labour as well as economic changes in Africa have given complexity to relationships among several groups of people. Migration itself has played an important role in adding more confusion. Combined with the differing types of marriages – monogamy or polygamy, keeping track can be quite boggling. In a polygamous marriage, a man can have several wives living together in the same geographic unit or several wives in different geographic areas. Therefore, distinction between the two appears to be important.

Nam (1994) makes note of the difference when he says: the demographic definition of a familial unit was two or more persons related by birth, marriage or adoption and residing together. In this definition, the author emphasised the existence of five conditions:

a) One person could not constitute a family;

b) Two or more persons were related by birth, signified a genetic linkage present when one person was a natural parent or child of another person or blood relative; c) Being related by marriage usually indicates two persons have been associated through a legal, religious or customary law (my addition) procedure;

d) In relation to adoption it is understood to mean an infant or child has been legally treated a though she or he was a natural child of an older person and

e) Residing in the same living quarter's means those persons involved share common housing.

In these conditions, Nam says: this definition was applied in a traditional way since there were several types of families –conjugal, nuclear, and extended. He also considered subfamilies, which makes the concept even more complex. However, the same author on page (312) considers the standard demographic as being: "all persons who usually reside in a given housing unit, where the housing units are distinguished by separate access (directly or through a common hall) and separate cooking facilities." Therefore, a housing unit could be a house, apartment or any other living quarters including dormitories, residential hotels, etc. In contrast, a family must include at least two persons but a household can contain one or more persons. To Nam, households are formed when any one or more persons – relatives or non-relatives – jointly acquire common residence.

Winge (1998:14) says families and households lay in the recognition. "They both are logically distinct. Reference to family infers kinship. And, Nam says: "while the reference to household is geographical proximity or common residence." Further, Moore (1994:2) maintains: in the peasant communities, a "family derives [its status] from the right to property, usually land which is inherited and its members hold in common. Thus, more than one man might be partners, holding the same land. Their wives do not have any right to land and children, if any, might live in different residences but they all still belong to same family." Of course, difficulties may arise around defining the boundaries of a household. There may be a question about what "residential unit" means, and can become a pertinent challenge. Sometimes, people live together without any closed relationship. This is a common situation in African cities.

Many interviewees in Maputo recounted this occurred among migrants, particularly with new arrivals in the urban area. Renting rooms, sharing flats or other

living spaces with people they have no other relationship with is commonplace. However, in developing countries, the most common definition for a designated household is one comprised of individuals who live in the same dwelling. They share basic domestic and/or reproductive activities such as cooking and eating. This definition is used by the National Institute for Statistics in Mozambique for census and survey purposes. It is also the definition used in this research.

Household headship

Defining this concept is still difficult since there are many nuances of the meaning which are dependent upon numerous contexts (Chant 1997). Chant (Op. cit) says the definition arose under patriarchal thought and practice. Chant (1998) in her analysis feels some of these definitions have made women invisible as heads of households. Lastly, she argues household headship is a highly imprecise and problematic concept. It is imbued with assumptions about one person in a residential unit being responsible for other members and or in charge of household organization. Father or senior adult males are generally assigned this role both by household members or as well as the external components such as the state and international agencies.

Chant (1998) and Uchendu (2008) relate household headship with the masculinity concept. Chant, for instance, relates this with the position men have given themselves as breadwinners and/or principal arbiters of decisions within households. Considering masculinity via this perspective, it can be said the masculine or the machos have been challenged in their roles as more and more women have also become breadwinners (Parpart 1993) and are often the head of the household.

The UN definition (1997) refers to the head of the household as the person who earns the major income or is the breadwinner. This person would have most influence over decision-making on matters affecting the household as a whole.

Chant (1998) calls attention on the need of deconstructing the household concept as an idealized notion which considers a unified entity. Actually, household is an uneasy aggregate of individuals involved in a survivial strategy, or a locus of competing interests, rights obligations and resources.

Clearly these “one size fits all” definitions cannot fully apply in Mozambique because of the existence of several family structures. Mozambique approved a new Constitution in 1990, defining the head of the household as any person who lives in a house and has the most influence over decisions on matters affecting the household

(República de Moçambique 1990). This definition appears as a response to the trend of ever-increasing number of single mothers and married women whose husbands are absent. However, there is a big difference between what the Republic Constitution says and what is common practice. As mentioned earlier, many Mozambican women often prefer to consider a lover the head of their households even though he does not contribute anything towards the household's expenses.

As Colson (2004) put it: "omen headed households are, to some extent, a by product of increased labour mobility in the contemporary developed world. It is a phenomenon which has resulted directly or indirectly from the twin processes of industrial and urban development. However, in developing countries, this process occurs in situations of civil war as well as male labour migration.

Household survival strategies

Household survival strategy as Chant (1991:7) points out, "is a concept used to refer to the general methods by which poor households adapt and attempt to cope with adverse external circumstances." As Winge states, (quoting Schmink 1984:33) "it is the system in which the "household" is operating within an economic system, which provides both opportunities and constraints. In order to overcome the constraints and make use of opportunities, the household embarks on various kinds of strategies which may include human reproduction, home production for sale or use, labour exchange, migration and wage labour among others."

The importance of using the household as the unit of study, as Chant (1998:9) points out, is because the household is an institution which affects men's and women's power, behaviour and identities. Moreover, in migration studies a household has been used as strategy for survival. To Chant, the household strategy is an approach to discuss gender and migration.

In this context, Chant finishes by saying "analysing household strategy is seen there are three aspects of gender differentiations.

1, Differential access to resources (land, tools, employment and income) is socially determined.

2, Household circumstances and organization have a critical role to play in the process of negotiating resources and migration decisions and within the household domain,

3, Gender intersects with other axes of difference and identity, such as age and marital status, to create conditions which directly and indirectly influence movement.

Nevertheless, the household as an element of production and reproduction has autonomy in decision-making within the larger economy regarding the strategy to precede in response to external changes. Therefore, in urban Mozambique, females initiate different ways to cope with poverty. These can include an informal credit system (*xitique*), seasonal jobs, and urban agriculture, to name just a few. Rural females use other systems such as *chicoropo;* a plan of action for helping each other at harvest time.

Urbanisation

Goldsheider (1980) points to the existence of many criteria used to define urban. The difference remains when it comes to develop a uniform comparative and historical basis for research. The author considers two different criteria to express the meaning of urban: demographic and economic. To the author, urban implies size, density, and non-agricultural occupations. For urbanization to occur, area populations have to grow more rapidly than non-urban areas.

The urbanization process in Africa has, over the years, grown and it has gained the attention of planners, politicians and scholars. As Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa (2001) indicate, governments have perceived high rates of urban population growth as deeply problematic and have generally shied away from formulating any comprehensive policies for urban development.

It is evident throughout the African continent, many countries are experiencing rapid population growth and more important is the growing of the number of women in these cities. Looking at the numbers of urbanization in Mozambique, Bilale (2007:21) says since 1980, the year of the first national population Census there has been an ever-increasing number of women in the city of Maputo.

In her work, Bilale states urban migration has, without doubt, contributed to the growth of the city's population. Currently, the ratio between men and women in this city is about 53% men and 47% women. INE data also shows an increase of women in the city as a result of the rural-urban migration. As expected, the majority of female migrants, especially if they were already married, are associational, meaning they move with their family or relatives. An important point to note, however, is the

preponderance of autonomous migration among single women, as established by Bilale (2007).

According to Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa (2001), whether married or not, women migrate for much the same reasons as men do. They mainly seek remunerative employment in order to meet personal needs and social financial obligations to children and relatives. Other reasons for migrating include the need for further education or for learning a trade. Because migration is so important to family survival, extended family and friends will facilitate the migratory process and help the relocated person to make adjustments in their new destinations. Such assistance occurs at both the place of origin as well as the urban centres.

The UN-Habitat report of 2008 refers African urbanization is a poverty driven economic survival strategy. With urban populations growing significantly faster than urban economies, cities experience shelter deprivation. The same report indicates rural-urban migration is one of the prime reasons for this rapid growth in urban population.

Miles (2001), Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa (2001) the UN-Habitat (2008) – all have recognized rural-urban migration is responsible for the fastest urban population growth ever and are aware of the role women have played in this scenario. Moser (1996), in her book "Women, Human Settlements and Housing" accepts, in the broader context of rural-urban migration and urban development that female migration can also lead to vulnerability as they become urban residents.

In simple terms, urbanisation can be defined as the growing of city spaces. This, according to Nam (1994), is acknowledging the opposite concept, which is rural/ruralization. Nam says: "several scholars have attempted to capture those descriptions in their definitions and measurement of rural and urban, but differing circumstances in different areas plus dynamic changes in the nature of rural and urban areas make that attempt very difficult."

The Oxford dictionary (1995) defines rural or countryside as a sparsely populated area in which agriculture constitutes the main activity. Conversely, urban areas are those with highly concentrated populations. In general, there is a trend toward declining rural populations whilethe converse is true of urban populations. One reason for this growth has been explained by migration. It accounts for the rural-urban movement of people – Nam (op cit.) and Peters and Larkin (1999).

Nam (1994:272) defines urbanization "as the ways by which areas both increase the relative number of urban residents and intensify the concentration or urban

populations." According to the author, these indicators are the increasing number and size of cities, the formation and growth of metropolitan areas, the spread of urban areas, and the fast growth of population in inner cities.

Peters and Larkin (page 224) have identified in developing countries urban population growth is driven by poverty in the countryside. People migrate with the hope of making a livelihood in the city. Since jobs are often equally difficult to find in cities, the result is more urban unemployment and growth of urban slums (Todaro 2000). Chant (1997) conceptualises urbanisation, as associated with increased access to education and to family planning programmes. To Knauder (2000), urbanisation is the rise of the rural-urban migrants into the cities. So for the purpose of this work, urbanisation means the growth of urban population and spaces as a result of the rural-urban migration.

Migration

This chapter reviews the empirical and theoretical literature on migration. It also sets out to analyze the extent and manner in which "migration" and related concepts have been employed. This includes such things as decisions to migrate, gender and migration and the factors or motives for migration. Different motives for migration have been stated – economic reasons in household decision models, social mobility/social status migration, and residential satisfaction, influence of family and friends as well as lifestyle preferences. A decision-making framework is proposed as a model for understanding migration behavior. Analysis of the interrelations of gender, migration, choices and urbanization focuses upon the dominant social, economic and political transformations which have occurred following the independence of Mozambique. The major transformation associated with these changes is the increase of female migrants in Mozambique's city capital. What factors promted women to migrate? Why is it happening more now? And more importantly, how were these choices and decisions made? Are gender relations developed during migration process?

Migration as the Human Development Report 2009 states is a controversial issue in many countries. This sort of controversy has arisen out of the fear those regarded as "alien" might pose challenges. Most often, these are related to security, crime, as well as socio-economic and cultural factors. Given these facts, it would be fundamental to take note of the various definitions of migration and analyse them in

order to gain an understanding of which of these apply in Mozambique. This is particularly important in my study area. Apart from analysing migration and gender, one of the objectives of this thesis is to evaluate the theories needed to understand migration and urbanization. My approach in this endeavour included the possibility of strengthening the body of available literature. My aim is to provide more information about the decision to migrate is made taking into consideration specific conditions affecting both females and males.

Migration, as Goldscheider (1980) says, may be defined as a more or less permanent change of residence entailing a change in the total round of social and economic activies. Also, the change of residence includes a wide range of processes that are not uniform.

Peters and Larkin (1999) state the propensity towards migration was/is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of humans. These authors, as well as the previous authors Oberai (1995), Nam (1994), Bilsborrow (1993), all agree there were several definitional problems to be identified. For instance, if migration is defined as a movement of people, then what constitutes movement? Should the movement be permanent or temporary?

There are numerous aspects to consider when examining the existing definitions of migration. As Bilsborrow contends, some of these definitions stress a temporary or permanent character of migration according to the changes occurring alongside the tempo, travel distance, as well as national or international boundaries crossed, etc. Corgeau (1988) views migration as an important part of population mobility, which, defined in broader senses, can be seen as a conjunct of independent physical movements by individuals or groups of people, as well as the duration or distance involved with the move**.**

To make the definition even more complex, mobility and migration are two concepts needing further clarification. To Peters and Larkin (op cit), the word “mobility” means a change of the place of residence. However, they define “migration” as a move of residence taking place in a new political unit.

For instance, Nam (op cit) points out the following: A good starting point in understanding mobility is to differentiate it from mortality and fertility as a population processes. The mobility process has no biological imperative. Moreover, there is no biological limit on the number of moves one can make in a lifetime, and moves can occur at any age by either sex.

Population mobility is part of people's lives all over the planet. Actually, it is not possible to imagine life without any sort of migration. Life is constituted by successive rhythms of moving – such as moving to and from work, school, and training. And, to a lesser extent, rhythmic moving is related to medical necessities, administrative issues, friendships as well as kinship. Beyond these follows a change of residence from one region to another.

Movement of people has real impact upon population, according to its type and form. This same mobility alters or maintains social relations in the areas of origin as well as the destination. Social, economic and cultural impacts upon humans, for instance, have demonstrated with great emphasis, the importance of special mobility and geographic mobility.

Migration is different from other forms of special mobility. It is involves short or long term movement in the distance between the departure and the arrival areas. This is enough to bring on a total rupture, or at the very least, a deep modification of the lives and living spaces of the migrant. According to personal motivation, migration can be classified as voluntary or involuntary. However, Thumerelle (1986) says most of these aspects create much controversy, since it is difficult to determine the limits attributed to migration when this migration is voluntarily in character.

Migration, in general, could be defined as a change of permanent or temporary residence. According to Lee (1969), this definition does not attach restrictions attributed to distance, to the voluntary character of migrating or not, and does not distinguish between internal or international migration. In spatial terms, migration implies the exit of determined limits by political and administrative limits which could be different from each country, thus it is difficult to make comparisons. Thus in general, migration can be defined as a change of residence (Blisborrow 1991). However, this author did not specify from which period of time migration could be considered.

Contemporary migration scholars such as Chant (1992), Nam (1994), Peters and Larkin (1999), refer to the migration phenomenon as "practically as old as the history of the man." It is a demographic phenomenon since it influences the size of the population on both sides – at the origin and destination. It is an economic problem since primarily, changes are due to the imbalances between regionsand political issues are often involved. This can be particularly true with international migration where conditions are imposed to restrict those wanting to cross political frontiers. This also

encompasses a social psychology since the migrant is involved in the process of decision-making before migrating and his/her personality can play an important role in successfully integrating into the host society.

This also involves interfacing with the socio-cultural system in both sending and receiving areas affecting the migrant. Several types of migration exist, such as migration streams comprised of individuals, or perhaps entire families. They may be moving freely or compulsorily from place to place, crossing internal or international boundaries, etc. One common aspect of these definitions of migration and population mobility is: each takes into account moving from one place of origin (departure) to another of destination (arrival).

Back over the centuries Ravenstein, in his Migration theory, had already identified that in each movement of people, there were varied reasons impelling them to move – Peters and Larkin (1999). People may move because of poor conditions in their area of origin, better conditions at their destination, or some combination of the two elements.

For the purpose of this study, I adopted the general concept of migration, which means making a change of residence for a period of not less than six months. I did not take into consideration, factors such as distance. In this sense, I defined the following typologies of migration: Firstly there is migration occurring as a change of residence between small administrative units as from one village to another. I next defined a second type of migration originating from rural areas into towns. My third division dealt with movement from towns to cities. My fourth and final division of migration deals with those who directly moved from rural areas into major cities.

The decision to adopt this classification system was prompted because I realized in the rural areas, there were often small changes of residences. These occurred as a characteristic of itinerancy and were not accounted for in the census. These changes, however, have impacted the system of production, location of clinics/hospitals and schools as well as early student drop-out rates.

In the city of Maputo, I did not consider changes of residences to and from the many neighbourhoods or municipal districts. This was due to the fact the people of Maputo consider the entire city as their birth place, and not the given neighbourhood or municipal district where they actually were born. So, my stipulating a period of 6 months was important in determining who regularly changed their place of residence.

Feminisation of migration

Recognition of the feminisation of migration constitutes one of the most recent changes in the movement of people. To some extent, female emancipation and women's equality, promoted by feminists and liberation movements, have impacted women's decisions to enter into migration. Migration is also associated with the increase in offering employment to women in the industrial and services areas (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). Thus, the feminisation of migration has become a common discourse, as more women are migrating independently in search of jobs and survival security rather than being followers of husbands or other male family members.

In most cases constituting this thesis, women are no longer "attachments" of men. So, the next pivotal question is: how has this come to be, if in the recent past, women were attached to men or were considered attached?

Boyd and Grieco (2003) quoting Boserup (1970) suggest the idea women were not counted as migrants since were not earners. Also, in patriarchal societies, it was unthinkable to consider women as breadwinners or those who could make decisions outside household structures – meaning making decisions independently of men.

Scholars and policy makers have agreed female migration has revealed a portrait of women functioning as remittance senders. Economic reasons seem to be the main push factor for both women and men in their migratory decisions. However, scholars such as Chant (1992), Chant and Radcliffe (1992), Colson (2004) and Indra (2004) have advanced the following idea. Gender migration studies delving into women's decisions to migrate have revealed reasons dealing with autonomy. Some women desire to escape unhappy marriages while others relocate in the search for new relationship opportunities. Still others seek refuge from political persecution, or migrate as a means to side-step family pressures to marry. For instance, in this study, I have found several women who had to flee their households due to fear of being injured by violent husbands. Others felt the need to relocate because they were afraid witches would harm them.

Jolly and Reeves (2005) specify individuals may migrate out of a desire for a better life, or to escape poverty, political persecution, or social or family pressures. Often the decision is made because a combination of these factors, which may play out differently for women than for men.

Studying the feminisation of migration involves a process of monitoring the increase in migrant females and the resulting impact upon the demographic characteristics in the destination area. For instance, until 1980, female migrants numbered far less than migrant males in Maputo. However, by 1997 the situation had reversed with females out-numbering males (INE 1999).

However, the GAD approach in analysing migration cannot solely be seen as something just related to men or to women. Instead, gender must be considered an integral part of the migration process. The impact of migration upon women and men depends on many factors, all of which have gender implications. These include the type of migration, policies and attitudes of the sending and receiving regions/countries, and gender relations within the household. As Indra (1999), Jolly and Reeves (2005), agree, gender affects how migrants adapt to the new destination area, as well as the extent of contact with the original place of origin and the possibility to return home followed by successful reintegration.

However, most evidence with respect to women's migration in Africa reveals a picture where they tend to move shorter distances than men. Female migrants are more likely than migrant men to migrate internally or to settle just across borders. In fact, research undertaken by SAMP in 2006 on "Women Cross Border Traders" has revealed some interesting facts. First, women are the main cross-border traders. Secondly, these women merely cross borders and return no more than a week after they have entered a country such as South Africa. This means they go back and forth on business with no intention of residing there. , Thirdly, there is a category of women who, under the benefit of the visa exemption agreement signed by South Africa and Mozambique in 2005, commute monthly between both countries. While in South Africa, they do dreadlocks, sell sarongs, cashew nuts and vegetables. On their return to Mozambique, they sell shoes, fabrics, cosmetics and furniture, from South Africa to other Mozambicans. This category of women traders is really something new in the history of Mozambique and South Africa. Lastly, these women tend to be young, single, and come from the city of Maputo. However, a few female cross-border traders do originate from the countryside and their numbers are increasing.

3.3 Migration theories

The aim of this literature review is to examine theoretical discussions on concepts of migration, gender and household dynamics within a broader international perspective in developing countries, drawing upon African and Mozambican literature. The following section comprises some key concepts and provides an analysis of what has been written on the issue.

Much has been written on the topic of migration due to the fact of it being a global issue in a contemporary world (Chant and Radcliffe 1992; Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995; Oucho 2001).

Unfortunately, statistics dealing with migration have their limitations and become even narrower when it comes to disaggregation by gender.

Information about "The Predominance of Women Migrating" as an independent category was extremely difficult to find in the literature available in Lusophone, or anywhere else in Africa. One reason is, for a very long time, migration studies have not garnered much attention from policy-makers or from academia particularly in Portuguese-speaking countries. Although, it must be said Mozambique has been characterized by a considerable diaspora of work, as the majority of these researcher/writers live in neighbouring countries[8].

This lack of "home-grown" interest by the policy makers is revealed in Mozambique's Population Policy in which there is no clear line of reasoning about what is ruled in relation to migration. It is also clear, when it comes to defining migration; scholars have agreed it is not a concept which can be easily explained in all contexts. This is evident since, apart from involving changes of residence, migrants also cross regional and international borders. Several reasons are offered and emphasised to explain such movements. Economic, social, political and environmental issues are stressed as explanations accounting for what has prompted individuals to move their place of residence.

Ravenstein theory

[8] With this regard see Raimundo (2008): Migration management: Mozambique's challenges and strategies. In International Migration and National Development in sub-Saharan Africa. (pp: 91-116)

The Ravenstein theory was developed in the 1880s (1885 and 1889) and set down as the "Ravenstein Laws" (Peters and Larkin 1999:198). These "laws" are based in economic and geographic variables, particularly those concerned with the distance factor as well as temporary or permanent changes of residence. Ravenstein conducted his study in Great Britain. In his work, he related migration to population size, density, and distance, attempting to explain why people were migrating.

Some of Ravensteins' generalizations quoted by Peters and Larkin are as follows:

a) In general, migrants relocated over short distances and those who travelled long distances moved to big commercial and industrial centres.

b) Migration occurs through migratory flows which stream to large centres and are followed by migratory counter-flows which fill the spaces these earlier migrants left behind.

c) Migration follows progressive steps.

d) Natives of urban centres migrate less than those originating from rural areas.

e) There was less predominance of female migration and when it had occurred, it was over short distances.

f) The development of mass communication increased trends for migration.

g) Motivations for migration reside within the economic domain.

Nam, however, sees these laws as unrealistic. He speculates Ravenstein might be generalising his findings as he did not take into account the variabilities existing among different groups. Nor did he consider the varying conditions under which many of these relationships occurred. In 1966, based upon these laws, Lee elaborated on the theory of migration. He divided the forces exerting influence upon decision-making for migration. Called push-pull factors, they account for negative aspects associated with regions of origin as well as those attractive inducements impelling individuals to migrate to a new destination area.

Lee's theory

In Lee's perception, rural-urban migration can be "pulled" by the following factors: searching for employment in urban areas, high circulation of capital, more availability of consumable goods and services, and finally, more comfort. "Push" factors are related to low productivity in agriculture and soil exhaustion, surplus of

labour in rural areas, climatic factors – drought, floods, crop failure, etc. – poor access to goods and services, and restrictions imposed by customary laws.

In summary, Lee describes a set of hypotheses dealing with the volume, streams, and characteristics of migrants. Lee maintains the decision for migration is the most difficult to analyse since the decision is not always based upon rational reasons. Motivational factors have played a relevant role in decision-making for migration as the author says. However, Oberay (1987) says there are factors which intervene and can be attractive or un-attractive and influence individuals in different ways or may influence according to his or her life cycle. These factors have, in each individual, different impacts according to their needs and will determine the selectivity of the migrant.

The economic dualism theory and the human capital model

The theory of economic dualism considers migration as a mechanism of equilibrium in which the surplus of rural labour is transferred to the industrial centres and results in equilibrium of incomes in both areas. Nevertheless, this does not fit in relation to the context of the developing countries and in Africa in general. Here, migration to large urban centres was not accompanied by industrial development or by an increase in labour positions. Thus, sub-employment and under-employment from rural areas was merely transferred into urban areas (Oberai 1987).

The theory of human capital defined by Sjaastad (1962) and quoted by Peters and Larkin (1999) postulates individuals migrate in order to increase their capacities of income to the highest level. This also implies a woman must be free from her domestic duties – reproductive activities – in order to be integrated into the labour market.

Defenders of this theory believed in the need of improving the economic position as the main force impelling people to move. By 1962, Sjaastad had developed the so-called Human Capital Model. Because individuals seek to improve their incomes, this theory postulated, their long-run movements occured when individuals or families decided the benefits of relocating outweighed the costs (Peters and Larkin 1999:201).

The individualist theory

Brydon and Chant (1989:122) submit this approach to migration has been either “individualistic,” or “structural.” Individualistic approaches to migration are

concerned primarily with the reasons why individuals move, with questions of who moves (selectively) and with individual case histories. Most studies undertaken until 1960 used this kind of approach. For the authors, such an approach had limitations since, from their point of view of "individuals," it was not possible to create a theory explaining the context of migration. For that reason, scholars had to turn to structural features.

During 1960s and into the 1970s, migration was explained by the influence of external factors. These forces were, most often, derived from colonial rule and involvement in the world capitalist system. In this sense, labour migration served to illustrate the importance of development beneficial to both those who migrated to the cities and, eventually, to those who remained in the rural areas. Migrants were seen as innovators, entrepreneurs, more modern and more developed than those who did not relocate. Those who stayed behind where viewed as machinery to be utilised for rural development.

The dependency or Marxist theory

Dependency or the Marxist theory was developed from the mid 1960s onwards. Migration as seen by Marxists, is an important link in the chain of exploitative relations between the First and Third Worlds.

The dependence theory according to (Peters and Larkin 1999) interprets migration as a phenomenon in which developed countries search to maintain hegemony, absorbing highly qualified labour from the developing nations, who leave their own countries with gaps in terms of human resources.

The Marxist theory is more interested in socio-economic differentiation and argues women, as well as menare exploited by capitalists. Therefore, their liberation must be through class struggle. This theory, according to Siddique (2004), is linked with the theory of globalization which implies the increase of human resources mobility, the rise of outward-migration of trained technicians is linked to lower salaries in the originating countries. Statistically, women now make up a higher percentage of such exiting migrants.

Marxists view migrants as being forced to move in order to acquire cash to meet exigencies of the colonial and post-colonial state, such as taxes. Here, the migrant is seen as a victim rather than an entrepreneur. Wages paid to migrants also tend to be exploitively low. It has been often assumed men – married or not – can work for low

wages because their families can support themselves within the subsistence economy. Therefore, they are exploited as wage labourers in capitalist relations of production. And, they are further misused as there is no component in their wages for social reproduction. And to make matters worse, most of these migrants do not have access to social services or insurance.

Pull and push factors approach

Even though it is not currently a viable theory, the "Laws of migration" developed by Ravenstein in the Geographical Magazine in 1876 and the Journal of the Statistical Society in 1885 and 1889, show pull and push factors serve to help understand the early factors affecting migration. Ravenstein developed what he called The Laws of Migration (Peixoto 2004), based on emprirical findings from studies of developed countries. Ravenstein's Laws are the basic support to understand migration theory as Peixoto (Op cit) declares Ravenstein to be the first of the migration scholars.

Oberai and Singh (1983) say there is a category which is both economic and geographical when viewed from sociological and anthropological perspectives. To them, economists tend to view migration as a product of salary differentiations or potential earning opportunities between urban and rural areas. In this sense, cities are the pulls whilethe drawback or push factor is associated with rural life, mired with the lack of jobs, low salaries as well as "landlessness."

The "geographer perspective" focuses upon spatial patterns of migration. It looks at whether or not people move short or long distances; whether they tend to make a series of moves – initially to smaller, then moving on to larger towns, and perhaps finally relocating in a big city.

The other category is "chain migration" where one member of a given family or relative moves. Once this person is established in the destination area, other family members move to join him or her. Geographers, Sociologists and Anthropologists, as asserted by Brydon and Chant, tend to discuss issues of "decision to migrate." These include selectivity, duration of the move and social consequences involved. Push-pull factors are key subjects for Sociologists and Anthropologists as they believe moves occur because cities are more attractive. Urban centres offer excitement and escape from very repressive rural lives. In fact, several scholars argue women often exit rural areas because they are running away from oppressively tight regulations.

Female migration

The feminisation of migration constitutes one of the most recent changes in people movement. It is associated with an increase in the availability of employment to women in industry and the service field (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). However, until recently, various migration studies underestimated female migration because it was assumed most migrants were men responding to economic conditions. At the time, it was believed women only migrated for reasons of family reunification or marriage (Guest 1993; Hugo 1993; de Haan 2000).

Brydon (1989a) and Chant (1992) state this assumption was derived from the idea male migration was built within the framework of division of labour. The authors' argument was this: In placing agrarian households in the context of resources allocation, women were destined to perform reproductive tasks and men, labour. Because of this structure, it was assumed women were not migrants.

Data gathered by the GCIM (2005) and the UNFPA (2006) demonstrates there was a significant percentage and growing number of females in migratory flows. Women actually constituted about half of the world's 175 million migrants. This was calculated on the basis of data available in the year 2000. This increase in female participation in migration is due to their integration into the labour market as well as their greater autonomy in decision-making powers in relation to family (Siddique 2004; Crisp and Borjas 2005; GCIM 2005; UNFPA 2006).

Adepoju (2002; 2006) says: In Africa, traditional patterns of migration, over long distances and for long periods of time, were once dominated by men, but have now been feminised. Migrant women are no longer just spouses (wives) who relocate to join the husbands or to stay with other family members. Today, women are also migrants on an independent basis, answering their own economic needs. Thus, with women being migrants, usual gender roles within the family have been altered. The gendered division of family labour has also been upset by the loss of male employment through urban job retrenchment and structural adjustment. This forces women to seek additional income-generating activities to support the family including cross-border trade. The emergence of migrant females as breadwinners puts pressure upon traditional gender roles within the African family. Men and women increasingly participate in migration as family survival strategy.

Rodenburg (1993) asserts women's migration in South Africa has increased between 30 to 34 per cent during the 1990s, becoming a recognized social movement of single women. Migrant women in general, are younger than migrant men and the trend is these female migrants are single or divorced (Chant 1992; Chant and Radcliff 1998; Deshingkar and Grimm 2004).

Data on female migration is very difficult to gather since, generally, it has been collected at the household level, where the head is typically a man. Most often, in this situation migrant, women's roles are not considered adequately. As a consequence, it has been suggested the best way to collect data about women would be through life histories. It is from women's and men's life histories that the real picture of gender relations was captured and became the basis of this thesis. Segments of life stories represented here were selected because they most clearly articulated the complex interlinking of gender, migration, choices and the decision to migrate or not within the complex society existing in Mozambique.

Segments of life stories represented here were selected because they most clearly articulated the complex interlinking of gender, migration, choices and the decision to migrate – or not – within the complex society existing in Mozambique.matlilneal and patrilineal cultures.

Early discussion was primarly focused upon the sphere of the household and later moved on to the more public realm of work. Livlihood and employment emerged as important topics to explore gender relations and the process of having choices and making decisions.

Further to this, I have used extracts of experiences provided by both women and men to illustrate how decisions are made and what has changed since forst making them. As will be shown, both women and men have come to encounter life changing obstacles during their migration. Their stories demonstrate how they have been forced to adjust to unforeseen occurrences. Sometimes the outcomes have been for the better; other times, for worse. The data collected through life histories includes the effects of migration upon marriage, fertility, financial situation, social situation and so-on. (Bilsborrow 1993).

Siddique (2004) points to internal female migration, saying it allows women to contribute in the development of the industrial and services sectors through labour, as many decided upon migration independently. However, in the context of the Mozambican reality, as Raimundo says (2006), women's autonomy is really quite

questionable. Empirical evidence shows that although some women may have incomes relatively larger than those of their husbands, often the decision-making remains with the man of the house.

There were many impediments standing in the way of women's autonomy and are related to the structures of patriarchal society. As Jolly and Reeves (2005) point out, allowing women to migrate can "violate" the traditional duty of men, who, in this society structure are considered to be the breadwinners. As such and to quote Chant (1998:8), they are the] "principal arbiters of decision-making within the household."

Further, into the sphere of decision-making, Chant says: "adult women, are often subject to the dictates of male household heads, are more confined to the domestic arena, and have less power and personal freedom than their male counterparts. As demonstrated through the life histories, most social and economic decisions are made within the structure of the household. This situation is not just limited to decisions made within the household and extends to the highest levels of decision-making.

In a quest for modernity and equality, the Mozambican government has appointed women to posts as governors and ambassadors. But in the prevailing culture, it is unthinkable to have a man following after his ambassador wife or provincial governor wife. The concept of "first gentleman" is just too alien. The general population of Mozambican men simply will not accept it. In the real world, the men of Mozambique men occupy positions of authority – in government and in the home.

The gender migration approach

Sylvia Chant is one of the creative scholars working on the contemporary migration gender issue and has also written extensively on the topic in Latin America. She suggests women have lately been migrating independently, without being attached to men (Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995; Dodson 2000; Ulick and Crush 2001) and they have been assimilated into the new industrial plants, domestic work and the informal economy.

More recently, the gender migration theory has been further developed by several scholars. Up until three decades ago, most migration studies, especially those focused upon national and international labour flows, paid little attention on gender (Chant 1992; Nam 1994; Chant and Radcliff 1997). At the time, scholars argued migration studies should be more gender sensitive since there were differences in the impacts generated by male and female migrants. Nam points out that because of their

traditional roles in patriarchal societies, female migrant workers have often been offered lower wages than males.

Bilsborrow (1993), for instance, considers the consequences of female migration can be analysed through the point of view of the individual, on to the family, to the community of origin, to the district and even on to the entire country in general. However, he suggests a woman who makes her own decision to migrate, because she defines her own objectives, is more likely to achieve her goals than if she did not decide for herself.

In reference to the economic consequences of migration, recent studies still suggest women's salaries are lower than those paid to men. Yet, the economic benefit of migration to urban centres is far greater than if they had remained the rural area (Rodenburg 1993; de Haan 2000). Even when they are involved in the informal employment sector, women are able to send money to relatives in the rural areas. Married women are also able to supplement household income through informal business (Rodenburg 1993). Female migration also has demographic implications. Migrant women tend to marry later resulting in the later arrival of the first child. Migrant women also gain access to information about modern contraceptive methods and consequently, fewer children are born (Bilsborrow 1993).

The consequences of female migration cannot be generalised and likely will need to be analysed within the socio-economic context in which it occurs. Additionally, the individual characteristics of these women – age of migration, marital status, birth of children, their entry into the labour market, schooling, etc. (op cit) – must be taken into account.

The consequences of migration and migration as a survival strategy

The perception of migration and its consequences have been viewed in many different ways. For instance there is the analysis of migration from a negative perspective (de Haan 2000). From this viewpoint, migrants' difficulties in adjusting to the new environment and new culture are emphasised. Non-migrant city dwellers are often unwelcoming and harsh to migrants, making the urban environment frustrating, anonymous and cold to the new-comers. Also, focus is often placed upon economic disadvantages such as migrants' lack of skills to do "city" work.

Therefore, it is clear the magnitude of change caused by migration impacts both departure and arrival points at every level. It starts with the individual, moving on to

the household, to the village, the town, the city, the region, finally moving on to encompass the entire country. Peters and Larkin (1999) state household-level researchers have begun to look more closely at how households adjust when one or more members migrate. They also take into consideration what happens to those left behind.

Alongside the pessimists who emphasise the negative aspects of migration there is also the positive perspective which must also be explored. This position sees migration as a way of offering better possibilities through remittances, social transfers, brain-gain and the positive effects of the return home of newly-skilled migrants (Adepoju, van Naerssen and Zoomers 2008). However, these authors say, even though these opposing perspectives exist, there is a consensus migration can contribute to development and poverty reduction. Also it is clear migration has been used by many people as a survival strategy. However, what is needed is an appropriate and consistent policy.

Some recent studies based on data collection from different countries, have shown people have enhanced their wellbeing as a result of migration. This occurs in spite of adjustment difficulties and lack of employment in urban areas (De Haan 2000; Black 2004; Siddique 2004). Conversely, it is seen migrants very quickly assimilate into urban life and attain a socio-economic status the equal of non-migrants.

Black (2004) and Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) State: migration constitutes an important survival strategy. They proposed the following question: What kind of life would migrants be living if they had not received their migration opportunity? Researchers emphasise they have evidence of migrants returning to their homes of origin demonstrating the acquisition of knowledge and abilities. Brydon (1989) says migrants have opportunities to increase their incomes and they also replicate family ties and parental nets within the new environment.

An African Perspective on Migration

Historical dimension of migration

Migration is not a new phenomenon in the history of Africa, as it has occurred on a substantial scale over many years. Amin (1995), Akinboad and Lekwape (1997), identify three broad patterns of movement: to areas of cash crop or export-oriented agriculture;

1) To areas of employment in mines or industry;

2) To general heterogeneous employment sectors in cities.

Generally, African migration does not form any part of a process of accelerated industrialisation. Instead, stagnating rural areas with no industry are depopulated as increasing numbers of people move into towns. Without the ability to finance further agricultural development – currently undergoing rapid progress – the economic basis of African secondary towns is extremely weak. Thus, serious problems are created for urban management as increasing numbers of migrants move into towns.

An historical perspective of migration studies in Southern Africa exposes this as a relevant issue. Neighbouring countries have an interrelationship when it comes to labour migration and Mozambique has an economic dependence on South Africa (Penvene 1982; Covane 1996; das Neves 1998; Lubkeman 2000).

Amin (1995), Adepoju (1994; 2004), Oucho (2001) note the displacement of groups of people and individuals is by no means a particularly modern phenomenon, nor is it one pertaining to Africa alone. History teaches us people came from areas sometimes very far distances from the lands they occupy today. What makes the modern migratory phenomenon unique is its connection to globalisation and the capitalist economy. Amin (1995) also argues modern migrations are migrations of labour, not of people. That is, migrants take their place in an organised and structured host society, where they generally acquire inferior status as wage earners or sharecroppers.

African migration arises, for the most part, from constraints, not because the migrants decide after careful reflection that migration is their best option for the future, but because violence forces them to do so (Ricca 1989). In the case of Mozambique, the violence of colonialism and the labour system created this need to migrate (Penvenne 1988).

Economic dimension of migration

In recent years, issues of migration have risen to the very top of the international agenda (see Boswell and Crisp 2004; Crisp and Borjas 2005; GCIM 2005; UNFPA 2006 reports). There is a general perception that more people than ever are now moving from one country or region to another (Martin, Martin and Weil 2006). Migration has also been found to respond to rural-urban differences in expected income rather than actual earnings (Akinboad and Lekwape 1997). Migration, as Amin (1995), Todaro (2000), Oucho (2001), point out, exacerbates rural-urban structural imbalances in two major ways. First, on the supply side, internal migration

disproportionately increases the growth rate of urban job seekers relative to urban population growth. This in itself is at an historically unprecedented high level, because of the high proportion of well-educated young people who dominate the migrant stream.

Secondly, on the demand side, urban job creation is more difficult and costly to accomplish than rural employment creation. The reason for this is because of the need for substantial complementary resource inputs in most modern industrial jobs. In fact, as African economies have deteriorated since the 1970s and 1980s, various migratory streams emerged as people sought better living conditions (Adepoju 1995; Gould 1995; Oucho 2001).

In analysing the causes and consequences of migration, it is often argued it is not possible to separate the causes of migration from their consequences. Migration is not only the consequence of unequal development; it is also in itself, a facet of unequal development, as it serves to reproduce the conditions, which aggravate it (Amin 1995).

Natural and political dimension of migration

In his analysis of internal migration, Aina (1995) advances several reasons for internal migration. These include disasters such as, droughts and floods; political instability – civil wars and regional uprisings; income inequalities; high population pressures; low agricultural productivity; poverty and hunger; as well as the attractions of cities as centres of education, higher incomes and social amenities. Internal migration can also be a result of dramatic changes in the physical conditions of an area as well as a consequence of state policies on agriculture. Political instability characterized by many African countries has been a push factor for migratory movements (Ricca 1989; Adepoju 1995; 2004).

3.4 Migration studies in Mozambique

Among the various reasons, the history of migration in Mozambique has its roots in the far-distant past and is the result of local and international labour characteristics. Movements across neighbouring countries as well as internal administrative borders characterises the daily life of numerous Mozambicans. Some are regulated by international labour agreements among countries and are still currently in use. (See the labour Agreement between the then government of Portugal

and the Republic of South Africa in 1965. This accord regulated the sending of labour to the mines in the Republic of South Africa and remains in effect.)

Other movements are undocumented or irregularly recorded (SAMP Migration Policy Series No 1, 8, 25, 39, 43). Although the instability caused by the civil war, forced people to look for security in other localities, the major reason behind migration, even then, was seeking a better livelihood. Several interviewees attested to this. Many people have moved either to neighbouring countries or to other provinces in Mozambique and to Maputo seeking employment opportunities. Other reasons acknowledged for relocation were: natural hazardous such as floods and drought. Such people form the stream of internally displaced persons.

The primary focuses of migration studies undertaken in Mozambique in the post-independence[9] period are mainly related to labour migration. This literature is found in the several works of Penvenne (1982) Harries (1994), Covane (1996), De Vletter (1998; 2000) and Das Neves (1998). These studies emphasise male movement into the mining areas of South Africa and the plantations in Zimbabwe.

An internal migration perspective derived from traditional labour migration studies is found in Lubkeman's (2000) work. This is the first anthropological study of the political, socio-economic, and demographic consequences of the civil war in Mozambique. Lubkeman emphasises the neglect of migration studies in the country. Compared to the other demographic variables – fertility and mortality – he observed migration is the "poor sibling" of demographic analysis. Often, it is analysed, albeit uncomfortably, as the residue of these other processes. The work of Lubkeman (Op cit) is relevant in the following context:

a) He analysed migration impacts upon social organisation;
b) He focused upon migration with a gender dimension, which makes for a unique instance in Mozambique. In his case study, (Machaze, central Mozambique) Lubkeman points out; women from Machaze did not have migratory experiences. He says, in several cases, older women simply refused to accompany their husbands when they decided to move into the communal villages or cross the international border into Zimbabwe.

Further literature on migration can be found in some published articles in the series on population at the National Institute for Statistics in Mozambique. In the view

[9] Mozambique gained its independence on the 25th of June, 1975.

of these authors, rural-urban migration was male dominated, although census results have shown a glaring increase of females moving into the cities. More recently, Raimundo (2005) discussed issues of migrants and survival strategies in the city and introduced a point on women's autonomous migration as well as some concerns about how these women adapt and survive city life.

Winge (1998) developed an interesting study on "Migration, household and fertility" where she concluded migration, apart for being a strategy to meet livelihood needs, as an additive strategy, has changed the social structure of most households of southern Mozambique, which has a tradition of in-bound male migration. However, fertility trends have declined due to migration in other Sub-Saharan countries. But in Mozambique, migration is likely to increase the number of children As Arnaldo (2003) says, these women coming from rural areas are still behaving like they were living in their place of origin where fertility rates are very high.

An overview of existing data on migration comes from the two post-independence censuses. Internally, the direction of flow is to Maputo, Beira, and Nampula, the three largest Mozambican cities. Statistics, however, illustrate from 1980 to 1997, the female population in the urban areas increased from about 45% to 50.57% (INE 1999). Araújo (1999; 2005), points to this higher ratio of women to men, as not because of the birth rate, but because of an increase in the net rural-urban flow. However, this theory requires more empirical study in order to make the hypothesis consistent.

Gender migration studies in Mozambique

Gender and migration studies, research prior to 2000 focused upon economic and political factors as pull-push factors while emphasising the role of men as migrants within the household. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence suggests there is a faster growth of women moving into Mozambican cities. Additionally, many women have chosen to move in their own right since they are the heads of their households. The magnitude of gendered approaches is pertinent to migration studies since empirical studies show a clear increase of women as migrants both internally and internationally.

The interesting findings in these studies indicate migration is no longer an attribute of only men. New trends are now echoing the gender impact of expansion, both in the form of rural-urban migration as well as cross-border migration. Perhaps this is occurring at an even higher level in those Mozambican provinces having

international transport corridors (UNDP 2001). Little empirical evidence is available to test either part of this supposition at a general level, given the limited number of rural-urban migration studies and the quantitative data itself. And more broadly, there is a dearth of empirical study delving into the gender migration perspective.

Lubkeman who commented on situating wartime migration in central Mozambique, and Raimundo (2005) also investigated migration dynamics in southern Mozambique. Both suggest, apart from hazardous natural conditions, socio-economic and political conditions are more likely to cause people to move permanently. Also, gender and the behaviour of households involved in rural-urban migration should be taken seriously if an adequate understanding of the dynamics of internal migration is to be attained.

Also, in respect to this, further research is essential to understand Chant and Radcliffe's (1992) point of view. They assert gender differentiation migration arises because of gender divisions of labour within the household, which releases certain members and retains others. More importantly, learning how these households have been sustainedwhile the men – the presupposed breadwinners – have been absent in the long term.

The Migrant Labour System

The wider literature on migration has clarified migration has become a part of daily life for Mozambicans. Migration exists even before the regulation of labour in Mozambique (Harris 1994; Winge 1998).

It is a fact pioneer migration studies in Mozambique have examined the movement of large numbers of Mozambicans to the gold and coal mines in South Africa. This migration to South Africa appeared to respond the need for large supplies of cheap labour. This labour migration from Mozambique was not isolated since African men from many parts of the region were involved in the South African labour system (Brown 1980; Katzenellenbogen 1982). A growing body of studies examining the impact of the migrant labour system upon the rural economy is found in various literatures (see Brown 1980; Murray 1981; Stichter 1985; Crush 1987; Covane 1996; das Neves 1998; de Vletter 2000).

3.5 Conclusion

Lastly after analysing numerous questions and studies related to migration and their theories, I conclude the current situation of migration, particularly internal migration, has become too complex to be explained by a single theory or principle. Nevertheless, the study requires a deep understanding of socio-economic and cultural contexts in which a woman or a man is integrated. Thus, this work has the support of various theories in analysing the process of gender migration and the migration decision-making process. As well, I took into consideration the many strategies used by Mozambican men and womean in rural-urban migration.

With the abundance of analytical points offered by many authors who have developed the theories used in this thesis, I will discuss the issues of Gender, Choice and Migration, Household Dynamics and Urbanisation in Mozambique, based on their insights. The research results determine the extent to which these theories were applied in the Mozambican situation. More importantly, even when migration is primarily economically motivated, it takes place within a social context wherein family and gender relations influence the migration behaviour.

CHAPTER IV

Mozambique: a background on causes of migration

4.1 Causes and typology of migration.

Goldscheider (1980), Goldstein and Goldstein (1981), Gould (1994) and Nam (1994) have defined migration as a more or less permanent change of residence entailing a change in the total round of social, economic and political activities, with emphasis upon the change of household structure. This migration can be a personal, decision-making process or a choice for migrate or not to migrate. As Nam (1994) points out, why people do or do not move is tied to numerous and complex factors.

Migration, when it occurs, can be an individual excursion or may involve the entire family. An individual will leave family behind but will also make frequent visits back home to see their spouse and children and to give them much needed money or food. At some point, migrants have to make a decision. The choices are: maintaining the current situation of living apart; relocating the entire family to the new environment; or retuning to a life in the rural place of origin. Additionally, prospective migrants have to make choices around where they will go and how they will execute the move. These decisions can be made on an individual basis or within the family structure.

Migration is differentiated according to international boundaries the migrants may have crossed or within the country. Additionally, the reasons instigating the decision to migrate (or to not) also influence and characterize the different types of migration. These factors may include short or long distances, temporary, internal, cross border, seasonal as well as crossing international borders. According to several scholars such as Goudl (1994), Adepoju (1992, 2004), Oucho (2001) and the recent published UN world development report (2009), the distance travelled depends on the economic conditions of the prospective migrant. Jolly and Reeves say women tend to move shorter distances than men. To be more specific, in the case of Africa, these more recent authors say migrant women are more likely to relocate internally or just across borders than migrant men do. Looking at the trends and the characteristics of migration by gender in Mozambique, it is notable that women do not go too far unless they are conducting business. They also do not stay away for long. This trend of “not going very far” can probably explain why Niassan women do not migrate to the city of Maputo as do their male counterparts. Is this intentional or there are other, more

obscure reasons? A glancing look at the literature and the migrants' life histories tells a lot. For instance, women although prompted to relocate for survival reasons or to escape social pressure, are are strongly linked to their land and with family. As many female interviewees said: "*We do not abandon the family completely. Wherever we go, we carry the family with us.*" Internal migration takes on many forms and this occurs within any given country. This, according to Nam (1994), can be found in all localities from rural to urban, from unattractive regions to highly desirable district and on toward the frontiers.

Like people in other countries, Mozambicans have experimented with both internall and external movement. The differences are found in terms of reasons which have obliged people to cross territorial frontiers or remain within the national boundaries. In the past, such international migration was prompted by civil war and the need for employment. Internal migration mirroring the international trend is typically instigated by labourers seeking employment, family reunification and displacement due to natural hazards.

Some migration experiences come as an individual or family decision. The decision to migrate is mainly defined according to the structure of the household. And, though both women and men do migrate, some decisions can be made by individuals; others are made by the family as a whole. However the ways in which such decisions are made are entirely dependent upon the rules of Mozambique's matrilineal and patrilineal societies. It is also evident some of these decisions are made outside the household structure. This was especially true when Government demanded and enforced relocation and several life stories attest to this.

Migration dynamics in which decisions are made are really complex taking into account the several economic, social, cultural and political environments. Also, it is clear the civil war and the disrupted economy have, to some extent, disrupted the system of decision-making within the formal family structure. This has been demonstrated in the experiences of women who chosen to migrate as well as those who decided to remain at home.

In this chapter, I want to discuss the background story of migration in Mozambique. Some decisions to migrate occurred within a specific socio-cultural and political organization over the years of post-independence. But also, over the course of the country's history, various factors have obliged people to vacate their original

places of residence. Economic, social and political events have placed Mozambicans in a permanent state of mobility.

Perhaps before going into a discussion of the causes leading to migration and how such decisions are made, it would be interesting to give some geographic information about the country. The country's geographic position tells us a lot about the links existing between people from Mandimba, Malawians and Tanzanians as well as the linkages between female cross-border traders from Southern Mozambique and the countries where they do business – South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbawe.

Cross-border and labour migration is strongly connected with Southern Africa's history in which Mozambique and other Southern African countries became the labour source for South Africa (Crush, 2000; de Vleter 2000 and McDonal 2000).

The Republic of Mozambique[10] is a Southern African country (see map 4.1) covering an area of 799,380 km^2 including inland water (MINED-Atlas Geográfico 1986). It is bordered by the Republic of South Africa, the Kingdom of Swaziland (west and south), the United Republic of Tanzania (north), the Republic of Malawi (north west), as well as the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Zimbabwe (south east). To the east of the country lies the Indian Ocean, encompassing an extension of some 2,700 km.

The Republic achieved independence from Portugal on June 25, 1975, following ten years of guerrilla warfare against Portuguese colonialism (1964-1974). Since then, the country has been ruled by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Between the 1975 independence and 1990, the nation was governed by a single-party system. This has since been followed by a multiparty system, with national elections held every five years.

After independence, as Hanlon (1986) and Winge (1998) point out, the central concern of the ruling party was to ensure socialisation. Thus, family farmers, small holding farmers (mostly Portuguese settlers), medium and large capitalist enterprises (plantations) were forcibly replaced by State farms (*machambas estatais*) and the so-called *machambas do povo* (people's farms).

State farms were predominant throughout the country, with which, the government intended to accumulate control of agricultural production. Therefore, all government support was given to State farms. "Family farming," however, was left

[10] Formerly People's Republic of Mozambique (1975-1990)

without financial or technical support. As Winge says (1998:22), due to the fragility of the household in competing with the State farms, most households decided to allocate their labour resources to the State farms or to migrate.

Map 4. 1 The Republic of Mozambique



After independence, the country suffered badly during the civil war, 1976-1992. This war destroyed the already weak economy and displaced more than five million Mozambicans, who for years, lived as refugees in neighbouring countries (Hanlon 1984; 1986; UNDP 1998; 1999; 2000). Apart from the civil war, natural hazards and economic crisis contributed the huge mobility occurring between the 1970s and 1990s. Such movements were across national and regional borders and less significantly, international borders. The magnitude of these movements is still not clear since censuses are not able to capture peoples' daily, weekly, monthly or yearly movements.

The economy of Mozambique has been fragile over the course of 35 years of independence, has resulted in agriculture failure. As well, other external factors have, to a certain extent, contributed to the migration of large populations as will be discussed in the appropriate chapters.

4.2 Causes and typology of migration

Population movements between different areas occur everywhere and all the time. Internally or across regions, people do move with great regularity. However, considering most people cannot afford travel long distances, very little attention is paid to internal movements even though they are absolutely significant. –the Human development Report of 2009

Internally, rural-urban movements are of interest to scholars and policy makers as Adapoju (1980; 1992; 2004) says. This is because rural-urban migration is associated with unemployment in the countryside as well as rapid urbanization. Therefore, this thesis seeks to understand the dynamics of internal migration, its context and how the decisions are made. In a family or household, who makes the decision on migration? Taking into account what the literature says and the life histories related by the interviewees, it has become clear gender relations and hierarchies within a household context affect such decisions. For instance onen interviewee said: "*When I intended to leave my homeland, I had to ask for permission for my mother in law. My husband had left the house for more than five years and eventually, my mother in law authorized me to leave.*" (Marta Zevo, Maputo, 2nd May 2005). Although her husband had abandoned her five years earlier, Marta still had to ask for permission for her mother in law.

The Human development report of 2009 says it is a myth migrants from developing countries are invading rich countries. According to this report, the most common form of migration is relocation within one's own country. Very few migrants from developing countries elect to go abroad. In fact, the data from Mozambique demonstrates this trend. When potential migrants were asked their perspectives on moving to destinations such as Europe or America, they said were not willing to go so far. Therefore, internal migration, cross border migration, labour migration and forced migration – which creates Internally Displaced Persons – are the prevalent typologies of migration in Mozambique.

Over the course of this thesis, I have discussed how decisions are taken, where people prefer to go, and what impelled them to move in the first place. Generally, the causes driving men and women to move are the same. The differences between them are found in the contexts of decision and how those decisions were made.

However, there are also geographic differences. In Southern Mozambique both women and men cross borders and search for payable jobs. Here in particular, married women need to ask for permission from their in-laws when major decisions are to be made. In northern Mozambique, women generally do not migrate and if they do, distances are small. They do not engage in cross-border trade and do not travel for jobs either in Malawi or in the southern part of the country.

As it has been discussed in the previous chapters, most reasons for migration in Mozambique are associated with the economy. But it must also be noted forced situations such as civil war and natural hazards such as floods and cyclones also induce people to migrate. These external causes affect both women and men as individuals as well as members of a structured household. However, most migrant people are faced with limited job opportunities upon reaching the cities or towns. More often than not, they have no alternative but to involve themselves in the informal economy engage in cross-border trade. Several life histories attest to this.

The informal economy especially absorbers women since men still tend to move in direction to South Africa. Women also do informal business in their front yards, in open markets or are involved in cross-border business as will be further discussed.

Throughout this debate is the discussion about the way decisions are made. As Jolly and Reeves (2005) state, decisions happen in response to a combination of economic, social and political pressures and incentives. Added to this, decisions are built within the gender relations constructs of both the matrilineal and patrilineal cultures, which characterize Mozambique.

The economic causes

Mozambique is predominantly rural, in which about 80 per cent (INE 2003) of its habitants live, work, and earn a living in villages. It is also is a poor country as is shown in the data from IAF "Inquérito aos Agregados Familiares" (National Household Survey on Living Conditions of 1996 and 1997).

Poverty in Mozambique affects all ages with women and those living in rural areas being more affected (UNDP 1999). According to this report, contrary to the

widespread idea households are headed by poor women, particularly by widows and divorced women are poor, there is Mozambican empirical evidence which suggests quite the opposite (UNDP 1999). The National Household Survey on Living Conditions of 1996-1997 and the General Population Census supplied additional documentation. This again was further supported in the 2001 INE monograph which focused upon female-headed households in Maputo. And, the focus group discussions I have undertaken with cross-border traders, who are mostly single mothers and divorced or separated women, reveal they have been supporting themselves and their families at an acceptable level. Many are well established and employ other women. One female entrepreneur said: "*We have given up travelling. We hire youngsters for travelling.*"

Overall, the IAF indicates 69% of Mozambicans are living in poverty, with a greater percentage residing in rural areas (UNDP 2000; INE 2004). Results from this survey were used to develop the Action Plan to Reduce Absolute Poverty (PARPA). In 2002-2003, a second IAF survey was undertaken to determine if progress had been made in addressing poverty in Mozambique. This second survey sought to measure as accurately as possible, progress in the fight against absolute poverty and to provide a basis for the orientation of future polices (INE 2004). It determined the national poverty headcount, defined as the share of the population living in poverty, had declined to 54%. This was a significant 15 percentage point decline from 1996-97.

While progress in reducing poverty rates has been impressive, levels of poverty remain high. More than half the population fails to attain even very basic standards of living, not attaining 80% of their daily caloric requirements (Knauder, 2000). This decline of living conditions and rural impoverishment constitute the main reasons for migration.

The UNDP report (1999) says that it was believed that after the civil war that ended in 1992, people would return to their places of origin. However, INE's data (1999) has shown that between 1992 and 1997 people did return to home. However, when the people´s expectations were not realized such as jobs, many opted not to return to their homelands, instead sought other destinations.

Most rural out-migrants are driven by poverty as one interviewee said: "*We could not wait to die. This is why my family has suggested I move into the city. My initial idea was to reach South Africa. However, I have started a business here.*" (Manuel Chilusso, Maputo 5th May 2005).

Agriculture crop production and forestry, as well as fishing and transportation services are the country's principal industrial sectors (Nelson 1984; MINED-Atlas Geográfico Vol. I1986; UNDP 1998; 1999; 2001). Largely, rural populations engage in subsistence production but are also responsible for an important share of cash crops (op cit). Additionally, Mozambique has long relied upon South Africa for imported food, consumer goods, oil, and raw materials. This situation makes the country heavily dependent upon South Africa. Such dependence is encountered on most levels in Mozambique and operates as push-pull factors for migration. *"Nowadays, what is important is to have someone who can feed the family. It does not matter if it is a woman or a man. Actually, we do cross the South African and Swazi borders in search of a living. Our husbands use to go to South Africa as labour migrants, but now they have finished their contracts. So we have begun cross-border businesses as family support strategies."* (Focus Group Discussion with Mukhero Association, Maputo May 2005).

Is must be noted that not all women engaged in cross-border business have followed cultural traditions, as was attested by one interviewee. *"I just went on cross-border trade because my children were starving. I am a single mother and did not have a choice. It was my decision."* (Elsa Machava, 27th April 2005).

The INE (2006) and the UNDP report, published in 2006, shows Mozambique has recorded high rates of economic growth since the 1990s. The GDP began to grow significantly following 1995 and its growth was in excess of 10% in 1997, 1998 and 2001 (UNDP 2006:3). Over the same period, and particularly from 1997, other macro-economic indicators demonstrated the country's positive economic performance. Between 1997 and 2003, the country experienced an average annual economic growth rate of about 8%, and the government managed to ensure currency stability and control inflation.

This scenario has created an environment propitious for national and foreign investment. As an example, large-scale investment such as MOZAL – the largest aluminium producer in Mozambique – is funded with Australian, Japanese and South African private capital as well as the Mozambican government. So to what extent has this surge of the economy contributed to a lesser migration flows? Has economic growth created job opportunities to help counteract migration flows?

Notwithstanding the high rates of growth, the majority of Mozambicans still live in poverty. This puts pressure on natural resources, since these are main building

blocks for the survival of most households. It has also resulted in an increase of informal economic activities. At the same time, the unmanaged expansion of urban centres has resulted in the continual degradation of the living conditions for city inhabitants. Failing systems include sanitation and access to clean drinking water. Rates of poverty vary among the eleven provinces as well as between urban and rural areas but over-all, it remains extremely high.

In general, estimates of economic activity show the performance of the individual provinces has not evolved in a uniform fashion (UNDP 2006). Results indicate the average annual rate of real growth of the GDP in the 2000 - 2004 periods varies between 5.4% (Gaza province) and 18.9% (Maputo province). However, all provinces show notable real growth, but only three (Niassa, Inhambane and Maputo province) are above the national average of 9.2%. Strong average growth of the economy in Maputo province and Inhambane can be attributed, according to the UNDP report, to the construction sector.

This is because of an increase in MOZAL's productive capacity, resulting from the take-off the second phase of aluminium production, as well as the start of the exploitation of natural gas at Temane, in Inhambane province. Interestingly, even though this spectacular growth in the economy came from Temane Gas in Inhambane province, migrants from here continue to stream into Maputo. Instead, Inhambane has the distinction of being the Southern province with the highest out-bound migration rate. So what is causing this exodus from Inhambane?

One of the many reasons explaining this situation is the historical migration of labour. People are still following the tradition of sending people as labour migrants to South Africa or to the city of Maputo. The new feature of rural-urban migration is the increase of women in this movement.

In regional terms, the results of the economic performance, over the period of analysis, continues to show heavy economic concentration in the southern region of the country. The border posts under study are located here. The southern region contributes 47% of real production. In this, Maputo city (the capital) stands out with a contribution in real terms of about 20.8% (UNDP 2006). The GDP per capita by province shows the GDP per capita for Maputo Province is three times higher than those of Cabo Delgado, Zambezia and Tete (UNDP 2006).

These differentiations in economic performance have contributed to looking at migration as a survival strategy for many families. One interviewee in Maputo said: "*I*

came here because in Morrumbene, Inhambane a long period of drought led to failure in agriculture. In the past, we use to fill one or two granaries. But for about four years, we were not able to fill even half of one granary." (Marieta Nhalungo, Maputo 5 May 2005).

Despite high rates of growth in the economy, rates of poverty remain high – although they have fallen since 1997. In 1997, more than 70% of Mozambicans lived in rural areas. This portion of society was certainly affected by the gradual process of post-war resettlement, with migration of people from the cities and towns back into the countryside. At this time, a general sense of security returned. However, rapid urbanisation took place after the devastating floods of 2000.

Employment

The 1997, the census showed there were more than seven million people of working age in Mozambique. Only 521,200 were engaged in formal employment, of which approximately 173,000 were employed in the public sector; 302,000 in the private sector; and 46,000 in non-governmental organizations. The private sector thus employed 60% of the people in formal employment (UNDP 2006:32).

According to the UNDP, the most significant finding of the 1997 census was: less than 10% of the economically active population had a formal job. Thus, it was elementary to conclude the informal sector and unemployment accounted for 90% of the economically-active population in the country (Op cit*)*. These findings can also be seen in a 2006 report by the National Institute for Statistics, highlighting the importance of agriculture in relation to the informal sector.

A lack of jobs is one reason very good reason to migrate said many of my interviewees. They made the decision to move from the countryside because they needed to search for jobs. This is decision was also linked with the failure of agriculture crops. Interestingly, most of the interviewees in the city of Maputo, particularly those coming from northern Mozambique, say they plan to eventually return to their village. One migrant said: "*In my homeland, which is Marrupa in Nissa, I have plenty of land and I do not suffer for a house. Here in Maputo, renting a house is too expensive and I cannot afford to buy one or to build since construction materials are very expensive.*" (Momade Issufo, Maputo May 205).

The Informal Economy

The prospect of being involved in some kind of employment has become one of the major push factors for migration into the city. People honestly believe they will have the opportunity to make a lot of money in the city markets. One rather disillusioned interviewee said: "*I have learnt about Xiquelene market. It is a place where people make a lot of money. I left my homeland with the idea of doing business there. Once here, I have realised that only people who are already established can survive. Me, as an outsider, I do not have chance to compete with them. I have two alternatives – either to be one of their workers or cross the border. For a while I have been waiting for better opportunities.*" (Lourenço Cossa, Maputo May 2005).

How have the informal markets become pull-push factors for migration?

The informal economy has become a major component of economic life in sub-Saharan African cities as well as rural areas. In fact, evidence from the UN-Habitat report (2008) have demonstrated the informal economy remains the major sources of Southern African livelihoods for the poor, with the participation of women and youth dominating.

Growth of Mozambique's informal economy over the past two decades can be attributed to the increase of unemployment in all urban areas. This in part, and at the very least, is a result of the rapid growth in rural-urban migration (Knauder 2000). Covane (1996) observes once people have entered the informal sector/economy, they find it difficult to return to agriculture and dependence upon irregular rainfall. The selling of cigarettes, bread and sweets, better ensures a regular income, enabling people to buy sugar, maize, firewood, water and petrol to maintain their households.

In Maputo, the informal economy is growing steadily, however the same is also true of poverty. In answer to this, some new arrangements have had to be made within households. Some Maputo-based migrant households have relocated wife and children to a near-by village while the man remains in town. This strategy has become common.

One interviewee had this to say: "*I live in the city of Maputo in Inhambane with my young child, while the eldest children live with their father. I have a plot of land in Inhambane. There, I plant vegetables, cassava and maize. With these products, I feed my household since the salary of my husband is not enough to do so. I sell some of my field products but most of it is consumed by my family.* INE (2006) illustrates the informal sector, characterised by the informal retail market, generates about 80% of household incomes. The 1997 census shows an imbalance between those working in

formal and informal employment. Only 30% of those in the job market work in the formal economy while the remaining 70% is employed informally.

People who participate in informal economic activities are made up of two groups. First, there are those who rely solely upon the informal sector as a source of income, Secondly, there are those who have employment in the formal economy but also use the informal sector as a strategy to increase their income. As de Vletter (1992) points out, despite clear evidence of its importance to household incomes, the informal sector in Mozambique still has not received much attention from the government or researchers. However, what has been seen is the frequent persecution of traders, particularly street vendors (see Mozambican Media) by government. Since it is virtually impossible to collect taxes from informal these business operations, huge tax revenues are never collected and thus lost by the Mozambican government. (June 2006 interview and Mozambican Customs Guidelines of 1997).

Land access as a cause of migration

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

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

The Mozambican legislation says land is owned by the State (See Mozambique Constitution of 1975, Article 8, in the revised Constitution of 1990, article 35, the Land Law of 1977, chapter I, No 1, and the Land Regulation of 1987, articles 55 and 56 of chapter XI). Through the State, people can access and use land. However, in practice, traditional forms of land tenure bring conflicts over access and land use. Generally such disputes are solved with the help of grass-root structures and community leaders. It is also, well known that women, although they are connected to the land, never

inherit land. This still happens even though the Constitution says the right to land is equal to both genders.

It is well known the only kind of property relevant to consider is land, or rights to land. These rights are in many cases transmitted through an entirely male inheritance system. In traditional society, land cannot be transferred to women. Forms of access to land and ownership determine gender relations within traditional households and pertain to who holds the power. So the question is: What forms of property are most important or relevant to be considered?

In Mozambique and in large areas of Africa, women constitute the major agricultural labour force, particularly in domestic production of food (Waterhouse and Vijfhuizen 2001). The 1997 census indicates more than 90% of Mozambican women worked in agriculture. As would be expected, this occurred predominantly in rural areas but there has also been growth in urban agriculture (Op cit).

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

In Africa, the ownership of land occurs according to the customary system, not written law or other modern forms based in the western model. Generally, in the customary system, women inherit land through men's relatives or marriage as Amaral (1994), Fernando (1994) and WLSA Mozambique (1997) point out. In the case of divorce, in the matrilineal society, the man returns to his homeland. He does this because he would have been residing in his wife's village or in his parents-in-law's home. Any land he may have bought or borrowed from relatives would be retained by the wife and her family.

Access and use of land has become a source of conflicts among peasants and between the government and peasants. Since the signing of the General Peace Agreement, land conflicts arisen (Myers, Eliseu and Nhachunge 1994). Obviously, in these instances, the most affected are migrants and women. They are transplanted into new environments without relatives from whom they could inherit land. This also remains a women's issue because cultivation is included in the maintenance of the household.

In Mozambique, land can be accessed and used by everyone. Some land use conflicts have been recorded as a result of the growth in international investment

Myers, Eliseu and Nhachunge (Op cit). A study was undertaken by Carla Braga (2001) investigating "gender, relationship, power, land and police: a case study in Issa Malanga, Niassa province." It demonstrated the conflicts between investors and the villagers.

A difference in access to resources between people creates reasons for migration, including crossing borders.

WLSA Mozambique (1997:8) states in reference to this issue and other income resources. …[This] depends upon women's relations with male members of the family, whether they be husband or father-in-law, father, uncles or eldest son. For the normative viewpoint in Mozambique, land is the chief resource both in terms of the numbers of people involved with it and through its role in family subsistence.

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

Land access and use: Some findings

Access and lack of access to land can also be a push or pull factor leading to migration. Some have moved into cities because they have lost access to land others are said to have returned to Mamdimba from Malawi because they did not have land in Maputo or elsewhere. And, sometimes the land in possession was not of enough size to maintain the household.

Land can promote integration or it can be a source of division. Interviewees said they did not feel well integrated into the city life of Maputo. This point of view was often taken because many people did not have enough land for cultivation or for housing. The scarcity of land was why they missed their "homelands." At "home," in places such as Niassa, land was not sold. Another common belief is the land "back home" is more fertile. Some said they were willing to return to their homelands in order to cultivate because "*Land over there was not a problem.*"

In Mandimba, interviewees said they would not move away because they have a lot of land and it is very fertile. In Mandimba, I heard in several interviews, there was a movement of in-coming migration from other districts of Niassa and near-by provinces such as Zambezia and Nampula. However, there is also a glaring number of "Malawians" who are arriving and asking for land to cultivate.

In Maputo, the scarcity of land has split households in two since the wives often live between 30 and 700 km away from the city. This happens because they are cultivating in their homeland, which is located quite far away. This happens because they have this piece of land and they need to work it in order satisfy the needs of their household. This situation has contributed to the number of women who migrate on a temporary basis.

Conversely, the husband and children often settle permanently in the city. In order to survive, these women or the family members are forced to commute frequently to pay visits to each other. "*Usually, it is the wife who comes to visit the family in the city because she is bringing cultivated products to sell or to be used for household consumption,*" say interviewees Verónia Salimo, Luísa Bacar and Maliatu Damissone (Mbáwè village, 25th May 2005).

This scenario demonstrates the degree of importance access to land and ownership is in creating yet another form of migrant. This form of migrancy strongly impacts the structure of households. How else then, is the land to be accessed? And, to what extent has access to land contributed to migration? In Maputo, the household situation is similar to the one described in Mandimba. Women are engaged in agriculture in and around their nearby villages. Since the countryside is less populated than the city, there is no scarcity of land.

In Mandimba a widowed or separated woman can ask for her own plot of land. However, this can only happen after there is an investigation to ascertain why she was alone. Other questions asked are: Why did she leave her homeland? Why did she leave her parents' village if she had land there? In actuality, land is given to those who ask for it. Nothing is charged. The new arrival has the right to engage in agriculture and build a house. In Mitande, there is plenty of land (Bacar Chali or Chief Namassonjo, Mitande 25th May 2005).

Itinerancy is common in Mandimba, meaning householders leave their portions of land unattended. This itinerancy does not allow registering the land, because people are permanently on the move. Every three or four years, people change their residence

and place of cultivation. This makes land tenure difficult and weakens security. Only customary laws prove the ownership of land once the villagers recognise the owner. According to interviewed community leaders and chiefs, each family recognises to whom each portion or plot of land belongs (Ernesto Bulaique, acting Chief of the Administrative Post of Mitande, 25th May 2005) also see Land Law. Legal transference of title does not ensure land is secure as Lúcia Mulima recounts: "*We did not have land before, because our father was a teacher and because of several transferences, he did not have any permanent land."*

There are various and sundry ways of accessing land. Land may be borrowed, informally bought, granted either by the State or by the chiefs, or inherited. In any of these circumstances, the land can be sold according to the Mozambican Constitution. However, in rural areas the main way of accessing land is via customary laws. Interviewee Lúcia Malima said: "*I do not have a title deed since the entire family knows the situation. They know I bought [the land] from their relatives.*" The question is: how will she guarantee this land remains hers permanently?

Being a second wife meant being in a peripheral position since the land belonged to her husband and not her parents as the customary law normally demands says Verónica Salimo (Chikwenga, 7th May 2005).

"*Actually I am the second wife. For survival I cultivate vegetables, maize, tomatoes and beans at the margins of Incólua River. The land belongs to my husband who bought it from an uncle who is living in the city of Maputo. The first wife has her own land which she got when they moved from Majune ten years ago.*"

So far, in respect with this land situation, several forms of land access were indicated either by women or men. For example, Ajulo Rajabo bought land from a gentleman for 3,000,000.00 MT (3,000 MT). This amount was paid because it had sugar cane, banana and guava plantations.

In Mandimba, getting land is very easy as the next example shows.

Lúcia Mulima (Nyerere village, 31st May 2005), born in Massangulo said:

"I arrived in this Nyerere village, coming from Malawi. I borrowed a plot of land from someone from M'bawe village. When the person realised the land was fertile and no longer bush, he decided to take it back. I knew one day he would want his land back. So I decided to buy a piece of land instead of borrowing. Although I am married, my brothers bought this land for me, because as their sister, it is their duty to provide

land for me. My first husband did not have land because he earned money through fishing and I used the land of my mother-in-law. When I left him, also I left the land."

In Maputo, an interviewee said: "*Fortunately, in Zimpeto, my husband left me with a house and the land where we built the house, so it belonged to me.*" (Rita Licangala, born in Majune, Niassa, a divorced woman, Maputo, 20th September 2005).

An interview with Vicente Chipirone, the Agriculture district director of Mandimba, (Mandimba 30th May 2005) said land law is the only official document authorising occupation by Mozambicans and foreigners. He indicated there were several ways of occupation to be found in the Land Law of 1999.

In this study, I also identified several ways to access land. Some resulted as a consequence of socio-cultural organization and others were determined by the shape of the economy, the civil war and the constitution itself.

Formal and informal means of access determine to whom the land belongs. Even though there is the widespread idea women have access to land only through males, there is a small minority of women who do own land. I located women land-owners in the city of Maputo who obtained their land from the "Secretaries of Dynamizing Groups." These women "bought"[11] the land themselves since they had earned enough money to do so through their businesses activities.

It is a fact women are still accessing land through their husbands or from their parents. However, in Mandimba, a small number of women declare their land belongs to them, outright. They told me the land was bought by their brothers, or borrowed from uncles, or the land belonged to their mother's family, or their mothers-in-law. A few also said the land came from association or was given to them during the redistribution of land at the end of the Project of 400,000 ha.

With the thesis, I present several examples of how people obtained land and, in particular, how women have accessed land. I also looked into the extent in which they are or not excluded in the process of land use and management. Finally, access to land has influenced migration decision-making. Those who do not have enough land, or do not have land at all, feel the need to move to other parishes in search of land.

[11] Even though the Constitution says land is not for sale people do own it in an informal way.

Towards understanding typologies of Migration in Mozambique

Martin, Martin and Weil (2006) label migration as a response to differences. Increasing differences in demographics, economics and security, plus revolutions in communications, transportation, and rights facilitate movement over borders and have created networks bridging borders and allow people to cross them. According to these authors, migration cannot occur outside of the networking made by people in which information is transmitted and advises about what opportunities can be found in a given place. The prospect of reaching paradise, as Oucho (2001) states, increases the desire to move which is aggravated by the growing differences between nations and regions.

As I mentioned earlier migration is not a new phenomenon in the history of Africa or Mozambique. Winge (1998) says the tradition of migration was ingrained into the pattern of every day life of people long before colonization. Penvene (1982) argues the violence of colonialism and the related labour system created a lack of choice to migrate. For instance, I did not find any people in Mandimba reporting they had fled to Malawi, Zimbabwe or Tanzania due to being coerced to cultivate cotton, excessive hut taxes or xibalo.

Apart from coercive migration, Mozambicans have been migrating under the context of labour for generations. Migrants moved to South Africa to work in the gold and coal mines as well as the plantations. They also travelled to Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Tanzania and Malawi also to work in plantations. After the independence, several events occurred and determined the status of migration.

Between 1977 and 1979 the rural-urban movement was basically exacerbated by armed attacks against the country by the Rhodesian Front Army. Thus, most rural people, particularly from the provinces bordering with Zimbabwe had to flee to the cities (Hanlon 1986). The civil war, as well as severe drought, destroyed the rural economy leaving people without any way of subsistence. Consequently, these people moved out of the rural areas into urban centres (Lattes 1990; UNDP 1998; Araújo 1997; 2005; Knauder 2000).

Recent data collected about the migration situation in Mozambique indicate (see map 4.5) the city of Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, is still the main destination of most migrants. In a period of five years (1992-1997), Maputo City received 60.8 per cent of in-coming migrants and was followed by Maputo province which received 49.5 per cent of immigrants during an equal period of time. Manica

Province, in the central region and bordered by Zimbabwe, came third, receiving 15.7 per cent of in-bound migrants.

In spite of the gain in population, the city of Maputo also lost more residents, compared to other provinces. In order of magnitude, Maputo city's "population-drain" is followed by Inhambane and then Gaza provinces, both located in southern Mozambique. In northern Mozambique, the provinces of Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado did not demonstrate any significant movement of their populations. However, the same data indicates there was negative net migration[12] to certain provinces.

Gaza was the province which lost the greatest number of inhabitants to out-bound migration. It had a negative net migration of (-17.6%), followed by the Inhambane province (-16.6%) in the south and Tete (-4%) and Zambezia (-3.4%) in the central region of Mozambique. Places where net migration was positive were Sofala Province (2.2%) and those mentioned earlier – the city of Maputo, Maputo province and Manica.

Authors such as Araújo (2003; 2005), and Muanamoha (2002) point to the civil war, saying it contributed to this geographic distribution of migration since Inhambane and Gaza provinces were the most affected by the civil war. However Knauder (2002) does not agree with this postulation since there are examples of cities which did not experience war and have experienced a fast population growth. Examples are those from Zambia and Malawi to mention a few from Southern Africa. In these countries, the natural urban growth is considered to be the result of births. The UN-Habitat report (2008) in its analysis of rural-urban migration recognises this as a dominant feature of the region. However, the bulk of such movements are circular and not permanent with people still maintaining a rural identity.

This movement of people from rural into urban areas has resulted in rapid urbanization. The rural-urban population concentration present in the city of Maputo places more pressure yet upon poorly functioning infrastructures, housing and services. The increase of slums is notorious and is compounded by water shortages, poverty, congestion, high food prices, and rampant unemployment.

A recent report on poverty published by the Ministry of Planning and Development of Maputo (2009) reveals increased poverty in the city. Currently, the

[12] The net migration is a result of the difference between in-migration rate (entries) and out-migration rate (exits).

poverty rate of Maputo has increased from 47.8 per cent in 1996/97 to 53.6 per cent in 2002/03 and it can be generally attributed to rural-urban migration. Young rural men and women continue to stream into the city in search of jobs and other opportunities. .

Labour migration

As was pointed out earlier, migration is neither a new phenomenon nor one likely to ever end. The colonial period was marked by Mozambican labour migration into South Africa (mining and plantations) and Zimbabwe (plantations). In fact, South Africa, for more than a century has been sustained by the recruitment of migrant labour from its neighbouring countries (Rinehart1984; Hanlon 1986; Penvene 1982; Harries 1994; Covane 1996; das Neves 1998; de Vletter 1998; 2000). As Mafukidze (2006: 111) points out: "From as early as 1896, the South African Chamber of Mines established the Rand Native labour Association and its successors to coordinate recruitment of labour and ward off competition. Most of the unskilled labourers who were brought to the gold mines in those days were sourced from Mozambique."

Nowadays, labour migration has gained two faces. de Vletter (1998; 2000) and the SAMP unpublished report (2006), Crush (2000) and MacDonald (2000) have demonstrated there is still formal labour migration as well as the informal. The formal goes through recruitment agencies such as (TEBA-The Bureau of Employment) and the informal operates in the context of illegal crossing or illegal recruitments.

Most of these irregular workers are, according to SAMP (2006), taking advantage of the visa exemption signed in 2005 between South Africa and Mozambique and made effective in the same year. The report reveals some Mozambicans are crossing illegally into South Africa without a valid work permit or passports. Apart of the illegality of crossing some also overstay.

The SAMP report indicates these illegal workers tend to do seasonal work in Mpumalanga Province's plantations. In the meantime, there are groups of women who travel further distances, even as far as to the city of Johannesburg where they are involved in informal businesses.

Yet, despite decreasing formal recruitment into South Africa, the situation for most "irregular" Mozambican labours is dangerous. In recent years, xenophobic attacks against Mozambicans have sharply increased. A deported Mozambican said:

"*It does not matter if I am an illegal or not in South Africa. For me, this is the only place I can survive.*"

The search for economic opportunities is the driving force of Southern Africa's international labour migration. Some Mozambicans are joining family members already settled in neighbouring countries. Most who venture out of the country are willing to face danger in order to escape crippling poverty and harsh living conditions at home. One interviewee said: "*It is better to stay in South Africa as a street vendor rather than here, because the market is highly competitive and there are so few buyers.*"

Women and men cross borders in search of work and there still remains a clear division of labour. . Men work the plantations while women travel further into the foreign country selling goods and are involved in street jobs. Some take on domestic work, mainly finding employment in Portuguese or Mozambican homes. A domestic worker, interviewed in Maputo about her work preferences and facilities said: "*I choose to work at Portuguese house because they do not demand a work permit. I travel every month to Maputo in order to renew my permanence in Johannesburg.*" (Maputo, 4th May 2005).

One of the findings arising from this analysis of cross border migration is related to how decisions to migrate have been made. Migratory streams are becoming increasingly feminised and it has become "normal" to find women travelling – alone or in a group – deep into South Africa for business and for work.

Questioned about how this situation came to be, I received some interesting answers. "*It was our own decision to travel into South Africa and no one has interfered.*" Such decisions are quite common among women between the ages of 17 and 30 years. Typically, they have very little education and come from Mozambique's southern provinces but all seem very pleased to have gained a sense of autonomy.

Labour migration has gained several new features with the integration of women into the process. Informally and formally, both men and women as migrant workers are now crossing borders into South Africa. Ultimately, indicators suggest the fastest growing form of international labour migration fro Mozambique is informal and unauthorised.

Forced migration: Civil war and Internal Displaced Persons

Martin, Martin and Weil (2006) in their differentiation between voluntary migrants and forced migrants affirm voluntary migration is sustained by well-developed networks linking the supply of labour with the demands of business for both highly skilled and unskilled workers. Forced migration is fuelled by conflicts, human rights violations, and political repression which displace people from their home communities.

It has been said the causes forcing an individual or a member of a household to leave their place of origin and seek refuge in other regions can vary. Many relocate because of conflict or persecution such as human rights violations and repression. They leave as individuals or as entire families. In other cases, people are forced to move by environmental degradation and natural disasters that make their homes unsafe for habitation. Once labelled "refugees" this group of migrants are called Internally Displaced Persons – Adepoju (2006), Martin, Martin and Weil (op cit).

Over the last 30 years of independence (25th June 1975), Mozambique has been in a state of constant flux due to events related to natural hazards, economic, social and political upheavals. These events include the civil war of 1976-1992, flooding (1981, 1985, the 1990s and into the 2000s), the drought of (1980, 1983, 1991-4) and violent cyclones (1984, 1990s and 2000s). Such situations have forced migrants as well as refugees to cross regional borders in search for safety, making them all Internally Displaced Persons. Most affected by this displacement were women and children. No Mozambican province was unaffected by the war. As a result, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia received Mozambican refugees.

The UNHCR (1998) report estimates the civil war produced over four million internally displaced persons and 1,700 000 refugees who relocated to neighbouring countries. However, these numbers vary according to their sources. Wilkinson in is his article on Going Home: Mozambique revisited – Home sweet home (1998) says nearly two million people fled to neighbouring countries and an estimated four million people become internally displaced. However after the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992, the UNHCR was involved in the returnee operations. In this process about 1,700,000 Mozambicans were returned (Wilkinson).

The civil war between the FRELIMO (Mozambique Front Liberation) Government and the RENAMO (National Resistance of Mozambique) lasted sixteen

years from 1976 to 1992. On the 4th of October 1992, the civil war ended with the signing of a General Peace Agreement. This was followed by a repatriation program ending in 1994.

It has been argued the largest number of Mozambican refugees sought safety in Malawi, compared to other Southern African countries. Statistics have shown in 1989, there were up to 780 000 Mozambicans in Malawi while in the same year there were 31 000 Mozambicans in Zambia – Babu and Hassan (1994:234). Further, they say, in 1992, Mozambicans constituted about 17% of Malawi's population.

Therefore, a refugee represented two decisions. The first was deciding a move must take place and the second was choosing the destination. Mozambicans who had relatives in Malawi had no doubts as to where their destination would be. Earlier on, many Mozambicans had fled to Malawi to escape the "hat tax," forced labour, World War II and later, the Independence War. This refugee group also included Mozambicans who did not a want to live under the new Socialist regime.

"*My parents had to leave Mozambique and go to Malawi because they feared death. We lived in Malawi for more than 20 years. I got my primary education there but did not go for further studies because the family was involved in agriculture for our survival.*" (Ambrósio Massamba, Mandimba village 20th May 2005).

In Mozambique, forced population displacement is known to have taken place in the country even in pre-colonial and colonial times (das Neves 1998 and Covane 1996). During the pre-colonial period, slave hunting and later, coercive labour forced people to move into neighbouring countries. At the beginning of the 1960s, thousands of refugees fled to neighbouring countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi and later to South Africa and Swaziland. After independence in June 1975, the repatriation movement was established. Unfortunately, there is no information about how many people were repatriated since the UNHCRC was not involved. From 1976 up to 1992, the Civil War forced hundreds of thousands of people to also flee the country into neighbouring nations.

During the colonial period and during the Civil War, Malawi as a border country served many useful purposes:

a) It was a crossing point for potential guerrillas fleeing Mozambique;

b) It was a reception area for refugees seeking asylum or simply escaping coerced labour. Most who went to Malawi found work on tobacco and tea plantations.

c) Most of these refugees fled from Niassa, Zambezia and Tete provinces, bordering the Republic of Malawi in eastern part of Mozambique. All this cross-border movement was facilitated by the fact that the Republic of Malawi had common borders with Mozambique. And, during the Civil War, Malawi enacted a visa exemption allowing Mozambican refugee's easy access to the country. Also, the existence of transnational households helped to facilitate these movements. A former refugee explained most refugees in Malawi tended to be taken in and be absorbed by their kin and hence became "invisible."

Obviously these long standing relations between Malawi and Mozambique have created conditions for Malawi to either receive or turn away Mozambicans, as one former refugee revealed:

"I was born in Mandimba in Mozambique. I was a refugee in Malawi. Actually I am in Mozambique because Malawi no longer has the same conditions as there were during the civil war. Quite a lot of Mozambicans are returning. People are starving in Malawi". – *Issa* A. Mataka (Mandimba villager, 29th May 2005)

As can be concluded from this interview, Malawi functioned as a receiving area during the war but is no longer an attractive place to live due to the poverty and scarcity of land. Of course, at the time, choosing Malawi as a place of refuge was a matter of convenience of proximity. The intention of nearly all refugees was to return to Mozambique as soon as the war was over. Then, when peace was established, there was an exodus home but it mainly was made up of men. Female refugees, who arrived with parents tended to remain in Malawi. Bound by traditional customs, they were powerless to make the decision to return home.

A second example comes from Gerassi Dolosi, (Mandimba villager, 21st May 2005) who said: "*I was born in Massangulo, Mozambique. I am a former refugee of the liberation war and settled in Chiponde, Malawi. I settled there while I was single between 1964 and 1974. After the Coupe d'état in Portugal on the 25th April 1974, I returned to Mozambique. The first marriage I had was in Malawi. I got separated because my wife did not want to follow me to Mozambique. In Malawi, I left sons and daughters, cousins, aunties, nieces, nephews and grandsons. Right now, I am creating conditions to give them a portion of my land for cultivation because in Malawi there is no land and they are my blood.*"

Again this second example applies to what the first interviewee said. A long history of migration exists between Malawi and Mozambique and neither country can

do much to prevent people moving or staying. It does not seem to matter what the cause is, people simply go back and forth.

The civil war impacts

The FRELIMO/ RENAMO civil war lasted 16 years (1976-1992), creating approximately 5 million refugees (UNDP 1998). After the signing of the General Peace Agreement on the 4th October 1992, the UNHCR was involved in an operation repatriating Mozambicans who had taken refuge in neighbouring countries. It is estimated 1,700,000 Mozambicans were repatriated (see table 4.6).

Table 4. 1 Mozambicans repatriation by countries of asylum between 1992-1994

Country of refuge	Number of repatriated people
Tanzania	58,000
Malawi	1,285,000
Zambia	22,000
Zimbabwe	247,000
South Africa	71,000
Swaziland	17.000
Total	1,700,000

Source: UNHCR 2000

Mandimba, for instance, due to its border situation, accommodated countless people seeking safety. Strategically, the district was well situated since people could easily flee to Malawi.

The number of people who returned to Mandimba is not at all clear. However, it is obvious a good number of people returned to Mandimba because they feared losing their land and houses. And, they were confident that, in the event of more political conflict, they could return to their previous places of refuge, as some interviewees recounted.

The existence of family ties in Malawi facilitated many refugees since not everybody was forced to settle in the refugee camps. Many found sanctuary in the homes of relatives who had been living in Malawi for many years. I discovered some of the interviewees had relatives who had been settled in Malawi since 1930s and 1940s. They had been coercively relocated during the *Xibalo* for cultivation of cotton and other forced labour. The influx into Malawi was also fuelled in the 1960s when the liberation war intensified. I did not find any information about the numbers of people who were returned to Mandimba after the liberation war – neither at the time of independence nor after the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992. This was

because people were returned to Mozambique en mass and not to their individual districts.

Rural-urban migration

Bouare (2006), UN-Habitat (2008) and UNDP (2009) agree the growth of the urban population of a country has three components: natural growth (fertility and mortality), growth due to rural-urban migration, and growth due to the reclassification of census areas between two consecutive censuses. Reclassification, as Bouare says, entails the regrouping of small rural areas with urban areas, which results in an extension of urban areas. In fact after Mozambique's independence the first territorial reclassification was established in which former villages became towns and the towns became cities. .

The second reclassification occurred in 1986 when the city capital, Maputo, was divided into Urban districts instead of *bairros* and Maputo was separated from the city of Matola. This reduction in the size of Maputo city had numerous management implications. Its geographic size was reduced, but the population did not and more people continue to move in every day.

What are the causes for rural-migration? According to Bouare, rural-urban migrationin Mozambique has grown from 2,220,000 in 1985 with an average annual population growth rate between 1985 and 1990 corresponding to 0.32 per cent. In 1990, there were estimated to be 2,255,748 rural-urban migrants and between 1985 and 1990 there, were an additional 586,252 rural-urban migrants. As can be seen in table (4.2), rural-urban migrants in Mozambique have drastically increased.

Estimated number of rural-urban migrants, 1985-1990 to 2000-2005

Period	Rural-urban migrants
1985-1990	586,252
1990-1995	827,494
1995-2000	1,055,231
2000-2005	1,114,314

Source: Bouare 2006:56

To state the obvious, the number of people moving from rural into urban areas has resulted in an increase in the urban population. Table (4.3) demonstrates a clear distribution of provincial migrants into the city.

Table 4.3 Population distribution in the city of Maputo according to place of origin

Province of origin	1980 census			1997 census		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Niassa	266	217	49	764	495	269
Cabo Delgado	447	382	65	804	475	329
Nampula	655	550	105	2,183	1,347	836
Zambezia	668	501	167	5,688	4,255	1,433
Tete	432	354	78	1,024	609	415
Manica	251	197	54	954	552	402
Sofala	773	587	186	4,142	2,639	1,503
Inhambane	3,596	1,870	1,726	17,489	9,188	8,301
Gaza	6,167	2,870	3,297	12,680	5,725	6,955
Maputo province	2,907	1,290	1,617	12,690	5,466	7,224
Foreigners	303	190	113	10,293	6,567	3,726

Source: Instituto Nacional de Etatística, 1999; Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 1981.

The table above shows an interesting situation, characterized by an irregular number of migrants arriving in the city. The census data of 1980 demonstrates Gaza and Inhambane provinces, in southern Mozambique, represent the majority of migrants within Maputo city. The data reveals the trend of rural-urban migration started during the colonial period, gained more impetus with the increase of political instability in the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s (Raimundo 2008; Raimundo 2002; Araújo 1990; Muhanamoha 1999).

To a lesser extent, Northern provinces such as Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Niassa have their citizens represented in the city. However, excepting for Cabo Delgado and Niassa provinces, the 1997 census shows an increase of population from the other provinces, led by Inhambane followed by Gaza, Maputo province and Zambezia (central region). What has caused the relative decline of population from Gaza to Maputo, or the rapid increase of people from Inhambane and Zambézia provinces is still unclear, although the thesis offers some explanations.

Since is not the objective of this work, I will not go into much detail. Nevertheless, people wanted to live in more secure areas, which were mainly urban, although some Mozambican literature (Auaujo 1999; Muanhamoha 1999) points to the intensification of armed attacks in these provinces during the civil war as the main factor of the rural-urban move.

However, Knauder (2002) argues against using the civil war as the main factor to explain this rural-urban migration shift, referring instead to countries such as Zambia, which experienced a rapid population growth in its cities, but not during the

colonial or in a civil war. As a matter of fact, the UN-Habitat report of African cities of 2008 recognises this fast urban population growth as being due to cities and towns were centres of opportunity.

The difference in numbers, taking in account the place of origin, had puzzled me and is why I decided to do this study. I wanted to understand why these Northern provinces were not sending many people to the city?

The idea of distance as a discouraging factor was not really very convincing for me. However, I do agree with the postulation that moving in general is costly for people form poor backgrounds, and moving long distances is even more-so. Still, the reason for my doubt is the fact that the city of Maputo has received migrants from all its neighboring provinces.

Niassa province has been the smallest contributor because it is the poorest and least populated territory in the country. The World Development report of 2009 says the poor do not travel far because they can least affor it. However the people of Niassa have a long history of cross-border trade with Malawi and Tanzania.

After observing the numbers a second question soon arose: Why were women from Niassa province less represented in the city of Maputo compared to those from other northern provinces such as Nampula or Cabo Delgado? Linked with this question, I also tried to understand why female migrants from Gaza and Maputo provinces outnumbered men in Maputo? Finally, I realized, both women and men originating from the three far-distant provinces are generally quite scarce in Maputo city. As well, the women of Gaza and Maputo provinces out number men due to traditional male labour migration.

Some interviewees from these provinces said the following: "*We came to the city because our husbands are in South Africa. Some husbands have left their wives on their own for years.*" (Focus group Discussion, Maputo 5th May 2005. However, it must being noted some of these interviewed women did eventually follow their husbands in the process of family reunification.

This thesis serves to demonstrate the weak representation of some women is due to the matrilineal structure of their culture. In such a society, women low levels of business experience and are not compelled to follow their husbands if the men decide to change their place of residence. This is a very different lifestyle compared to the women from Southern Mozambique who lives in a patrilineal society. Migrant

women from the south generally have business savvy, earn money and often head their households.

Cross-border movement

Cross-border movement within Southern African region is not new. It has been said within the region, South Africa is the main destination of most of these movements. As a nation, it is a highly formalised and regulates business with a contract system. Still, with that said, irregular or clandestine movement across international borders is becoming ever more prevalent. Over the last several decades, South Africa has been accepting legal entrants and rejecting the "illegal" – but when they are discovered. Crush (2000) and Macdonald (2000).

Why are people engaged in border movement? People migrate in search of satisfying their many needs. Cross border trade – national and international provides a significant income-earning opportunity for entrepreneurs all around southern Africa. Such traders include: people who travel for short periods to buy goods to bring back to their home country; people who are involved in two way trade; people who only sell in another country; and people who buy and sell across more than two countries. Women are significant participants in informal cross-border trade across Southern Africa, seemingly comprising the majority of traders in most countries in the region (SAMP Migration Policy Series No9 and No.21).

Although it appears participation in the sector of informal trade provides opportunities for women's economic empowerment, traders operate in an environment shaped by gender which may affect traders' decisions, vulnerability to HIV, smuggling and other forms of trafficking.

Cross-border trade is a component of the "mobility population," which does not necessarily mean a change of residence is involved. To a lesser or greater extent such movement has a long history and is characterized by gender according to where the trade is conducted. Mozambicans, like residents of other Southern African countries, are constantly engaged in cross-border movements.

For Mozambique, this at the southern borders with South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe; the central borders with Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia; and the northern borders with Malawi and Tanzania. Differences arise from the structure of the local society. *It is unthinkable to see a woman from Niassa doing businesses in*

public places. …And particularly, to go off and leave her husband to do business is shocking. That task belongs to men." (An interviewee in Mandimba, 1st June 2005).

An interesting new phenomenon within the cross-border movement is the creation of a women's trade association in the city of Maputo. Here, the trade association's objectives are to find better ways to deal with customs and emigration officials. At last count, there were 8,000 women involved in the Associação Mukhero trade association. However old customs die hard so the association is chaired by a man.

In an interview several of these female traders agreed with the woman who said: "*We did choose Mr. Sudaka to be our leader because of the customs. They can easily deal as man by man.*" (Focus group discussion, Maputo 5th may 2005). Now the question begs to be asked: Was she referring to traditional customs or Customs officials? Either way, the going will be easier with a man at the helm of their association.

At a household level, the activities of these traders may challenge socially constructed gender roles. Limited existing research suggests women traders are more likely than other women to be heads of households and/or be the biggest income earner in their households, even when they have a partner.

There are a number of factors influencing the decision to embark in cross-border activity depending upon the region. The border characteristics of some Mozambican provinces such as Gaza, Manica, Tete, Niassa and Cabo Delgado undoubtedly promote cross-border migration into neighbouring countries. This is because they are rural regions with little or no development, offering few employment opportunities. (Raimundo, 2002; das Neves, 1998; Covane, 1996). This is evident in the growing body of literature examining cross-border migration to South Africa, which has begun to emerge (Rogerson, 1997; de Vletter, 1998; Peberdy and Crush, 1998).

Migration and the extent of household decisions

Citizenship and identity are still questionable and controversial issues in Africa. While there are Constitutions to define citizenship in any particular country, in this study situation, such constitutions are more often ignored, especially, as those concerned have argued, when relatives live on both sides of international borders. Physical presence in Malawi or Mozambique and theoretically being subject to the

rules of their respective Constitutions, does not take precedence over traditional values. This means in real life situations, Constitutional rights have next to no bearing within a family context. In this circumstance, citizenship cannot be separated from the concepts of family and identity. On the one hand, what does it mean to families who, for perhaps several decades, were forced to leave their country and lived elsewhere as refugees?

The legal concept of family defined by Mozambican law is a product of relations between people united by bonds such as marriage, parenthood, affinity and adoption. WLSA Mozambique (1997:45) says kinship is determined by generations linking relatives to one another. However, in Africa, one must take into account that kinships are formed not necessarily by people from the same descent. Instead, kinships are formed by people who not only belong the same lineage but are also kin due to the relationships developed as a consequence of conflict.

In relation to the definition of family, WLSA Mozambique (Op cit) says family is understood to be an institutional body where its members are socialised through established co-operative relations. According to WLSA Mozambique, the family as a socialization agent produces and reproduces values, rules and sanctions which aim to develop conformity and thence cohesion, regardless of the community to which it belongs. This definition tells us established co-operative relations can go beyond the local, national or regional borders. For academia and politicians, it is not an easy task to find a uniform criterion for classifying families independent of their ethnic, economic and social specificities.

The field work I undertook in Niassa province has shown there is a local concept of family. This has occurred either as a consequence of long-term exile where men and women married, constituted families and divorced. But in spite of the breakup, they still consider themselves to be members of the same family no matter what the border situation. This familiarity, it seems, was created as a consequence of sheltering during the time of exile.

Both situations have been used to facilitate movements of Mozambicans into Malawi and Malawians into Mozambique. The concept of family is a broad one and has to be viewed within the concept of citizenship. Citizenship via Constitution gives the right of access to natural resources and settlement. What significance does citizenship stipulated by nationality Laws have for these people?

For the population of Mandimba, citizenship has become transnational since they have relatives and kinfolk across both national and international borders. They do not identify themselves as nationals of any particular country but as members of the same family. The fact these family members may be living in Malawi or Mozambique is of little consequence.

One of the strong advantages of having transnational households is access to resources such as land. These people believe they have the right to perpetuate benefits on both sides of the border. One interviewee said: *"How can we understand how a son or a daughter or even a father or mother living in Malawi cannot have access to using land or forests in Mozambique if the father or mother or son or daughter lives in Mozambique?"* (Issa Mataka, Mandimba village, 29th May 2005).

The issue is: *"I gave them a portion of my land where they can do cultivation."* If the portion of land in question is situated inside Mozambican borders, then it belongs to the State of Mozambique. Land may be given to foreigners by the Mozambican State, but Mataka, or any other individual, does not have the right to give land to anyone.

A second exampl*e comes from Gerassi Dolosi, (Mandimba villager, 21st May 2005*) who said: *"I was born in Massangulo, Mozambique. I am a former refugee of the liberation war and settled in Chiponde, Malawi. I settled there while I was single between 1964 and 1974. After the Coupe d'état in Portugal on the 25th April 1974, I returned to Mozambique. The first marriage I had was in Malawi. I got separated because my wife did not want to follow me to Mozambique. In Malawi, I left sons and daughters, cousins, aunties, nieces, nephews and grandsons. Right now, I am creating conditions to give them a portion of my land for cultivation because in Malawi there is no land and they are my blood."*

Again this second example applies to what the first interviewee said. A long history of migration exists between Malawi and Mozambique and neither country can do much to prevent people moving or staying. It does not seem to matter what the cause is, people simply go back and forth.

Population mobility is often triggered by the degradation of agricultural land brought on by over-use. . However, migration can also be instigated by land conflicts as more and more people are now settling farther away from the main roads. And, the return of refugees is adding to the perception of overcrowding.

Of course, returning refugees do not regard themselves as refugees at all, they are simply Mozambicans returning to their homeland. From their point of view, they were forced to leave Mozambique because of adversities such as Forced Military Service, the liberation war and the civil war. The fact that they may have left more than 30 years earlier makes no difference. However, for the Mozambicans who remained home during all the conflicts and hard times, their take on the matter is quite different. They are not willing to accept these late-arriving returnees as true Mozambicans and here lay the seeds of potential conflict. As the historians say: Africans pay no attention to the borders created during the Berlin conference" (Covane 1996, das Neves 1998).

The choice of destination and migration networking

Research indicates migrants and potential migrants do not consider the alternatives when deciding when and where they will move. This was most certainly the situation for those forced to leave their homelands during the civil war, political instability or the many natural hazards befalling the country. Unfortunately, today, the same lack of planning is still the rule rather than the exception.

Generally, migrants tend not to consider more than one destination. Kin and friends function as their main source of information about a new and hopefully better place to live. In rural areas, there are long established traditions of migration to particular destinations. This is certainly the case for people from Gaza and Inhambane provinces. They have a well established history of labour migration into South Africa and there is a long tradition of trade between Niassa and Malawi and Tanzania. Internally, Maputo city attracts migrants from rural areas. As Penvenne (1985) says: "this pattern of attractiveness was established during the colonial period when the former Lourenço Marques was a transit destination into South Africa and an opportunity for employment in the ports and railways."

Nelson (1980), Oucho (201) and Adepoju (2004) agree the dimension for choice of destinations is often determined by the intended length of time to stay. Adhering to this premise could lead to a commuter experience rather than a migratory one. As well, members of household could temporarily move to nearby or even distant towns and cities to obtain work as laborers. This has been the experience of the Matusse family.

"When my parents married in the late 1950's, they moved into a town called Chibuto. After the birth of my eldest sister, my parents moved to the city of João Belo (actually Xai-Xai). Since my father found a job in João Belo, we moved to a near-by village called Chicumbane. The idea was my mother would work in cultivation. We lived in Chicumbane for three years and then we moved permanently to Maputo because my father got a job as a port as docker." (Clara Massimbe, Naputo 6th May 2005).

4.8 Chapter conclusion

It has been said migration is a response to differences. Citizens have used migration as a strategy against impoverishment, by searching for employment, safety, studies, and even for satisfying curiosity, as I found during my research. Individually or collectively, people are controlled by their desire to move their residence or to remain settled. The person's particular socio-cultural organization determines the extent to which each individual or gender can migrate or not.

As far as I know, migration as a trend, has occurred within the borders of all Southern African countries. Migration from and within Mozambican boundaries features a diverse configuration and responds to a multiplicity of needs. These drivers include economic factors, the environment, political climate, voluntary and involuntary actions as well as regular and irregular occurrences.

In the forthcoming chapters, indicators of the women's migration movement are presented with a deeper analysis.

CHAPTER V

Household Dynamics and Migration in Contemporary Mozambique

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the body of the thesis discussing migration characteristics in Mozambique. Mandimba and Maputo are two geographic areas with peculiar features. These differences vary from geographic location, economic development, socio-cultural characteristics and physical environment. The finding results are presented in a comparative manner in order to illustrate the migration dynamic in each area. Lastly, this chapter discuss the circumstances and factors contributing to making the decision to migrate. It is not accurate to simply say migration occurs because of inequalities in the regions or that poverty motivates people to move. The discussion takes the perspective of how gender relations are shaped in migration decisions.

It is a common knowledge Niassa province is one of the most derelict areas in the country and is known as a "forgotten place." According to the media and attested by interviewees in the city of Maputo, the region historically has not received enough attention from the government. Although it is the biggest province in the country and the cradle of the liberation war, it is undeveloped and deemed relatively unimportant, as is Cabo Delgado province.

This province welcomed the FRELIMOs guerrillas and provided for them. This information came from interviewed veterans of Liberation War, who are now located in Mandimba and Maputo. In general, the infrastructure is in disasterous condition. So, why in light of this situation, are droves of people not coming to settle in Maputo city like they are from the rest of the country? Why are women from Niassa not found in Maputo while women from other provinces, located considerably farther away, are flocking to the city?

As statistics from the first post-independence census in 1980 (Direcção Nacional de Estatísica 1980) show, there were 217 people arriving in Maputo city originating from Niassa province while 2,870 came from Gaza province. In 1997 the number from Niassa province increased to 764. Meanwhile, 12,684 arrived from Gaza in 1997 (INE 1999). Disaggregating this number by gender reveals 49 women arrived from Niassa in 1980 and 269 in 1997 (Direcção Nacional de Estatística and INE). As

can be observed there was tremendous growth of migrants from Gaza province and a very marginal increase from Niassa.

A glance at the existing literature about Niassa province provides valuable insight into the socio-cultural structure and organisation which has played such an important role in the process of migration, particularly among women. So in which district do I start? Of all the provinces, I decided the best place to start studying this issue was the district of Mandimba and I chose it for the following reasons:

a) It is a border district and could demonstrate the dynamics of cross-border migration;

b) A long history of cross-border trade existed with Malawi and long distance trade was also occurring with Tanzania;

c) Likewise, Majune district in the same province still retained a large number of people sent there during the 'Production Operation' program;

d) Majune district also had concentrated large numbers of veterans of the liberation war as well as soldiers demobilized by the General Peace Agreement;

e) Because of the richness of its soil, a significant number of in-bound migrants have concentrated here. It is a district fairly mixed with Ajaua, Nyanjas and Emakhuwa ethno-linguistic groups – and they are all matrilineal.

When comparing the census results of 1980 and 1997, I discovered a lower level of in-bound migrant females from Niassa coming into the city of Maputo. According to Direcção Nacional de Estatísticas (1980) and Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas (1999), in the city of Maputo, there was a total of 21,674 immigrants out of a total population of 718,334 in 1980. By 1997, 832,801 immigrants lived in Maputo out of a total of 940,603 inhabitants. This accounted for a 2.6 per cent increase in immigrants. Also in 1999, women from Niassa represented 0.06 per cent of the total immigrants in the city of Maputo. Inhambane province provided the largest number of migrant women – 1.9 percent – residing in the capital city. I realised my first question to answer was: ***why***? Why were women from Niassa not finding Maputo attractive?

Conversely, the city of Maputo is deemed to be the best locale to study since it is the capital of the Republic of Mozambique and the largest city in the country. It is also known as the destination city for people arriving from other provinces as well as other African countries. The best way to get answers for these questions was to analyse Niassa from many different angles, historical background, socio-economic and cultural organization as well as its geo-physical characteristics. In fact, this strategy helped me

to understand, but not answer all my questions about household roles associated with migration decision-making and choices.

Partially because of external events, the household form had begun to change from the traditional structure. These external events were basically brought on by the women's emancipation philosophy introduced after the independence as well as economic changes characterising a worsening of living conditions, to name just two.

This situation made it very difficult for me to fully understand the concept because, admittedly, I lacked resources. I did not have enough reference material or other empirical migration studies to help me make comparisons with other realities such as in the other two Northern provinces. In a general sense and without doubt, this is a pioneer study in Mozambique.

It intends to prove that although there has been rapid growth of urban population in the city of Maputo this growth has nothing to do with people arriving from Niassa. This study also intends to conclude the city of Maputo has grown by receiving people from other provinces, mainly from the south, rather than from northern Mozambique, where Niassa is located.

5.2 Household Dynamics in Rural and Urban communities

It is established fact rural-urban migration drives the urbanization process (UN-Habitat 2008; UN Development report 3009). The population of the world as a whole has been increasing rapidly, but in recent decades, the rise of urban populations has increased even more rapidly than the overall rate.

The movement of people from rural into urban areas has enormous consequences. Poverty, insecurity, lack of jobs, social pressure in the countryside make individuals and families decide to leave their homelands in search of a better life (Adepoju 2004; Jolly and Reeves 2005). They relocate in the hope of making a better livelihood in the city. Unfortunately, jobs are often equally difficult to find in metropolitan centres, resulting in unemployment and the growth of urban slums.

Scholars do call attention to the fact rural-urban migration is not solely to blame in urban-area population growth. Natural population increases must be taken into account as fertility rates are still high in these areas. Winge, in her study on migration and fertility in Mozambique (1998), concludes: there were still trends of high birth rates among in-coming migrants into the city of Maputo, corresponding to the habits of rural areas.

How do households organize their lives? How do they make decisions? Who in the household makes the decision for or against migration? And, to what extent has migration contributed to urbanization?

5.3 The Mandimba district and the city of Maputo: an overview

The Mandimba district

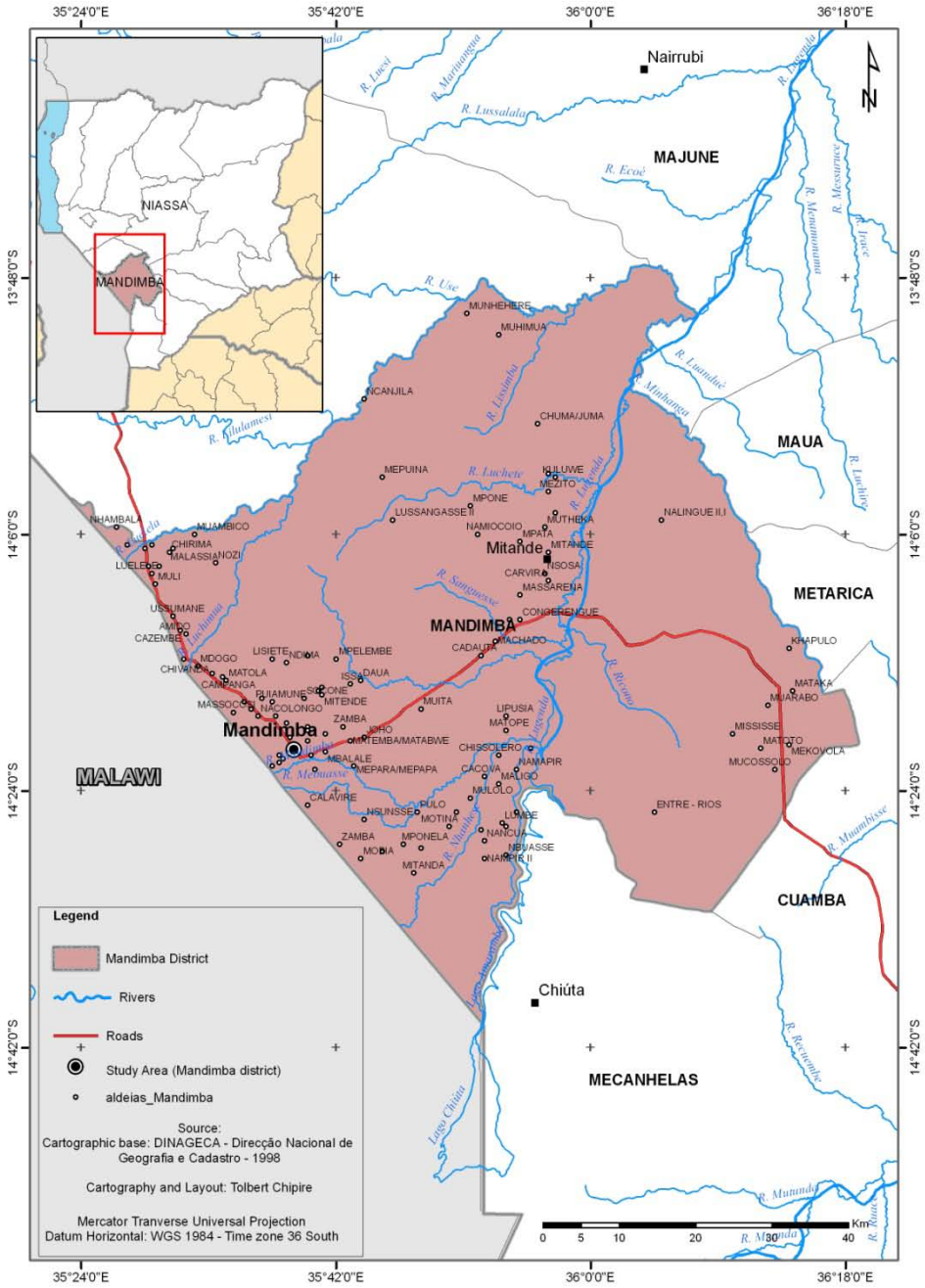
The district of Mandimba (see map No 5.1) has a surface area of 4,376 km^2, representing 3.39% of Niassa province. It is surrounded by Majune, Maua, Metarica, Cuamba and Mecanhelas. In the west, this district is bordered by the Republic of Malawi.

In 1997, Mandimba was a small city with a population of about 84,011 inhabitants. Men numbered 41,123 men and there were 42,888 women, representing 11.1% of the province's total population. Compared to the 36,920 inhabitants recorded in 1980, in the relatively short time between the first and second census (17 years), the district population had grown two-and-a-half times (Pililão 1989:24).

Mandimba district is divided by two[13] Administrative Posts namely, the Administrative Post of Mandimba and the Administrative Post of Mitande as well as several villages. The town of Mandimba is the district headquarters. In 1997, the community was comprised of 59,292 inhabitants, which was 70.57% of the total population of the district.

[13] There is a terrible confusion between the administrative divisions used for the 1997 population census and the administrative divisions currently in effect. This information was passed on to me by the district administrator. Although officially, there is not any territorial division beyond those made in 1986, a third Administrative Post was created in Lissiete. What makes things difficult is no similarity exists with the previous division. Internally, in villages, there is also confusion about classifications because there was a dispute over administrative limits between traditional leaders and chiefs of villages.

Map 5. 1 Mandimba district



How decisions to migrate are made in this district?

Generally, in Mandimba, the decision to migration is done within the so-called extended family. This means after getting her husband's consent, a woman may also have to consult her brothers or other relatives before she would be allowed to migrate. If the husband makes the decision to migrate due to a transfer or other situation, the wife can be allowed to follow him. However, there is a need to receive authorization from the extended family. There is a general belief among these people that women

should not migrate. They are of the opinion women will suffer in a strange place since her relatives would be living far away and unable to care for her.

"*My relatives did not give approval when I asked to follow/join my husband who was in Nassato. At the beginning, my husband told me it was his intention to move. This was because he had made some business opportunities I agreed to follow him. However, when I informed my parents about my husband's plans, they refused to let me go, saying I would end up suffering there. So I had to resignmyself to their decision and not to follow him. Their argument for not allowing me to follow my husband was: he wanted to take me into an unknown place."* (Verónia Salimo, Verónica Salimo, Naucheche village, 29th May 2009).

From this interview two issues arose: Firstly a married woman does not decide for herself and her husband's opinion does not count. Only her relative's opinions had any validity. Secondly, people do not go to unknown destinations, meaning: in this household structure, a woman may only settle in places known by her relatives. Thirdly, women's feelings are not considered. Fourthly, the relatives this woman instigated her abandonment by her husband. "*That is not important*," she said, "*since my brothers will be taking care of me.*"

From this story, we learn a woman in this society is tied by gender relations where her opinion, feelings and desires are not considered. In Mozambique, such autocratic systems remain in favour by virtue of the fact these people are still dependent on agriculture. Fortunately for them, this district has not yet had to cope with any land problems. Such rural communities are also dependent upon small trade. However the important questions to ask are: How much longer will this system last? How much longer will brothers be willing to support sisters and other extended family members and their children?

In extreme cases, brothers will accompany a sister during the time of her move. However, some empirical evidence indicates this does not occur in every situation, such as when a woman stays with relatives. Another deviation of this rule occurs when love enters the picture. Where matters of the heart are concerned, a woman is free to leave her relatives, to live with her man, without their consent.

Land access

Apart from the Land Law and what the Constitution declares in relation to land access, in Mandimba, there are several ways to access land. Land can be acquired

through inheritance, borrowing, and bestowment by traditional leaders, through associations and by purchasing it. The majority of people obtained their land through informal ways such as traditional leaders' concessions, borrowing or inheritance. None of the interviewees had a title deed. In practice, most access and use of land are made informally. This means people do not follow the strict letter of the Land Laws especially in reference to foreigners, like Malawians or Malawians-Mozambicans who hold dual citizenship.

In relation with women, customary laws say they only acquire land through the men on their maternal side. When married, if a wife does not reside in the parents' domain, then the land belongs to the husband. In regard to this issue, Lúcia Ianussa (Naucheche village, 24th May 2005) said the following:

"*I inherited land from my late husband where I have a house and do cultivation. He was a migrant from the other bank of the Incolua River. When my husband got the land, [it] was all bushes and he settled in a place closer to my relatives. In the case of a new marriage, I would have to leave this land and search for another one because this property belongs to my husband's relatives."*

In N'todooco village, the traditional leader Ndele Abudo (28th May 2005) said: "*The land is not sold. The practice is to give a portion of land, generally bush land, to who ever wants [it] for agriculture and housing. Women get land through their relatives, particularly from their brothers who are their land administrators."*

Upile Somange (N'todooco, 28th May 2005) said: "*The land I possess was given [to me] by the traditional leader. Getting land was not difficult since there was plenty and the traditional leaders were open to distributing land to all Mozambicans who were here as refugees or in exile. Besides, in this area, it is common to give land to someone who wants to work, no matter what his origin. There are Malawians who came here to ask for a piece of land. All we require is a report about their behaviour in their place of origin. Most bring a letter of introduction from their traditional leaders with them. In reality, they are not true Malawians. They are Mozambicans who were born in Mozambique and fled during colonial period or during the Second World War. They are what we call returnees. In Malawi, there is shortage of land while in Mandimba; there is plenty of land for agriculture and housing.*"

Teresa Rajabo, born in Cabo Delgado, in an interview (N'todooco village, 28th May 2005). said this: "*The land I am cultivating belongs to my mother-in-law. The land is not mine. I do not have my own piece of land.*"

Land can be bought, as stated by Ajubo Rajabo a cyclist known as Ngamia. His nickname means "camel" and was given to him because he is a rider. (Mitande 1st June 2005) "*I bought my land from a gentleman for 3,000,000.00 MT (3,000[14] MT). I paid that amount because it had sugar cane, banana and guava plantations on it. The land measured 1.5ha. The man who sold the land said [he] was in hunger. I bought it through the sale of seventy five bags of maize. The land is now cultivated by my wife, since I work as a cyclist. But it does not mean the land belongs to her. My wife has her own land inherited from her relatives. I do not give my land to her in order to prevent a separation.*"

Women can access land through associations as Feliciano Ajuma, President of the Associação Agrícola Umoja-Umoja Agriculture Association, Mandimba town, said on 3rd June 2005: "*The Umoja association congregates ten people and these people are involved in sunflower production and cooking oil production for retail sale. We got our land as an association. It was land from the former 400,000 ha project in Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces, under the project of development instituted by the then FRELIMO's government. It was one of the long-term goals for development. We received 350 ha of land. The project was initiated in 1996 during the reconstruction after the civil war. The project was called Umoja in Kiswahili meaning "unity."This was because the the people here joined former RENAMO's guerrillas and soldiers from the FRELIMO government and other villages. Two women who are part of this association joined with their husbands.*"

Zahia Abdala (Lissiete, 5th June 2005) said: "*I am working land belonging to my father-in-law. I borrowed the land from him since he had four parcels. In the meantime, my father-in-law lent another three parcels of land to other families who will return it to him when he asks for it. This was the agreement between the family and my father-in-law. We do not need any written papers since everybody in the village knows to whom the land belongs. Things have always worked like this. My father-in-law owns much land including property in Mitande.*"

[14]Actually $1 is equal to 24.8MT

Beliefs on witchcraft and its relation to migration

In every village where I interviewed people, I found s strong belief in witchcraft and wizards. These people believe in something called "*Chitega,"* in Ajaua;"*Nyana,"* in Nyanja; and "*Ukwiri,"* in the Emakhuwa language. According to the interviewees, it is a kind of witchcraft which paralyses the limbs and kills people. This *Chitega* or *Nyana* or *Ukwiri* is believed to have come from Majune district, in Niassa and from Tanzania. Interviewees agreed the phenomenon was new in their villages, having arrived in the 1980s due to famine and the movement of people brought on by the civil war.

Leo Geremias, the district director of Education in Mandimba (Mandimba, 30th May 2005) thinks *Chitega* came to Mandimba in 1986 because of hunger. People brought it with them from Tanzania when they were searching for survival. In that particular year, people were very ill.

Lúcia Milima (J. Nyerere village, 31st May 2005) said: *"In 1985, I witnessed a case of a man called Agostinho Michula from Majune district, Niassa. He was sent away by his father-in-law who discovered his son-in-law was using witchcraft. He discovered this because of the deaths of his 3 grandchildren. He consulted a healer who saw in his oracles the one responsible for the deaths of his grandchildren. And that person was his son-in-law. The healer told him the son-in-law was doing this because he was thinking of leaving his wife and decided to kill his children rather than leave them with her."*

For me, this finding was something new, since in my southern Mozambican background, only mothers-in-law and old men can become purveyors of witchcraft. In 2002, Raimundo (May 2002) found while researching, a history of a man in his 80s who had to flee his village because he was accused of witchcraft. Even the nurses in the clinics refused to prescribe him medicines arguing they only had medicine for young people like his grandsons and not people of his age.

In an interview with Alberto Canjauele, Malhangalene 'B,' the former district administrator of Majune, in the city of Maputo (, 3rd March 2006) the official said: "*The source of Chitega is Majune district. Chitega exists if someone has affairs with a married woman. The betrayed man sets a trap. It also happens in cases of theft of crops in the fields. They put out some medicines for protection. There are cases in which those who fall into the trap are not the thief, but are trapped by a mistake. There is no way to mend the situation. There are many people who do "Chitega" because of*

the high poverty and illiteracy. Some people think doing these things will improve their life."

Many people believe magicians have the power to kill. Interestingly, I found well-educated people who believed in the existence of witchcraft. This included the programme officer of the ASDI (Swedish Help for International Development) who said she believed in the phenomenon because she had experimented with it.

The district director of education; the acting chief Administrative Post and director of a school all said the uncle of the acting Administrative Post and director of a school had moved because of *chitega.* Another believer was the provincial adviser governor, who declared there were wizards in Niassa and this is why people refused to develop the area.

From literate to illiterate; from the well-established to ordinary peasant, belief in witchcraft is high and they believe in the power of animals.

Betty Manda says: "*That kind of wizard kills and mutilates. The witchcrafters use animals such as crocodiles, chickens, turtles as well as thunder to do witchcraft. The chicken chitega serves to paralyse the lower limbs and the turtle chitega serves to paralyse the upper limbs. This is why the most influential people and the well-educated, born in Niassa do not want to return in their homelands or build houses or have any other economic interests here, because they fear chitega.*"

Belief in *Chitega* has influenced people to decide upon migration. Verónica Salimo, a peasant and illiterate woman from Chikwenga village (7th May 2005) said the following in relation to this issue: "*People migrate due to misunderstandings between neighbours, gossip, envy and the witchcraft known as Chitega. I have never heard of people moving from this village because of Chitega. However, the village had received people coming from Mapichiche, in Majune district, who run away from Chitega. They claim there are many witches and wizards in that place. Also, there were [evil] healers who used medicine to paralyse peoples' limbs.…We do fear people from Majune.*"

The belief in *Chitega* does not allow people to develop or to improve their lives. This is the belief of Madalena Sambo, a former "un-productive" (Lissiete, 5th June 2005). "*My experience of life here is terrible, because in Lissiete, it is difficult to advance. To live in this land is, to me, prohibited by the naturals. In a sense, they do not want anyone to be more successful than them. They kill people because of that. They kill each other... They do it more to prohibit others than for survival. Lissiete is a*

land of chitega. Chitega is a trap for everybody. People change their residences and villages due to chitega. However, they move on a temporary basis since the land belongs to them. They only move temporarily to offload the chitega and to take a break. They stay away for one or two years, then they return."

Xavier Momade, 60 years (Lissiete, 5th June 2005) said: "*I worked for three years and then I decided to quit my employment because there was a lot of envy because I was earning a lot of money. I believe it was wise to quit the job and run away from the envious and wrong-doers. After military service, I returned to Nampula where I was employed at the Nacala port as an auxiliary topographer for road building at the quarry. This is where the stone was extracted for cement production. I left again because of witchcraft …In the year 1961, I moved to Monapo. I got work with a German enterprise connected with Sisal Enterprise. This was in, Nampula province. Between 1962 and 1965, I went back to JFS enterprise in Quissaca, Memba (Nampula). I ran away again because I was fleeing wizards and witchcraft.. Those ones put me in a state of madness. I was cured from the madness in Memba, where I lived for three years. ...People move away due to wizards and witch crafters. In this situation, when a man decides to flee from witch crafters, the wife, if she loves her husband, must follow him.*"

Belief in *Chitega* has, in some villages, become a valid reason for changing residence as Ernesto Bulaique (acting head of the Administrative Post of Mitande and Director of primary school, Mitande, 01/06/2005) says: "*My uncle had to abandon Mitande because he was accused of being an Ukwiri (witch crafter). He said goodbye to the traditional leader. He was accused of being a witch because he was succeeding in businesses. However, these kinds of conflicts are not frequent in the village. My uncle was making a lot of money. He moved to Mandimba town where he is still prosperous. That was in 2003.*"

It is important to make clear the belief in witchcraft and wizards is not solely an issue of people from Mandimba. Interviewed people in Maputo also believed in them. In a Focus Group Discussion (Maputo, 1st March 2006), women admitted they knew of some women who trapped others by using medicines with prejudice. This was done as a means to compromise those who were succeeding in there businesses. Therefore, it was important to always be protected. Most traders do visit traditional healers and also attend churches offering protection. Such churches include Zion and the Universal

Church of Kingdom of God. People, wherever they go, carry amulets or protect themselves against evil.

"*They go to healers in order to bring these things [about]. Some women do not care about killing their own children because of money. Others prefer to offer their wombs to the healers. They prefer to be bared in order to be rich. This is why the most of us do not travel "unprotected." Always, we carry amulets, which strengthen us. You cannot do businesses without these things. This world is full of envious and wicked people. Apart from these medicines, we as cross border traders, pray and carry rosaries in order to deal with the customs service, because it helps.*"

Regarding the issue of paralysed limbs, Simão Nauhea, the district director of health in Mandimba, (Mandimba town, 30th May 2005) said: "*...The so-called chitega is provoked by high [blood] pressure, which is a type of thrombosis or blockage and this causes paralysation of limbs." The issue is to discover the particular reasons for these high blood pressure blockages prevalent in the people of this specific district.*

The traditional power: The Mwene (King) and the Apwyiamwene/ Mbumba (Queen)

Traditional power has been recognized in Mozambique for generations with an interruption occurring just after independence until 2000. Historically, villagers and urban dwellers have been served by the traditional leadership and their form of power is acknowledged. For instance, in a land issue, consent from the traditional leaders is required in order to obtain a title deed. The importance of these traditional leaders also is invested into every matter of the villagers' lives – marriages, land disputes, family disputes, and even migration. This last consent is vitally important because the traditional leader must provide a "letter of transit," recommending the person or family who is moving away.

In Mandimba, traditional power is vested in *Mwenes (Kings)* and *Apwyamwenes (Queens*), the Grupos Dinamizadores and the administrative chiefs. However, due to long distances and for comfort, people prefer to turn to their traditional leaders. In fact, traditional leaders constitute the link between communities and the formal structure represented by administrative posts and the district administrator at the higher level.

The *Mwene* is the King and the *Apwyamwene* is the Queen but it is not like Western societies, where the Queen is the wife of the King or able to inherit the position by right of birth.I In Mandimba, the Queen is neither the wife of the King nor

the daughter of the King. The Queen, called *Apwyiamwene*[15] is someone who is related in some other way to the King or *Mwene.* She may be a niece, sister or cousin.

As Fernando (1996) said: An *Apwyiamwene* is one who knows the local rules, and the territory. She, by tradition belongs to the lineage and holds residence in the place of the ancestors. This role gives her a special status within matrilineage, but it does not mean she possesses power as all matters are ultimately sorted out by the *Mwene*. However, in matters involving marriage, men discuss the issue but do not take any decisions without consulting the *Apwyamwene* or *Mbumba.* This is because women are the ones who deliver children and therefore, the children belong to them. The *Apwyamwene* (in Emakhuwa) and *Mbumba* (in Yao) are women with children, nieces and nephews or grandsons.

To be a traditional leader or a *Mwene,* there is a preference for the nephew who is the son of the traditional leader's sister. The son of a sister is the real 'son' since he came from the womb of a woman of the family. Every matter respecting the family goes through this woman. Life histories of *Mwenes* and *Apwyiamwne,* following next will attest to this situation.

Manuel Salange (Chikwenga 8th May 2005): "*I have been a Mwene for twenty two years. Before 2000, I was working informally since traditional leadership was not recognized by the FRELIMO government. I work with an "Apuyamwnene." I chose one woman to be the 'Apuyamwene' because of her conduct and good relationship with neighbours. Also she was born here. A single mother cannot be an 'Apuyamwene,' since she is not a good example. The Mwene and the Apwyamwene sort out the problems of the community. The Apwyamwene conducts the traditional ceremonies related with female circumcision, death and various other issues the community members ask for her attention, as well as rain and the farewell to dead men.*"

Traditional authority, has changed since, in most cases, it is no longer linked to any real tradition. Some villages have been formed by in-bound migrants. This is the case with the majority of the villages surrounding the town of Mandimba. Thus

[15] Yao and Emakhwua languages are spoken in Mandimba. Emakhuwa is also spoken in Nampula, Zambezia and Cabo Delgado provinces. In northern matrilineal society, this is usually the sister or a close relative of the *Mwene* or traditional leader.

FRELIMO had to appoint new traditional leaders because there wasn't any history of lineage (Ambrósio Mário Massamba, Mandimba town, 20th May 2005)

"*The traditional authority in this community is not from the root like other areas. It is a community made up of in-migrants. It was formed by the FRELIMO party. They appointed people according to their behaviour and their time of living in the neighbourhood. The appointed people were: Ernesto Mutucula (recently passed away) and Queen Pitimazi (also recently passed way) who was from Majune. Recently Mr. Cana, who was born here, was appointed to be our traditional leader.*"

Usually, in marriages within matrilineal societies, the residence of the married man is in the wife's village or in her parent's house. However, in the case of leadership, the situation changes as in Mataka Mustafa's life history following next, (Nassato village, 24th May 2005), will attest:

"*I am 40 years old and married with four wives and twelve children. I am the Mwene of Nassato by inheritance. I succeeded the late Chief Mataka. I am an Ajaua. As a traditional leader, I have the right to take my wives to my own house. If I were not a leader, I would live in their houses and I only could afford to have two wives. They would live in two different houses but would be neighbours. As it is now, I can afford to maintain all these wives since I have plenty of land. I feel happy and there are no clouds in my relationships. In the case of a divorce, I would return the woman to her parents' home. If she wanted, she could marry again.*"

A traditional leader cannot perform tasks designated as those a Mwene should perform, as Mataka Mustafa said:

"*Before I was appointed traditional leader, I use to do agriculture and other business. I used to buy sarongs in Nampula to sell them in Mandimba. Also, I used transport passengers by bicycle to Malawi. When I was appointed Mwene, I resigned from all that in order to pay full attention to community matters. My terms of reference are to sort out problems, counselling people, and provide land distribution to those who want property for cultivation, housing and resettlement. Besides that, I survive through agriculture which I do with my wife but the land belongs to me.*"

Angondo Poze (Naucheche village, 24th May 2005), was appointed Apwyamwene by her brother who was a *Mwene*.

"*Being an Apwyamwnene means I perform Unhago; male and female circumcision. I was appointed because of my [exemplary] behaviour. But it could have easily been another woman from another family. The succession will be difficult since I do not have daughters and my granddaughter does not want to learn these things. So, the only alternative was to appoint one of my nieces. The late community leader was called Ngunga and was replaced by a nephew whose name was also Ngunga. So the succession came from the uncle to nephew… I am the intermediary among the families and the administrative authorities in cases of natural disasters or hunger. During the 1980s, due to starvation, I had to ask for food at the Provincial Department of Combat of Natural Disasters. I received maize, beans and cooking oil to be distributed to the people of my village. That food went to women and elderly people. As for ceremonies, As an Apwyamwene, I perform* ***Unhago*** *– circumcision. – I receive 50.000MT (50Mt) for each youth. This ceremony occurs once each year. Nowadays, we do circumcisions during the school break because in that ceremony, the youth must stay in the bush for a month."*

The next comment came from a *Mwene* from Mitande village.

*"My name is Bacar Chali. I am Mwene of Mitande, and also I am known by the name Regulo Namassonjo (*Mitande village, 1st June 2005*)…I was born in Maua. I came with my parents who moved to Mitande during the Second World War. This was when people where fleeing from Tanzania, Mozambique (Zambezia) and Malawi. My parents got refuge in the Mucopopo River, the source of the Rurunmwana River* between *Zambezia and Nampula provinces. The entire family ran until they reached Mitande, the place where there was no war. The surname of the family is Muchirma. During the liberation war, I did not move since it was a safe place. I became Mwene after the death of my maternal uncle. At the beginning, my eldest brother was chosen. He had to resign because he was not a reconciler. He was highly contested because he was very aggressive and emotive. The family did not like him. He decided to leave the village and migrated to Malawi… I got an Apwyamwene, who is my niece, Mutxetxa Wapa... Long time ago, the traditional leaders formed new villages by cleaning up the bushes…"*

The *Mwene* does not only sort out problems, he also provides counselling to the villagers, and he guarantees the safety of the villagers as the next life history demonstrates.

"During the civil war, I use to do ceremonies of sataca and utheka which consisted of brewing an alcoholic drink made of maize in order to not to be attacked by RENAMO's guerrillas. These ceremonies were done under a shadow of the mutholo tree that produces fruits to eat. Some traditional leaders fled to Malawi… I have experienced three wars – the Second World War, the Liberation War and the Civil War" (Bacar Chali).

Apart from these terms of reference, he also receives and helps people who are in need. Such people may include refugees and those who arrive and ask for land because they have fled their places of origin due to hunger or conflicts.

N'doa, T'chuma, Chigunda and Lobolo as Marriage Socio-Cultural Practices and its implications for the Migration process

The WLSA Mozambique, points out there are several forms of marriages or unions accepted in Mozambican culture. De facto unions, lobolo, religious and civil unions take various forms from region to region, and all are recognised. However, only non-polygamous unions and other local forms of marriage may be registered in the Registry Office. The Registry Office Code, article 4, specifically does not recognise polygamous marriages.

In the south of Mozambique, marriage is an exchange of services and assets between families where *lobolo or* "compensation" is obtained by the wife's family. This establishes the link between the two families. Polygamous marriage is frequently observed in families where one of the male members is a minor. In this context, the first wife enjoys great influence and her first-born has the power over all the children of the other wives.

The lobolo, in turn benefits the brother of the wife (and the father) to obtain a wife. This has a double significance which is both material and symbolic. *Lobolo*, as WLSA Mozambique says on page (49), legitimises inequality by representing the transfer of power from the wife's family to the husband's family. This also transfers responsibility for her support to the husband's relatives, and makes the wife a collective "property" of the new family.

Interviewees in Maputo told me failure to provide *lobolo* is a serious matter. If the husband dies, his first born or other sons might have to pay lobolo in their father's name to the grandparents.

After the independence, lobolo and other forms of traditional unions had to be done clandestinely. This was because the FRELIMO government was against lobolo, arguing these forms of wealth-transfer were oppressive. They were associated with obscurantism and colonial domination. The struggle against such practices was linked to women's emancipation (quoting WLSA Mozambique).

Domingos Fernando, in his study on "Social organization in the traditional society," says: in matrilineal and patrilineal societies, there are specific ceremonies and rites following marriage, these varying from each community or ethno-linguistic group. In both matrilineal and patrilineal society, there is a rule for residence, and where the bride must migrate within the function of the society.

If it is a patrilineal society, the wife moves to the husband's residence. In a matrilineal society, the husband moves to the wife's residence or village. Polygamy is more common in patrilineal societies than in matrilineal societies. In patrilineal societies, there is the practice of *lobolo*, which is considered matrimony compensation. In matrilineal societies there is no tradition of *lobolo*.

Among Ajaua and Emakhuwa ethno-linguistic groups, there is no tradition of paying for a bride. What the Ajauas conduct is a ceremony called *tchuma*. This custom consists of offering new suits of clothing to the fiancée's parents and grandparents. In the case of divorce or separation, the '*tchuma*' is returned, particularly if the fiancée is no longer a virgin. The guarantee of the girl's virginity comes from her parents. In the event of returning a fiancée, the parents must pay an amount of money equal to the value of cash and merchandise received for bride.

The ceremony of returning money is called *chigunda*. This is why, during the *tchuma* ceremony, people always make a list of the gifts given. In the event of a separation or divorce, there is a written record of the dowery received and precludes the chance of anyone being cheated. An interviewee further explained with the following: "*The amount of money paid during the ceremony serves to guarantee the virginity of the fiancée. If the bride is not a virgin, then the wedding will not take place.*"

Actually due to the influence of people from the south, the amount of money paid is seen as a sign of virginity. Over time, the amount offered has increased sharply. In southern Mozambique, lobola requires a lot of money as well as cattle and sarongs." As João M. Vilanculos a former un-productive said (Mandimba 1st June 2005). This

also was corroborated by the group of men interviewed in N'todooco village (23rd May 2005).

Sadie Malindasse (30th May 2005) speaking about the practice of lobolo said: *"It is a way of giving responsibility to someone. Actually, people no longer want responsibility. They just make an agreement with each other and inform the parents. They prefer cohabitation instead of following the rules like in the past.*"

However, among Muslims, there is a practice of paying *Ndoa.* This is a symbolic traditional ceremony consisting of asking permission to marry a girl or to enter into the fiancée's parents' house or community. However there is an exception with *Ndoa* payment. Ndoa is only paid in the case of a first union. Subsequent unions do not require any Ndoa payment. Of course, there is another situation as described by Angondo Poze:

"*My first husband, who passed away, was Muslim like me and he was supposed to have paid Ndoa. However he did not pay because the brother-in-law of my late husband moved to the city of Maputo. That was right after the independence. The failure of not paying Ndoa has resulted in many misfortunes and I haven't got any man to marry with."*

The *Ndoa* is very important to Muslims as Vitória Abudo (radio operator at the administration of the district, 29th May 2005) explains. "*This ceremony prevents children's illnesses.*" Additionally, Angondo Poze said, "*It was because of the lack of Ndoa that the child I had with my first husband died."*

Due to women's heavy dependence upon their brothers, their marriages tend not to last long. The length of a typical Muslim marriage varies from 1 to 10 years. Several reasons were offered to justify this situation as are demonstrated in the following several statements:

"A marriage can end because it has to..."

"It can end because women are not for sale, unlike in southern Mozambique..."

"It can end if the husband is not happy..."

"It can end if the parents' do not like the son-in-law..."

"It can end if there is not religious compatibility..."

"It can end if the husband misbehaves..."

"A woman can abandon the husband when he is not able to provide her with adequate living conditions."

Because of this expected brevity of marital unions means the people of Mandimba move around frequently. Another reason for this male transiency is the search for a better life following the collapse of a marriage. But more likely it is because the men had joined their wives' families when they married.

Additional to these comments, the duration of marriage is influenced by numerous factors such as:

"Interference by the parents-in-law in the life of the couple." and "The refusal of wives to follow their husbands in cases of transfers."

In conclusion, there is a belief *Ndoa* plays an important role in protection, particularly safeguarding children from "unexplained" illnesses. However, generally speaking, marriages and other foprms of unions in this region do not last very long. This seems to happen whether the couple makes use of *Ndoa* or not. It is a common issue among the Ajaua and the Emakhuwa.

This brief duration of marriages has contributed to high inter-village mobility. It is typical, after the end of a marriage, that a man will likely move to a different village in order to look for another woman. Following tradition, when he marries, he is expected to stay in the new wife's village or parents' house. Once the marriage ends, there is no reason for the man to remain. "*What he wants,*" as Angodo says, "*is plenty of distance from that family.*"

Survival Strategies

As for people living in urban areas, there are specific situations when people will accept assistance that is more associated with practices in the rural areas. Many rural dwellers will argue that most survival strategies used in urban areas came from the country setting. "Helping" is a common practice during harvesting and in times of emotional need such as funerals. Men will dig the graves for the funeral and mourning while women carry firewood and water, grind maize, and do the cooking. In Ajaua, this practice is called *Chipani* and has its roots in the Muslim religion, as interviewees corroborated.

Poverty

Several UNDP reports report poverty is high in both rural and urban areas, but with greater incidence in rural areas. Nevertheless, what I have found in Mandimba district demonstrated some factors placing people in poverty are related to itinerancy, their belief in *chitega* and poor investments.

Itinerancy contributes to a lack of land tenure and does not allow time for regular cultivation. Additionally, belief in witchcraft plays a significant role in influencing the ways of production. To makes things worse, people have moved from food production into tobacco cultivation, making them more dependent upon food aid.

Cultivation of tobacco was introduced in 1994. This came about as a result of the influence exerted by the João Ferreira dos Santos Company (JFS). This corporation urged farmers to shift from food crops in favor of merchandise crops like tobacco and cotton and the farmers complied. And, according to interviewees, this was said to be a more marketable product. Albino Camela from N'tondooco village (23rd May 2005) had the following to say:

Nowadays, we are starving because we no longer produce food. We were deceived by the JFS[16]. That company offered us bicycles, tobacco seeds and fertilizers but we had to pay them back for these. To make things worse, that the company does not classify our tobacco fairly. They argue what we grow is of poor quality."

I found this same situation in the villages of Mitande and Meluluca, where extensions of fields, organised by families, are occupied by tobacco crops instead of maize, beans, cassava or tree fruits. Now, people do not have money and are in debt with the JFS Company. Presently, peasants are facing difficulties in continuing with production because tobacco prices are not good and the buyers always try to classify their tobacco as low quality.

In fact, the issue of cotton incitement has a long history as people were easily convinced to embark upon this kind of production. At the time, farmers were coming out of a civil war which had destroyed all their assets and belongings. They needed to start somewhere and cash crops seemed like an expedient way to reorganise and get on with their lives.

The next testimonies attest to the extent tobacco incitement, itinerancy and lack of investment have been perceived and how they have contributed to poverty.

16

"*There is no reason for poverty. There is money in circulation.Mandimba cannot be a poor district since it was once a land of millionaires (kwasheiros). They manage millions (thousands) of meticais per day. It is estimated 8 to 9 billions (actually million[17]) of meticais... Also, Mitande is one of the richest villages in the district. In itself, it can afford to feed the entire district including other areas."* This was said by Saide Malindasse, Superintendent District Commandant of Police in Mandimba (Mandimba, 30th May 2005).

According to Ernesto Bulaique, acting chief of the Administrative Post of Mitande, "*It was usual to find Malawians and people from Nampula and Zambezia provinces and Cuamba coming to buy maize in this village. It is a very productive village and according to provincial statistics, it contributed 75% of the maize and sorghum produced in the district of Mandimba. Mitande and Meluluca are the richest villages in this district because apart from land we have plenty of water, lakes and fish. Lissiete is another very productive village. It possesses wild animals like gazelles, lions, elephants, wild rabbits, wild chickens, monkeys, and so-on. There is no reason for famine. The problem is, people from this side of the country, who are well established in Maputo, forgot about their places of origin. They are busy developing other areas and never invest here. That is a pity.*"

It is suspected poverty exists due to the strong belief in witchcraft. Madalena Sambo, a former "un-productive," (Lissiete village 5th June 2005) says: "*The belief in witchcraft impels people to itinerancy. Thus, food security becomes a problem as it does not 'let' people remain long enough to grow fruit trees or to establish long-term agriculture and other productive activities like building a better house.*" Poverty is also caused by lack of investment. Since the huge investment of the 400,000 ha. project ended in 1986, there has been virtually no development in the region, apart from the cotton investment of the JFS corporation.

Tuaibo Belo, Dairosse Ayeme, Saide Lichinga, Quénesse A. Rubalo, Amurai Mualeva, Eduardo Mpipa (FGD, Lissiete 5th June 2005) were in full agreement with the following:

"*We have land and wild animals but no one is interested in investing here. We need jobs and a better life. The district used to have a railway node but it was*

[17] Personal comment. Since 2005, the currency has changed in Mozambique as millions were devalued into thousands.

destroyed during the civil war. We have plenty of water from the rivers and lakes and we have fish. So why are people not investing here?"

Finally, it must be acknowledged poverty is also caused by itinerancy. The simple truth is people do not stay in one place long enough time to allow for crop cultivation People often move away due to the collapse of their marriages. And, to a lesser extent, the issue of ephemeral marriages has affected women in their agriculture production.

Health Infrastructures

Mandimba district possesses two Health Centres. A Type I centre is located in Mitande and a Type II facility is in a town called Mandimba. Other villages in the region were also served by these Health Posts. The Type I Health Centre possesses a laboratory, a maternity unit, a pre-natal office, a dentist's office (only for teeth extraction) and 17 beds to accommodate patients. The Type II Health Centre has 10 patient beds but no laboratory, pre-natal consultations or a dental office. Although Type III Health Centres do not have beds for patients, they have freezers for vaccine conservation, a consultation office and a pre-natal office. Such centres also provide in-the-field sexual reproductive health services for youth.

HIV/AIDS is common among the highly mobile population. This can be attributed to a variety of factors as well as socio-cultural practices. According to Jackson (2002), AIDS is indeed a tragedy in Africa, having far surpassed any other major killer on the continent. When it comes to gender, Jackson says gender inequity and inequality are critical elements in the spread of HIV in Africa – in how people are cared for when they are sick, in what happens when they die and in who inherits what.

Like people everywhere in the world, Mandimbians are not immune to HIV/AIDS infection. Factors contributing to HIV infection include all forms of mobility, both national and international; lack of awareness about safe sex, poverty and gender equality.

The following interview excerpts provide insights into just how transient marriages prevalent are in Mozambique. Multiple sex partners and partner exchanges appear to have become the norm.

"*When the husband does not behave properly, he can separate from the wife and the wife can marry to another man...*"

If the husband wants to move or change residence and the in-laws do not allow him to take their daughter, the marriage can end."

If the wife does not love the husband, the marriage can also end."

This casual attitude towards marriage makes it common for men and women to be married twice and often, several times. *Accordingly, the adult population is considerably more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS since people are joined with several partners without knowing their health status.* (Simão Nauhea, 30th May 2005).

Education

Mandimba, according to the district education director, Leo Jeremias (Mandimba town, 30th May 2005), is served by one secondary school in the Administrative Post at Mitande. The school was built by the Catholic Church. It has two classrooms with desks where 39 boys and 1 girl were taught by 4 teachers. There was also one school of EP2 level in Mitande. It also had two classrooms, complete with desks. One hundred and fourteen male pupils and 17 females' pupils at the 6th and 7th grade levels studied there under the supervision of 9 teachers. At the Mitande Boarding School, there were 47 pupils – 34 boys and 13 girls.

Overall, the remainder of the district had 32 functioning primary schools but none of them had desks. In total, there were 4,570 pupils registered, with 2,936 boys and 1,634 girls. The total number of teachers was 85. Table (5.3) illustrates the situation of illiteracy in the district of Mandimba.

Table 5. 1 Illiteracy rates of people ageing 15 years or more by sex in 2004 in %

Niassa	**Total**	**Males**	**Females**
	69,0	52,2	84,2
Lichinga city	45,2	28,1	62,9
Mandimba district	75,3	60,0	89,2

Source: District administration and Leo Jeremias; Mandimba, 30th May 2005.

Meeting livelihood

In Mandimba, males earn their livelihoods by being involved in the following occupations: bricklayers, drivers, cyclists, money-exchangers, street vendors, and teachers. They also engage in odd jobs such as road builders and seasonal workers on farms. The district is made up of farmers who take advantage of the property of the former 400,000 ha. project. In 2002, they initiated cattle-raising. On Thursdays, men trade at an open trade fair in Malawi. There, they sell maize to Malawians and from them; they buy sarongs, bowls, groceries, etc.

This trade fair is mobile occurring in Chiponde, Malawi on Thursdays and in Mandimba, Mozambique on Sundays. Men are involved in numerous casual jobs such as: passenger recruiters for the taxis. Some also do cultivation by contract in a system called *ganho-ganho.* They are paid at the end of each working day of digging and cleaning boreholes, earning between 50 to 80,000MT (80Mt). Payment varies according to the deal struck by the worker.This means the worker can be paid with either food or money.

Females do cultivation of maize, sorghum, beans, sugar cane, bananas and vegetables. In the year of the interview (2005), production was lost due to the scarcity of rain. However these women had other survival tactics at their disposal. Women also sell fried cakes made of banana and wheat flour, called *Icamulantima.* Each cake is sold for 500,00MT (5 Mt). Some women, particularly those who are involved in associations, do crochet work as another way of generating income.

How do migrant women cope with natural hazards and agriculture failure?

Historically, people have known how to cope with natural hazards in the following ways:

a) Through cultivation in the lower land of the Lugenda, Ngame, Incolua, Lupelele, Namapili, Zimichila and Mandimba Rivers.

b) To complement their income, women sell products and handicrafts from their backyards, since they are not allowed exposure to the general public. The worst drought registered occurred in 1995 and people of this district were fed by donations from the DPCCN/ACNUR. They received maize, oil, beans, sugar and domestic tools.

d) Working at odd jobs such as the selling thick sand for construction. This kind of sand is used specifically to build walls and is mixed with cement. "*The suffering opened our eyes in order to find any survival strategy,*" as they said. (Carlitos Matuwaia, Lissiete 5th June 2005).

Migration and Place of Birth

Place of birth represented another controversial issue in Mandimba. When I asked the interviewees about their place of birth, I soon realised the responses received were not the localities of the hospitals where they had been born. Instead, it was the place where their parents, particularly the mother had been born or the place where the parents where living by the time of his or her birth. Many asserted they had been "born

accidentally" and not in a hospital. What they meant was births had occurred in the village with the assistance of a traditional midwife. They could not accept being born in a town while the mother was from a village. So, those who were born in the hospital in Mandimba town did not consider themselves as being born there. Instead, they clung to the notion they were born in the village their mother came from. This issue came up repeatedly with the interviewees, but this was because their parents had told them they where born in the villages rather than the hospital in town.

The city of Maputo: a background

Maputo occupies approximately 300 km^2 and has an estimated population of 1,216,873 (INE 2005). The city is divided into 5 municipal districts (I, II, III, IV and V) and 2 city localities; Catembe and Inhaca Island (Table 5.4).

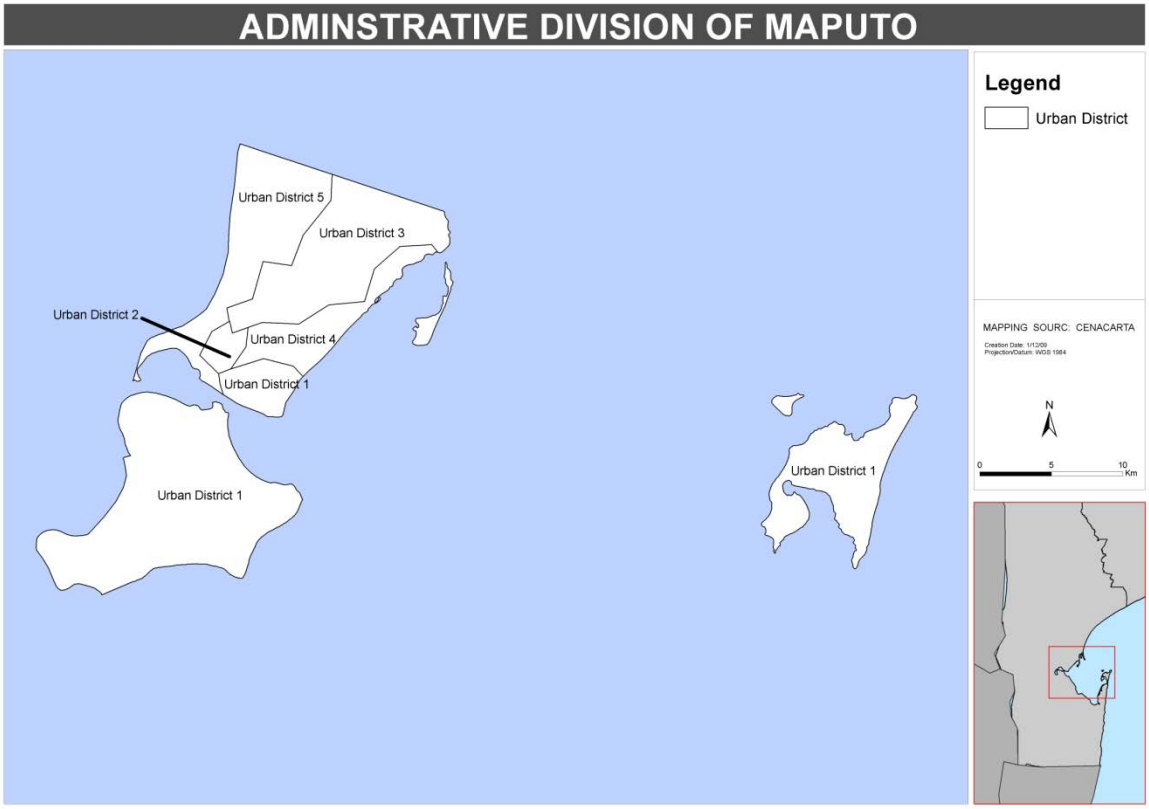
Table 5. 2 Administrative division of the City of Maputo

Municipal District No. I	**Municipal District No. II**	**Municipal District No. III**	**Municipal District No. IV**	**Municipal District No. V**
Alto Maé A	Aeroporto A	Mafalala	Costa do Sol	Jardim
Alto Maé B	Aeroporto B	Maxaquene A	Laulane	Luís Cabral
Central A	Chamanculo A	Maxaquene B	Mahotas	Inhagóia A
Central B	Chamanculo B	Maxaquene C	Mavalane A	Inhagóia B
Central C	Chamanculo C	Maxaquene D	Mavalane B	Nsalene
Polana Cimento A	Chamanculo D	Polana Caniço A	Hulene A	25 de Junho A
Polana Cimento B	Malanga	Polana Caniço B	Hulene B	25 de Junho B
Coop	Minkadjuine	Urbanização	Albazine	Bagamoio
Sommerschield	Unidade 7		FPLM	G. Dimitrov
Malhangalene A	Xipamanine			Malhazine
Malhangalene B				Magoanine
				Zimpeto
Urban Locality				
Catembe Sede	Chali, Chamissava Guachene, Inguide			
Inhaca Island	Inguane, Nhaquene Ridzene			

Source: INE 1999

Maputo (map 5.2) is situated on the south-east coastal zone of Africa, in the southern extreme of the Republic of Mozambique. It is bordered by the city of Matola – the main Mozambican industrial city – to the south, Marracuene district to the north, and the Mozambican Channel to the east (MINED-Atlas Geográfico Vol. 1 1986; Santos 1985).

Map 5. 2 The city of Maputo



Source: DINAGECA 1999

Up until the time of independence in 1975, Maputo, formerly named Lourenço Marques, was divided into two areas dubbed "concrete" and "cement." These areas were inhabited by Whites and Coloureds, respectively. A third area was called the "reed," and was a *bairros* inhabited by Blacks (Knauder 2000). Colonial policy limited the settlement of black people in the "concrete or cement" areas. Only a few educated blacks, who had renounced their African culture and known as *assimilados*, were allowed to take up residence there. Nonetheless, given the generally unfavoured position of blacks, in terms of access to education and better employment, the majority of blacks could not afford to live in the "concrete or cement" areas.

After independence, the city was further divided into three areas. The first was the central nucleus – solid buildings – which are basically the richest area of the city, made up of Sommerschield, Polana, Coop and Triunfo *bairros*, Central, Malhangalene and the Alto Maé *bairros*. All are part of Municipal District Number One.

The suburbs, which occupy the largest area of the city, are mostly comprised of buildings made of reed, wood and zinc sheeting. *Bairros* such as Malanga, Chamanculo, Xipamanine, Aeroporto, Benfica, Malhazine, Hulene, Laulane, Forças

Populares and 25 de Junho have quite poor infrastructure and facilities. These make up the Urban Districts 2, 3 and 4.

Lastly are the Peri-urban areas with rural characteristics and made up with true *bairros* like Zimpeto, Mahotas, Magoanine and C.M.C[18] (Santos 1985; Araújo 1999; Knauder 2000). These neighbourhoods comprise the third division of the city and are part of Urban District number 5. Most people in Maputo live with poor sanitation conditions, with inefficient drainage and waste management systems. The overtaxed drainage system was built in 1949 and benefited from improvements between 1982 and 1989. These improvements, however, did not include the peripheral neighbourhoods (Hordjik et al 1989; UN-Habitat 2004). Only a few of the richest areas of Maputo are served by a ditch system which drains away sewage water.

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

Table 5. 3: Language

Mother Language	**Total**	**Age Group**		
		5-19	**20-49**	**50+**
Portuguese	25.1	33.4	19.1	10.1
Shangana	34.1	34.1	33.4	37.3
Ronga	20.7	21.1	19.5	25.4
Chopi	5.0	2.9	6.5	8.2
Xitswa	4.8	3.3	6.4	4.9
Bitonga	4.1	2.1	5.5	7.4
Other national Mozambican Languages	4.1	1.3	7.1	3.3
Foreign Languages	1.1	0.5	1.4	2.7
None	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Unknown	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.6
N (in thousand)	832.8	391.4	375.2	66.1
Total (in %)	100	100	100	100

Source: INE 1999

[18] An acronomous result of an Italian Company responsible for the housing of people who were resettled because of the construction of the Maputo-Witbank freeway (1990-2000). This area also accommodated people affected by the flooding of 2000 (personnel comment).

Poverty Dimension in the City of Maputo

Negative consequences of rapid urban sprawl include unemployment, increased crime, overcrowding plus a sharp rise in demand for amenities and services. In the years 1996-1997, the INE conducted the "1st National Household Survey on Living Conditions in Mozambique" (IAF) and, although there is no separate data available on the fully urbanized suburbs, the results provide a telling look at the lives of Maputo's average citizens.

The IAF data shows earnings from regular employment accounts for only 52% of the total household income in Maputo; 42.5% in the provincial capitals; and 47% of the urban areas, in general. The IAF reveals income from the informal economy is responsible for 24% of total income; income from family production accounts for 8%; remittances – mainly from family members working in South Africa – 5%; and other sources accounts for 11%. Considering these results from Maputo, the IAF shows that about 52% of the entire population lives below the poverty line.

Urban Migration

As detailed above, Mozambique has undergone rapid urbanisation over the past 30 years. This has created a situation where over one-third of the current population is urbanised (Araújo 1999; Knauder 2000; Muanamoha 2000). Such a high rate of urbanization has brought about enormous problems relating to urban poverty, including diseases such as cholera malaria and meningitis. Also related to this is an increase in unemployment in Maputo, and a subsequent rise in the number of beggars, street vendors, sex workers, and people involved in the informal economy (Op cit).

After independence, the reasons for rural-urban migration included:

1. independence as a right to live in the city,
2. lack of available schooling in the countryside,
3. civil war, which spanned 16 years,
4. property nationalization,
5. and the perceived attractiveness of living in the city (Araújo 1999; Knauder 2000; Muanamoha; 2000).

Additionally, urban population growth in the Maputo city is related to the high rate of fertility which characterises rural migrants. For example, population growth of Maputo between 1980 and 1991 was around 4.5% yearly. This is high

compared to the national percentage of 2.2% for the same period (Muanamoha 2000).

Between 1980 and 1991, there was a large rural-urban movement into the city as a consequence of the increase of civil war activity. Thus, there was a rapid growth of informal settlements according to place of origin such as the Magude *bairro.* Here, the majority of dwellers are people from Magude district in Maputo province. The mid 1980s witnessed the exacerbation of the civil war in rural areas. Urban centres and their surrounding areas turned out to be the only relatively safe places to live. This was due to the strong presence of the army in urban Maputo and surrounding areas. As a consequence, rural people moved to urban areas seeking protection and opportunities of employment.

However, from 1992 until the present, in the wake of sustained peace following an end to civil war, Mozambique has experienced a relative decline in its urban population (Araújo 1999; UNDP 1998; 1999). During this period, Maputo has witnessed the movement of people from rich areas to poorer *bairros* such as Zimpeto, Maxaquene, Magoanine, Laulane, Mahotas, etc. This shift began in the early 1990s as a direct consequence of escalating living costs resulting from the introduction of a series of Structural Adjustment Programmes during 1980s.

Population distribution in the city of Maputo

Census data shows between 1980 and 1997, the population of Maputo was mainly concentrated in 7 *bairros.* These *bairros* all were in reed suburbs. These were Chamanculo "C", Hulene "B", Luís Cabral, Malhangalene "B', Maxaquene "B", Polana Caniço "A" and "B." Magude, an informal *bairro* within the Urbanização *bairro*, resulted from the rural-urban movement of people who fled the war, mostly arriving from the Magude district. In 1997, more *bairros* faced population explosions of their own. Some affected barios were: 25 de Junho "B," Bagamoio, Ferroviário, George Dimitrov (Benfica), Hulene "A," Mafalala, Mavalane "A," Maxaquene "A" and "D" and Xipamanine.

The reason for such rapid population growth in the suburbs was the sharp increase in the cost of living after the civil war. People decided to buy their own houses rather than rent flats in the city but could only afford to do so in the pooer parts of the city. Consequently, a depopulation of the "concrete" areas such as Sommerschield, Polana, Coop, Central and Alto Maé began at the same time. Thus, the

replacement population into these areas were people with wealth, such as diplomats and international workers.

The years between 1987 and 1997 illustrated a differentiated population growth among *bairros* having a yearly growth rate of over 10%. The *bairros* where this situation occurred were Costa do Sol (39.8%), George Dimitrov (17.4%), Zimpeto (15.4%), Magoanine (14.9%), Urbanização (14.1%), Laulane (11.9%), Polana Caniço "A" and "B" (11.3%). During the same period, some *bairros*, such as Costa do Sol, George Dimitrov, Zimpeto, Magoanine and Urbanização doubled their populations.

Census data of 1997 indicates 39% of the city's population (distributed as 40.4% males and 37.7% females) were migrants. This data, from 1980 and 1997, reveals there was a relative decline in terms of population movement into the city. However, the proportion of female migrants in 1991 compared to male migrants shows the female population is actually greater than males. Empirical evidence has shown that between 1997 and 2005, there was another growth spike in urban population. This was mainly because those who tried to return in the rural areas after the civil war were faced with a paucity of jobs and other opportunities and decided to return to the city.

Typology of migration streams

According to the 1997 census, 11% of Maputo's 966,800 residents were foreigners, while 4.2% were of unknown citizenship. Among foreigners, most were Portuguese. The 1980 census data demonstrates Gaza and Inhambane provinces in southern Mozambique, represented the source of the majority of migrants within the city. This can be attributed to the trend of rural-urban migration due to the capitalization of agriculture and the proximity of the province to the capital during the colonial period.

To a lesser extent, Northern provinces such as Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambeze have also had migrants move into their capital cities. However, except for Cabo Delgado and Niassa province, the 1997 census shows an increase of population from the other provinces, markedly represented by Inhambane followed by Gaza, Maputo province and Zambezia in the central region. What accounts for the relative decline of population from Gaza to Maputo or the rapid increase of people from Inhambane and Zambezia provinces is still unclear.

However, some authors such as Araújo (1990; 19997; 2005), and Muanamoha (2000) point to an intensification of armed attacks in these provinces during the civil

war and, as a result, people fled to more secure urban areas. A study undertaken by Raimundo (2002), advanced the possibility that people from Gaza also had opportunity to flee directly into South Africa or Zimbabwe since its geographic position allowed them to do so. This was not the case for Inhambane where the sole alternative was to escape to Maputo as this province does not have international borders.

Table 5. 4 Population distribution according to the place of origin

Province		1980		1997	
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
Niassa	266	217	49	495	269
Cabo Delgado	447	382	65	475	329
Nampula	655	550	105	1,347	836
Zambézia	668	501	167	4,255	1,433
Tete	432	354	78	609	415
Manica	251	197	54	552	402
Sofala	773	587	186	2639	1,503
Inhambane	3,596	1,870	1,726	9,188	8,301
Gaza	6,167	2,870	3,297	5,729	6,955
Maputo province	2,907	1,290	1,617	5,466	7,224
Foreigners	303	190	113	6,567	3,726

Source: Direcção Nacional de Estatística 1981; INE 1999.

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics

In this section, I explore the demographic characteristics of the inhabitants of Maputo city. Unfortunately, for the purposes of this thesis, a large gap in information exists within the available records as they do not separate migrants from non-migrants. However, secondary source information suggests in more than three quarters of the peri-urban areas, household heads of families are migrants. Also, there are migrants and second generation migrants living in the urban areas. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics considered were: age, sex, and marital status, composition of the household, literacy, housing, water, religion, and profession/occupation.

Age

The 1997 census data shows 40% of the population of Maputo was under the age of 15. The median age was 18.4, while those 65 years and older comprised only 2% of all people in the city (INE 1999). In the 1980 census, youth comprised 44% of the population and those 60 years and above represented 6.3% (Santos 1985). These statistics, therefore, show a small growth in the percentage of adults. The data from 2000 (INE 2001) shows a relative decline in the percentage of young people and a relative growth in the percentage of the elderly who then comprised 3.1% of the population.

Table 5. 5 Population distribution by sex in Municipal districts according to the census of 1997

Municipal District	Total	Male	Female
N (in thousands)	966,8	473,7	493,1
Total	100.0 (%)	100.0(%)	100.0 (%)
I	16.0	16.4	15.6
II	16.8	16.9	16.8
III	21.8	21.7	21.8
IV	23.6	23.4	23.8
V	21.8	21.6	22.0

Source: INE 1999

Education

According to 1997census data, only 15% of Maputo's population could read and write. The illiteracy rate varies according to age, with older people having lower rates of literacy because in the past they did not have the opportunity to receive formal education. As well, the in-bound migrants arriving in the city, particularly from southern Mozambique, were illiterate. The illiteracy rate is three times higher among females than males. This is primarily due to the priority given to boys in education and secondly because of early dropouts from primary and secondly schools. This can be attributed to the fact females are involved in income generation from a very early age (UNDP 2001).

In the year 2000, the UNDP (Op cit) development report provided an educational attainment breakdown of the city of Maputo with the following findings: Primary School 1st grade (87.9%), Primary School 2nd grade (7.9%), High School (3.1%), Technical and Professional School (0.8%) and Higher Education (0.4%).

Religion

Religious organizations in Maputo are important institutions for socialisation of both internal and external migrants; especially refugees. Even though Catholicism has existed in Maputo since the beginning of the colonial era, the city is mainly made up of followers of Zion. The Catholic Church takes a distant second place. Other religions and those without a religion are shown on table (5.8).

Table 5. 6 Population distribution according to Religion

Religion	%
Zion	38.7
Catholic	21.6
Protestant-Evangelic	9.6
Muslim	4.6
Animist	2.3
Hindu	0.2
Others	3.5
Without religion	15.9
Unknown	3.7

Source: INE 1999

Housing

A good measure of poverty is the quality of housing in which one lives, and whether they have access to services such as a clean water supply, sanitary facilities and social facilities such as schools and medical centres. In the peri-urban area, nearly half of the houses are built of reed (caniço) giving rise to the naming of such areas as "cidade de caniço" (reed city).

Knauder (2000) found the majority of people in Maputo lived in private housing (99.1%), with less than 1% living in collective housing. The homeless rate stands at 1.1%. Approximately 70% of the city population lived in apartments and "town houses." The remainder lived in informal settlements such as shanty houses or reed houses. Given that about 77% of heads of households in these peri-urban areas are migrants, it is likely most migrants live in informal reed houses. Apart from living in informal dwellings, migrants in peri-urban Maputo did not have appropriate access to municipal services, including piped water, water drainage schemes, collection of domestic waste, electricity in some areas, road maintenance, clinics, schools, etc.

The IAF research shows 11% of the houses in the peri-urban areas of Maputo have only one room, while 44% have two rooms, 19% 3 rooms, 17% 4 rooms and 10% more than 5 rooms. As indicated above, foreign migrants live in the urban areas. They have access to services such as electricity and piped water. However, there are illegal migrants coming into Maputo from foreign countries. Some rent flats or house annexes in the urban areas. Typically, they are engaged in self-employment, mainly informal trade and hair cutting.

Lighting and cooking fuel

The most commonly used lighting source in peri-urban areas is paraffin lamps, followed by electricity and candles. Almost one hundred percent of households within the urban limits of the city use electricity. For cooking, about half the families in the peri-urban areas used firewood; 35% in the "cement" areas used gas, and 50% used electricity Knauder (Op cit). Through interviews, this thesis demonstrates the level of poverty present in the capital city. Although electric service is readily available, numerous households situated in the city's "cement area" use candles and standing paraffin lamps for lightning. This is indicative of the scarcity of funds to pay electric bills as most of these households have had their power cut due to lack of payment.

Employment

As discussed above, Maputo has an important percentage of migrant people – especially in the peri-urban areas. Given the low literacy rate of internal migrants living in peri-urban areas, finding formal employment is a great challenge (.UNDP 2006). Many of these people are employed in the informal sector of the economy. Some, especially women, are among those who are engaged in cross-border trade. Anecdotal information suggests both legal and illegal foreign migrants find their way to Maputo for employment. Many engage in self-employment such as small-scale trade, hair cutting/hair dressers, dress making and shoemakers.

5.4 Rural Migration in Mozambique

In this section, my intention is to outline some of my findings about rural-migration in Mozambique. For this thesis, a study of Mandimba, a rural district located in northern Mozambique was conducted. It is clear trying to quantify how many people left the rural districts specifically after the 1997 census is extremely difficult. However, it is quite evident the city of Maputo, the prime destination for most migrants, has grown due to migration.

However, rural-urban migration from Mandimba into Maputo is still represented by a small number of people. This thesis demonstrates there is virtually no linkage between rural northern Mozambique and the city of Maputo. Several interviewees said they did not have any links with the capital city. Meanwhile, interviewed immigrants revealed their linkages with their places of origin really did no longer exist. Some said this was because of the long travel distance and others said

they feared wizards. In Mozambique, it is quite common for people to generally believe every misfortune in life is caused by bewitching.

During the fieldwork, it was quickly discovered people do wholeheartedly believe in witches. This belief affects the type of buildings and can be a potent push factor leading to migration as the life history of Xavier Momade (Lissiete, 30th April 2009) tells. Mr. Momade has moved from place to place because of his fear of witches. According to him, he was once well-off and people became envious of him. At some point, he said he "went mad", but was cured in Memba, his homeland in Nampula province. Later, he ran away to Lichinga, the capital city of Niassa province but once there, he again faced problem with witches. He next moved to Lissiete where he has lived for 5 years and has not met with any serious problems.

As in Momade, in the course of my fieldwork, I discovered similar experiences.

Unfortunately, in this study, I did not locate any immigrants coming from Mandimba who had moved on to live in the city of Maputo. I was told by several interviewees that they also did not have relatives in Lichinga, the capital city of Niassa province. Instead, the Mandimbians have links with Malawians and Tanzanians and to a lesser extent, with people from nearby provinces like Nampula and Zambezia.

Mandimba district is similar to most other Mozambican border districts, having a long and significant internal/cross-border migration situation. It is a district where itinerant agriculture is very prevalent, thus there is high population mobility. After harvesting, itinerants leave their homes, moving to nearby cities. In Mandimba district, they tend to move to the city of Chiponda in Malawi. Others gravitate to Cuamba district and Lichinga, the provincial capital, where they work in a variety of jobs before returning to their villages to plant for the next harvest.

The history of migration in this area dates back to the early 1940s and the tobacco plantations. "*In that period, many men had to flee from the colony's coercive labour and the hut tax. They moved in the direction of Malawi*," says Mr. Ndele Abudo, a traditional leader of N'tondooco village (24th May 2005) and Bacar Chali or chief Namassojo from Mitande village (25th May 2005).

Eduardo Mpipa, (M'báwe village, 23rd May 2005), who was born in Mitande village, said: "*I do not have relatives in Lichinga or in the city of Maputo. But I do*

have [relatives] in Malawi who are people who asked for refuge during the colonial period. They fled the coercive cotton cultivation."

Table (5.9) indicates the number of people who arrived in the district between 1992 and 1997 as well as those who left during the same period.These statistics indicate in-bound migrants actually out numbered out-bound migrants. "*The reason for this was because Mandimba had plenty of land and it was easy to access. The crime rate was very low and there was plenty of money to be earned,"* reported Feliciano Ajuma Munhahele (Mandimba headquarter, Nyerere village, 20th May 2005).

Table 5. 7 Number of migrants in the district, 1992-1997

Local	Total population in 1997	In-migrants	Out-migrants
Lichinga city	85,758	15,103	5,290
Mandimba district	84,011	3,249	2,556

Source: INE 1999, table 4.1.1

In-bound migration

Mandimba's in-bound migrants were constituted by a multi-differentiated group of people with various backgrounds. At the time, these people were classified as "non-productive," "the re-educated," "refugees" and "returnees." This particular in-bound migration was facilitated through social networking with family and friends in Malawi, in the closest provincial districts, or internally from the districts of Niassa. Most of these migrants were people who fled the bombings and massacre in *Xibalo*, the liberation war and the recent civil war and knew exactly where their relatives were located.

Most of these arriving migrations created a good deal of confusion among the formal structures. This is because it is not very clear who was who or to which community they belonged, since families had been split during the civil war. This unfortunate situation still remains.

However, for the traditional leaders in the communities, this confusion did not exist. They did know who was who, as Albino Wasse, traditional leader of Meluluca (6th June 2005) verifies.

Over the years, this confusion has worsened because of land access and use. The District Director of Agriculture says: "*Due to poverty, Malawians, or those who pretend to be Malawians, came to do cultivation in Mandimba. They claim to being*

Mozambicans and they introduced themselves to the Mwenes. These Mwenes accepted them without consulting the official structures."

Apart from those who have come searching for land, there are other groups seeking jobs. Manuel Salange (Chikwenga, 8th May 2005) says: *"I left Marrupa in 1972 in search of employment. When I got married, the relatives of my wife decided to follow me in order to stay closer to their sister, since I was taking her away from her village of birth… I came to Mandimba because it was easier to be employed."*

In fact, Mandimba is characterized mainly by in-bound migration rather than outward-migration as statistics and my interviews demonstrate. It is an attractive location compared to the other districts of Niassa. Interviews, demonstrate there is nearly no linkage with Lichinga, the capital city of the province. "[*People migrate here*] *even though there is a lack of infrastructure like healthcare and education. It is still much better staying here than in other places. Our ancestors, brothers and land are here. So why should we move out?*" (Ngunga Gumila, Naucheche village 2nd June 2005).

Outward-bound migration

In this district, people seldom move away – especially to the southern provinces of Mozambique. To the contrary, this community receives people from the other neighbouring areas. It is very attractive because it has large tracts of land and maize grows very well. However, most move into the community on a temporary basis, and leave due to soil exhaustion and *chitega* (witchcraft). Then, after a certain period of time, no more than 3 years, they return.

However, quite a high number of young men and women move from Mandimba to Lichinga since there are many businesses there. Most of these youths work as walking-sellers. Besides out-bound migration, these youths are involved in the money exchange business and bicycle transportation.

However apart from these reasons, young people relocate "*because of the easy life they believe they will find in these other places*" as Xavier Momade an ancient of 60 years (Lissiete, 5th June 2005) says. "*The youth move, searching for employment, women and feasts; because they think that they will find the easy life… Nowadays there is no sex distinction. Boys and girls move for the same reasons.*"

Itinerancy

For this study, I define the term, itinerancy, as the movement of a household to another village on a temporary basis (less than 2 years), with a perspective of returning later. The assumption rook into consideration that some causes responsible for initiating a move would eventually no longer be valid. Such reasons could be *chitega* and envy. There were also moves precipitated by the search for employment or the government in the case of job transfers. Employment transfers from one Administrative Post to another cause civil servants to move within the district as well as inter-district movement within Niassa province. However, in all the research conducted, not one case of a Madimbian having moved to Maputo was found.

Several reasons for itinerancy were indicated by the interviewees. Such moves may merely be to the other bank of the rivers or to other nearby villages or even to the unoccupied bush. But these people do not usually move distances more than 40 km, which are the limits of their district. During the war, they used to stay closer to the border. Evaluating the research revealed the following reasons for itinerancy:

a) Itinerant agriculture due to the land exhaustion. Itinerancy has been facilitated by the accessibility of land; the existence of a vast fertile and untilled land;

b) Itinerancy is also caused by the infestation of weeds that grow faster than the crops. Since people are using rudimentary tools, they are unable to curb such weed growth. Some burn the fields to destroy the weeds and enrich the soil, but others prefer to move on, taking advantage of extensions of unoccupied bush.

c) Witchcraft, which paralyses people's limbs and kills;

d) The death of more than one member of the same household or village in a short period of time period, such as a month;

e) Job transfers in succession. However, few civil servants working in Mandimba district have experienced several transfers over a short period of time. "*They disorganize their lives,*" one interviewee said.

f) Misunderstandings between neighbours;

g) Fear of another war.

The status of itinerancy also has its own social and economic impacts. Apart from the benefits mentioned by the interviewees such as regeneration of the soil, 'offloading' *chitega* and seeking safety during the civil war, itinerancy also had negative impacts upon education, health, agricultural production and land tenure.

Because of their peripatetic lifestyle people, do not register their land. They do not possess title deeds to prove the land belongs to them and only customary laws serve in those cases. Generally, the people in such communities do recognise the owners of such land but this places them (the owners) in a situation of permanent dependence upon the memory of the villagers.

Besides these effects I have mentioned itinerancy also affects the types of housing built. These houses tend to fall apart as they are hastily constructed and often remain unfinished. Typically, they are small and without gardens or fruit trees.

Ernesto Bulaique wears many hats. He is the acting chief of the Administrative Post of Mitande, director of the primary school and coordinator of Zona de Influência Pedagógica-Pedagogic Influence Zone (Mitande village, 1st June 2005). In relation to the topic of itinerancy, he said:

"*In Mitande village, nomadic agriculture is very common, and is accompanied by regularly moving residence. There are two types of people movements. First, there are those who move permanently and second, those who move temporarily. By that I mean they are absent for a period of 3 to 5 years and then they return. It is very easy to get land in Mitande since there is plenty of bush land. People move in every 3 or 5 years and if they do not fill their granary, this is reason enough to move on to another area in search of better soil. It is not difficult for these drifters to return to the land they previously occupied because they do not abandon it completely. They leave some trees and a hut and that's enough to lay claim. During the civil war, people used to move into different areas, settling according to the position of the government army. The youth move out to the bigger villages because they do not like to do agriculture work. They want to be more involved in businesses. Other reasons for moving away are search for employment, as well as misunderstandings among relatives and neighbours.*"

Ajubo Rajabo, a cyclist from Mitande (1st June 2005) said people often migrated due to soil exhaustion. However, they also tend to migrate in circular movements. These migrants moved from Mitande to Chitenge, a distance of only15 km. His personal experience of itinerancy occurred between 1995 and 1997 and 2000 and 2003 to Lissiete. He turned to this rootless life because, for three years, he was not able to fill his granaries or grow even twenty bags of maize on a 1,400 m^2 plot. There

have also been cases of family misunderstandings and these can impel people to move out. And, if more than two people from the same family die in the same year, this is ample reason to change residence because they would fear *chitega*.

Suspected witch-crafters and single women are regularly forced to move out of these villages. Married women feel threatened by single women who, they believe, "a*re dangerous and they incite affairs*" with their husbands. Thus, single women are "urged" to move on in order to "not disturb" the married women.

In general, itinerants tend to settle alongside the roads, especially when they are close to the villages or towns. When these drifters travel far from villages or towns, they tend to settle in the far interior. Amongst these communities, the most mobile people, or most itinerant, are comprised of clerks, radio operators and nurses.

Itinerancy, in general is disruptive to family life since the heads of these households may have experienced several transfers in rapid succession. This means no permanent settlement, no house and no land security for the family. This also explains why women attached to itinerant men have to farm borrowed land for cultivation.

More often than not, they are also not in what they regard as their own homeland. Transferred men in some situations, opt to leave their household members behind. Still, most insist on taking their families with them to the new place of work. As some interviewees said, they feel like they are living soldiers' lives because they have been transferred so many times.

In general, itinerancy obstructs all projects related to school and clinic expansions, for both the planners and the households. Nevertheless, these transfers are often positive in the sense that these people were exposed to new environments and they gained some additional skills.

Cross-border Movement

Cross-border movement is characterized by people moving back and forth over national and internationational borders. In Mandimba, Mozambican men cross regional borders into Malawi and Tanzania for trade purposes. As well, their counterpart women cross these international borders in order to grind maize and other cereals. They also visit relatives in Malawi, but will never venture long distances as the men do. This kind of movement has existed for several years.

Malawians also cross into Mozambique for trade and some come into the country in search of land to cultivate. This activity is, according to Biché Timamo,

Chief of the Crossing Post of Mandimba (Mandimba 4th June 2005) part of what he called ***"clandestine agriculture."*** This is the term used when Malawians enter into Mozambican territory for the purpose of engaging in agriculture. *"This is allowed to happen,"* he said, *"under the connivance of some traditional leaders. [The authorities were] assured by the traditional leaders that those who were coming [across the border] were Mozambicans who had been living in Malawi for more than thirty years, but they were not.*

Management of the flow of people crossing the Mozambique-Malawi border still remains a difficult problem. Cross-border familial links were created during Mozambique's civil war, when thousands of Mozambicans received refugee status in Malawi. And today, with so many families having relatives on both sides of the border, it is virtually impossible to determine who is a Mozambican and who is not.

Sisters, brothers, sons, daughters and even parents of a single family may reside on either side of this international border. And, in the case of divorce, the situation can become even more complicated. The forrmer wife and children can be Malawians while the former husband is a Mozambican. Such circumstances were frequently found in the study area.

At the Mandimba crossing point, which has been in operation since the colonial period, a distinct "bending of the rules" takes place. In this and many other areas, people living within a 5 km radius of the international border crossing are allowed, by the border guards, to go back and forth across the boundary, without identity cards or any other documentation. This happens because so many people do not possess identity cards but have had long-established residences on both sides of the border.

An average 25 to 30 Mozambicans per day ask for a border-crossing permit or other documentation as Mr. Timamo (4th June 2005) reports. The number of Malawians who cross the border with a permit varies between 75 and 80 people per day (Timamo, 4th June 2005). This, of course, is only necessary when they use the formal borders. Malawians enter Mozambique to buy maize. They are not required to pay duty on maize if quantity they are taking home is not more than five bags. Custom services only charges duty on such goods weighing 200 kg or more. Generally, these cross-border shoppers carry two cans weighing about 20 kg each.

The border crossing is open from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. However, many border violations occur since people try to avoid paying duty tax. This mainly happens with

those who are carrying more than 200 kg of maize. It is difficult to make the local people understand that they mustto follow the rules. This is because their prevalent argument is: "*they are our people,"* as the immigration officer at the border disclosed.

From the crossing post until one reaches the Ngauma district, a distance of 100 km, there was no habitation at all, only bush country. This section of wilderness provides easy opportunities for tax runners and those wanting to cross the border illegally.

In Milange, Zambezia province, the frontier was demarcated by the Milosa River and the Chire River. At the time of my fieldwork research, there existed a visa exemption agreement between Malawi and Mozambique dating back to the colonial period. Malawians were required to pay a border tax equivalent to two American dollars.

Several forms of transport – trucks, bicycles, vans and motorbikes crossed at this border. However, what made life hard for the villagers in this mountainous area was the lack of adequate transportation and very poor road conditions. According to my interviewee's responses, women did engage in cross-border trade. However, in this particular distritct of my study, women – single or married – are not allowed to sell in public spaces.

This is the exact opposite of practices in southern Mozambique, where cross-border trade is considered "woman's" work. An interviewee, Mataka Mustafa (Nassato village, 24th May 2005) says: "*A married woman is not allowed to sell [products] or to do other kinds of businesses publicly as she would be exposed to other men [not from her family]*." In fact, it is difficult to find women originally born in Mandimba and of matrilineal discent, in public markets. I did see some women in the markets but was told they were women from Maputo who move into the area during the time of the forced migration.

It is interesting, even though they live in Maputo and may have done so for a very long time, women and men with a matrilineal background perpetuate their custom of not allowing the wives to sell in public spaces. The only place these women may conduct business is in their front or back yards. That is why it is still very difficult to find a woman from northern Mozambique who is a *mukherista*. Most of these cross-border traders come from southern Mozambique. Some can argue this is because they are still "foreigners" in the city. However, it is clear from my research; such activity is linked with the custom of women not being exposed to public spaces.

Female migration

Jolly and Reeves (2005) state: individuals may migrate out of a desire for a better life, or to escape poverty, political persecution, or social/family pressure. Often, it is a combination of factors which may play out differently for women than would for men. Gender roles, relations and inequalities affect who migrates and why, how the decision is made, the impacts on the migrants themselves, as well as on the sending areas and the receiving areas. However, migration can also entrench traditional roles and inequalities and expose women to new vulnerabilities as the result of precarious legal status, exclusion and isolation.

Women in matrilineal society are not forced to follow their husbands. Every move in this society is determined by the parents and uncles. Because women are not obliged to follow their husbands, this is why so many marriages end, as several interviewees verified.

In the course of the interview process, I found one instance of a single young woman who had made the decision to relocate to the city of Maputo. Her reasoning was quite valid: she was old enough to make the decision and she was an orphan. She did not need to ask for permission because there was no brother or uncle to ask and consequently, there was no one to forbid her from going, says Bacar Chali, chief Namassojo from Mitande village (25th May 2005).

For women in general, married or unmarried, it is unthinkable to independently leave their parents' community of their own volition. This is because they, as a people, settle according to their family lineages – where their brothers manage their lands. They are expected to live near their parents', uncles' or grandparents' houses. It is very difficult for women to relocate unless they get authorization from these relatives. This thesis demonstrates that, in most of cases, these women follow their husbands as attachments, as Camilo Candurro (M'báwe village, 22nd May 2005) recounts:

"A married woman must follow the husband because, living away from their husbands, they might become vulnerable and could bring diseases such as STD's and other diseases of that kind. The issue of following the husband or not is decided by the parents. However, during the civil war, my wife was forced to flee with me (1991-1992) and [there was] no time or reason for asking for permission. By the time we returned, she had decided to settle with me. We left Malawi because we were starving, so it was better to return to home where we had land and the crops were good in

Mozambique. My wife likes Mandimba because we live closer to the Ngame River it gives plenty of water. In Malawi, she left cousins and nieces and nephews who did not want to return to Mozambique. We pay visits to each other without any kind of assistance. She likes migrants since they bring development."

More confirmation in this line of thinking came from a *Mwene* of Nassato village Mataka Mustafa (Nassato village, 24th May 2005). "*The village has many in-migrants. First, there are married women who followed when their husbands were transferred. Secondly, there are the men who came to start farms because the land is very fertile and plentiful. And thirdly, are those who were born in Malawi and are returning to the roots of their relatives. In fact, what has pushed these people to Mandimba is the land scarcity in Malawi. People are starving over there.*"

Some examples of "attached" wives

Even though it was difficult to find a significant number of "attached" wives, it was possible to identify a few. A cardinal rule of matrilineal society is: "*a woman must stay in her parents' village or homeland.*" However, deviations from that regulation do occur within this society. This most often happens among women employed by the government. But can apply to female orphans, the poor, and women whose husbands are former "non-productives" who now live in Maputo. Obviously these "attached" migrant women I found in Maputo were there due to etraordinary circumstances.

For this last group, the situation is completely understandable since culturally, in southern Mozambique, wives have the obligation of following the husbands. This is often done without the hope of ever returning home. However, the occurrence of "*Operação Produção*" is typically different from the situation of labour mining, where the wives are left behind because their husbands will return at the end of a specific period of time.

The small group of women who decided to follow the husbands is primarily made up of wives who truly love their husbands as the interviewee said. For them, their husbands' job transfers were reason enough to relocate from their home villages. In an interview, João Jamissone, of Chikwenga, (7th May 2005) speaking in relation to this issue said: "*My wife agreed to follow me because she was in love with me. So she accepted the sacrifice of living away from her relatives.*" However this statement given during the interview did not take into account that generally, women must follow their

husbands. To stay behind could have dire consequences auch as poverty or having to bear the stigma attached to being an abandoned woman.

Vitória Abudo, a radio operator at the administration of the district Mandimba town (29th May 2005) said:

"*I am 40 years old and a native of Muembe district. I have been married twice. The first marriage was in 1985 with a man from Quelimane. I lived with my first husband for eight years and we had four children. One day he told me that was going to Quelimane to visit his relatives and did not come back. That was in 1993. In that same year, I met my current husband. He was separated because he had been transferred to Mandimba and his wife did not want to follow him. Later, when my new husband was transferred, I left Muembe to go with him. I did this because I love him. However my husband had to ask for permission from my brothers in order to take me in his new place of work."*

Almina Mataka, N'tondooco village, (29th May 2005) also said:

"*My parents were born in Mandimba and my husband is from Mitande. I have been married twice as my first husband fled sometime during the 1980s. I do not have any idea about him now. I met my current husband in 1991 during my exile in Malawi. Actually, I met him when I returned from Malawi. At the time, I was in Chikwenga village. He invited me to go with him to Mandimba. I decided to follow him because I am an orphan. My husband is an informal money exchanger, who is known by the name Kwacheiro. He sells and buys Kwacha, the Malawian currency."*

Women follow their husband because they need men for support, protection and as a means to access land. This is how it is, no matter how often they marry. The civil war forced women to flee from their parent's homes. Since their return from exile these women tend to settle in the places where their relatives live. However, there have been a few cases of home abandonment found in Mandimba, which is far more common in southern Mozambique.

There is a general sense that women do not abandon their children because it is possible they can become the *Mwenes* (king in Yao language) of the future. Nor do these women abandon their houses, because to do so would be foolish. In my research, I found only one case where a woman abandoned her child. This happened when she got pregnant at school. After the birth, she left the child with her sister in M'Bawe village. People who leave their children behind, as Angondo Poze says: "*are stupid*

since their children were potential 'kings' for the future," as succession occurs through the maternal side.

Villagers in Mandimba were able to recount the travels of several women who were separated from their families, not because it was their will, but because they were seeking safety. Most of them were in the fields doing cultivation at the time they were attacked by RENAMO's guerrillas. "*What counted most at that time was to save ourselves,*" the villagers said. "*These women left their families, including husbands and children, because they were fleeing armed attacks. Some came from distances as far away as Maua and did not return again. They did not want to come back to Maua since nobody in the village was left alive, including their husbands and children. In Mandimba many such women decided to marry with other men. They found shelter in Mandimba and were welcomed to the district."*

Women were also abandoned by their husbands. Some men ran away to other provinces or to Malawi. Others "joined" the Forced Military Service and a significant number of men stayed on in the places where they fought.

However, most of these women are no longer abandoned. Most are married again and once more living in Mandimba. The status of being "abandoned" is unusual since: "...A *woman cannot stay alone and there are lots of men who are seeking women to marry. On other side of it, an abandoned woman is not welcome in our villages. It is very hard to her to have land for cultivation unless she asks for it from the administration.*"(N'dele Abudo, M'bawe village 20th May 2005).

The interesting result I found in Mandimba is that the issue of traditional or customary law has been avoided in some circumstances, which means it works according to men's convenience. Of course, when it refers to women, traditional custom is strictly followed. A woman does not have any choice in terms of moving her place of residence, since she is required to remain in her village except in very specific and clearly defined situations.

A man for example, has some flexibility on where to settle in the following cases:

a) He is a *Mwene.* He is free to move residence because he is a leader;
b) Job transfers are especially good reasons allowing for relocation.

Zahia Abdala (Lissiete, 5th June 2005) said, **"***I followed my husband since he is a public civil servant and my family respected that situation. Because I love him, I did not hesitate to ask for permission. The one condition that my relatives gave my husband was that he had to inform them of every move. My sense is, a couple exists*

only when the wife and husband live together." Zahia concluded by saying: "*Women follow their husbands in order to gain some life experience in new lands far away from their family.*"

c) They follow their husbands because they have to look after the mother or sort out other family issues. In these situations, the woman 'must decide' whether to follow her husband or to stay with her relatives. If she decides, or the parents influence her not to follow the husband, it usually means she does not love her husband all that much, rather than because she is strictly following tradition. If she decides to follow him, she would only do so after receiving permission. A Mandimbian woman does not make moves by herself. And, she does not decide to migrate to another place without her parents' or a maternal uncle's authorisation.

Through interviews, I learned of one case where a school teacher was transferred from Mandimba to Cuamba. Almost immediately, the husband was transferred there too, because he also was a teacher.

Several male interviewees agreed that "*women, when they follow their husbands, it is because they are in love with them.*" (Samuel Salange, M'Bawe village, 20th May 2005). The reality is, those who declared having followed their husbands did so because they were poor and orphaned. They saw marriage as their only escape. They needed someone who could take care of them. So their decision to migrate was mostly based upon their status of being poor or an orphan.

Why do people not choose to migrate?

Since the reasons for migration are well understood and well documented, I decided to ask people why they chose not to migrate. Answers ranged from simply having "no reason for migration" to the most complex involvements with customary law. Responses also varied according to the interviewees' experiences. Men, for example, said they did not choose to move because they had to take care of their mothers. Carlitos Charamba from Mironga village (9th May 2005) related the following: He argued that Mandimba town had many health facilities. Carlitos has been living in Mandimba town for many years and was originally a migrant.

Reasons given for not migrating are as follows:

a) Mandimba is safe and is a rich district;

"*Mandimba was a safe district in the province until 1988. Then the war changed the situation. .*

b) Good conditions to acquire wealth;

"Mandimba is a district with better conditions to accrue some wealth. It is a land of opportunities."

c) People do not want to go to unknown destinations;

"*I am afraid of going to un-known destinations.*

d) Unmarried or single;

"*I cannot move away because I am single. I am single because women from Mandimba want wealthy men. I have thought of marrying a woman from Mandimba and settling in Mandimba. I know how women from Mandimba behave in happiness and in sadness. Before that can happen, I have to make some money in order to marry.*"

e) Did not get approval from the relatives;

"*My relatives did not give me approval to follow/join my husband who was in Nassato. At the beginning, when my husband told me it was his intention to move because he had business opportunities elsewhere, I agreed to follow him. However, when I informed my parents about my husband's plan, they refused, saying I would only suffer there. So I decided not to follow him."*

f) Did not choose to move because of their land. They would only move in the case of war as they have done in the past;

"I would not move because I have to support and feed my family. I was born in this village. I grew up here and will die here. The only time in my life that I moved away was during the civil war. After the war, I returned with my wife and children from Malawi. We decided to return because Malawi was not our homeland although we have relatives there. They have been living there for years, since the colonial period."

g) Relatives are more important to a woman than the husband since they give her security.

"I decided not to follow my husband because of my relatives – parents and brothers and uncles. They are more important to me than my husband. A husband is someone you can meet anywhere, while there is only one family."

h) Women do not migrate because they believe they could not survive in other environments other than the place where they were born. Additionally, without

education, many are aware the situation could be far worse. Teresa Rajabo and Daniel Atanásio (N'todooco village, 28th May 2005) agree. "*Women do not migrate because of illiteracy and could not survive anywhere without having studied.*"

i) Cultural impediments.

"I have never moved away from Meluluca because I do not have any place to go. I belong to Meluluca. Here in Meluluca, I have been married twice. Neither one of my husbands introduced me to other places. This is because I am an Apwuiyamwne and I am not allowed to move away."

Decision to migrate

Scholars such as Chant and Radcliffe (1992), Crush (2000), as well as Jolly and Reeves (2005) agreed that most decisions to migrate are made in response to a combination of economic, social and political pressures and/or other incentives. Inequalities within regions create incentives to move. Seeking to make money is one important motivator of migration for both women and men. However, economic motivation is only one of many factors influencing such decisions. The incentive may be to join a spouse who has migrated (family reunification) or to escape gender discrimination and constraining gender norms.

Nam (1994) argues there are two stages in making the decision to migrate. The first is whether or not to move and the second is where to relocate. This assumes individual groups perceive one or more dissatisfactions which might trigger a move. They then decide on its relative importance and reach a judgment about taking action. Then, they select a place to go – somewhere which should improve their level of satisfaction or reduce their level of dissatisfaction. Nam, quoting Root and De Jung (1991), mentions family factors weigh heavily upon individuals in developing countries when they are making the decision to relocate. There are complexities of processes far beyond the decision to more or not to move. These can include their socio-economic and cultural organization, gender relations existing in such a society, as well as the role played by parents or other relatives

In an attempt to apply Nam's principle, which is supported by Chant, Crush, Redcliff, Jolly and Reeves, various points of view exist, in relation to the issue of making a decision to move, all must must be considered. Therefore, I have concluded, in Mandimba, in a "normal" situation – without wars or other external factors – the customary law bounded in socio-cultural structure dominates the decision to move or

not to move. Men decide to move and take on living their wife's village, whereas women do not move at all.

As the matrilineal system regulates (Braga 2001), a married woman stays in her community or village while her husband joins her. At an early stage of the marriage the husband receives a blanket and agricultural tools, gifts from the in-laws, which include the bride's parents, brothers-in-law, uncles and their wives, etc. During the next two to three years, the new husband must prove his worth in a variety of ways including his ability to support and care for his family.

If a marriage should end, it is up to the man to vacate while the woman would "decide" to remain. In the situation of job transfers, it falls to the man to make the decision about the move, while the woman may elect to follow – if she loves her husband enough. "*In these circumstances, the married woman is challenged since she has to make a choice between her husband and the extanded family – her brothers and uncles, etc. If she really loves her husband, she can challenge the family and follow her husband.*" This was recounted by a group of interviewees. But it must be acknowledged this sort of situation places the women squarely in the middle of an extremely emotional dilemma.

Conversely, a wife can also "decide" not to move because her parents do not sanction it. However, what really is happening in Mandimba is – the decision is made by the relatives, not the woman. If men make the individual decision to move their women away from Mandimba, they still remain strongly dependent upon the opinions of the family. In these cases, only the family's decision is truly valid. Here, family is comprised of the maternal uncles and her brothers. Several women who married Mozambican men in Malawi during the time of exile, decided to remain in Malawi while their husbands elected to return to Mozambique, Several men from other provinces, who married women from Mandimba, have left without their wives following them. These men came to Mandimba as migrants and decided to leave without their spouses for a variety of reasons:

"*It is not good to be born, grow-up and die in your place of birth." "Migration allows for having new employment opportunities, new friends and new things. So if women do not want to follow us, it is better to leave them with their relatives.***"** (Focus Group 30th May, Mandimba).

These examples are important for understanding how decisions for migration are made. Firstly, it is important to realise in Mandimba, the role of family – in every family – is vitally important to the life of each individual.

Secondly, to move or not to move is not a simple decision solely made by the couple. Instead, it is a complexity of elements involving immediate family and other relatives. Only to a lesser extent does the opinion of the couple actually matter.

The literature and life experiences of the *Mwenes*, the *Apuyimwenes* and cultural "common sense" reveals the family is of paramount importance in making decisions avout everything.

However, it is also clear that within the new environment, marked by the events following independence as well as increased poverty, the situation in Mandimba has been changing. Typical examples of family decisions are fading as several interviewees attested. For instance, it is common among Ajauas and Emakhuwas that the decision for migration is taken within the extended family – parents, uncles and brothers. However, times are changing as Daniel and Teresa Rajabo, a young couple from Cabo Delgado will attest:

"*People migrate because they want to get married, or curiosity – wanting to see new places and things. A married woman can decide to migrate if she is doing so for studies. However, this might happen under a "couple's agreement," meaning the decision for migration is made within the household – one formed by the husband and the wife. If the husband must migrate due to a job transfer, the wife can follow him. But, someone will be needed to here to clean up the grass around the house. In the new location, the one who can authorize the woman to migrate in any situation would be the husband, since she has already left her parents' house. Again, on the other hand, the decision to migrate depends upon the degree of love shared between them.*" This example came from a couple who were not originally from Mandimba. They came from Cabo Delgado province and their background is patrilineal.

Vitória Abudo from Majune said she followed her husband because: "*Love was a strong motivator in my decision to follow my husband. As my parents are deceased, I am officially an orphan. Even though I have children to support, I had to ask my elder brothers for permission to follow my husband when we needed to move out to another district. Under the circumstance of being an orphan or being an abandoned woman, the opinion of my brothers would not really have played any role in my decision to*

migrate. I just consulted them as a matter of respect. I had already made my own decision."

Is important to note, this process of decision making – to migrate or not to migrate – is marked by gender relations. Women in this particular district of Mozambique seem to have lower emigration potential than in other areas. Historically, the biggest push factor for both men and women was the civil war and fear of death. Women have made family their primary consideration and this most definitely would prevent them form emigrating. While for men, employment is the main factor to either keep them at home, if they have a job or promt them to heave, if they don't. As job opportunities are very scarce in this district, Mandimbian men have a high potential to be out-bound migrants.

Future Moves

Asked about future, moves women in Mandimba declared they did not have any intention of moving from where they were – except for very particular situations. Such an example was given by Verónica Salimo (Chikwenga village, 7th May 2005). "*The only reason that could move me from my present settlement back to my homeland is if I heard my mother had returned to that place. She was kidnapped during the civil war. I did not flee from the civil war because I felt secure here, in Chikwenga. We did not suffer any armed attacks.*"

Xavier Momade from Lissiete (5th June 2005) said he would not return to his homeland, Memba district, because he is an old man and had children here. He could not abandon the family, his wife and children, because they would suffer.

Several reasons were given for moving into the community as well as moving out. These ranged from emotional, social and economic issues, to concerns around safety. However, in general, the decision for women's migration has been done within the extended family. Custom decrees only a woman;s relatives can decide whether or not she will be allowed to move. Yet, there is growing acceptance of some changes. Decisions are beginning to be taken individually by those who say: "*I do not feel the obligation or need to ask for permission.*"

Apwyamwnenes women are not allowed to migrate due to their social duties. That is to say, no matter what their desire, this group of women must always serve their community. And, according to custom, personal decision-making does not exist. Only customary law is important in taking decisions.

Migration Management

When discussing the issue of migration, particularly in the border districts, there is a question which arises especially among border officers: How to manage people from the border area since they have relatives in both sides, as a result of historical events? With this question, there is yet another: How did these people get here in the first place? There is no easy answer for either query. To begin with, there is no existent national migration policy. Therefore, management of people and their migration processes is very complex.

In relation with this issue, Biché Timamo, Chief of Crossing Post of Mandimba, (4th June 2005) said: "*Many people are taking advantage of this situation which makes it even more difficult to manage people in the Mozambican and Malawian border districts. What has facilitated those crossings is the fact there are no fences along the border with Malawi. And, there is no regular frontier guard like in southern Mozambique. This is particularly true of the border between Mozambique and South Africa.*"

Apart from this example, there is another set of circumstances arising with returnees. Returnees include not just those from the civil war, but also those who lost their citizenship after the independence. At that time, they fled to Malawi because they were against FRELIMO. The chief of the Mandimba Crossing Post reported the following:

"*They are back now due to the many difficulties happening in Malawi. These people know where their relatives are and they are here. Most were people who fled from Xibalo, the liberation war and more recently, the civil war. The problem is, these people, instead of presenting themselves to the official authorities went straight to the traditional leaders. The villagers knew them or about them and accepted them as locals. On the other side, were the Mozambicans who pretended to go to Malawi to visit relatives but at the end of the day, they settled there. That happened in Chiponde (Malawi) and Namurira (Mozambique) villages.*"

The complexity of family ties and migrant networks, as Boswell and Crisp (2004: 16) point out, involve multiple actors affected by migration processes. These include not only migrants and states, but a range of other actors such as potential

migrants, families of migrants, firms, religious or social groups which are linked together by multiple social and symbolic ties, transcending national boundaries.

In response of the second question raised: **How did these people did get here?** The short answer answer is: Migrant networks and strong family ties exist between the people of both countries.

Boswell and Crisp argue migrant networks are crucial for understanding not only the causes and patterns of migration, but also integration processes, and the impact of migration on individuals and societies in both countries of origin and destination. Obviously, we can see these authors were analyzing the issue at the international migration level, but what applies at the regional level? As historians have repeatedly pointed out, African borders are artificial and the people living in border areas do not recognise them.

In analyzing the situation in Mandimba district in relation to the border situation with the Republic of Malawi, many factors must be considered. Malawi has been a refuge for Mozambicans since the colonial period as well as during the civil war in the 1970s. It is not surprising, over the years, people have created family ties and relationships as interviewees have verified.

People from Mandimba, who live near the Malawian border, do not understand why they should have to go through the formal borders located so far away from their villages. For them, it is far more logical cross into the other country at a spot close to home. They also do not understand why relatives, who are Mozambicans but have lived in Malawi for years, are required to produce so many papers for land access in Mozambique.

People from Mandimba have been characterized by their mobility as explained earlier. These movements have been facilitated by their familial ties and networking formed over the course of many years. These kinships proved helpful in the time of both Liberation Wars – to hide potential guerrillas and provide refuge for "runners." Most Mozambicans were given refuge in Malawi since they had relatives there.

Because of these historical relationships, Mozambican members of the same family can be found living on both sides of the border. There are several instances of separated couples who, although divorced, still visit each other. They define themselves as Mozambicans or Malawians, according to the situation favouring them best at that particular moment. For example, many people from Malawi claimed to be

Mozambicans because Mozambique is at peace and has plenty of land. As "Mozambicans," they can more easily access that land.

There is, however, an attempt to develop a strategy for managing people living in the border areas. Spearheading this issue, the Crossing Post Chief at Mandimba had this to say:

"*The government has thought about introducing an identity card allowing free circulation of people who live close to the borders. These would be issued to people operating businesses such as selling and purchase goods, grinding cereal as well as family visitations. The traditional leaders would be responsible for these cards and the coordination would be via the National Directorate of Immigration. Right now, there is a travel permit issued by immigration officers which is valid for twenty days. That travel permit allows the holder to enter to a distance of 60 km into each country. For those who needing to go further, they would be issued a permit, which is valid for 30 days. The travel permit and the entry permit would be issued independently of marital status and gender. Children are allowed to cross the borders when accompanied by an adult. Only the police can prohibit the exit or entry of people, particularly when there is suspicion of a criminal matter. However, we are aware of entries and exits by those who use illegal crossing areas.*"

As Adepoju (1996) says, emigrants usually move to countries of destination or to towns or cities about which they have some information about job prospective. This brings to mind something an interviewee said about sharing information. He said he had come to Maputo because, in Xiquelene market and settlement, he heard about business opportunities in the capital city. The information had circulated through the social networks formed by chain migrtation, involving close relatives and friends, along ethnic bonds and other social networks.

At this point, I would agree with Boswell and Crisp, when they say family ties and networks have several implications when it comes to migration management.
Taking this thought a step further, my conjecture is: migration management will need to rely upon the cooperation and goodwill of neighbouring countries. Beyond that, in in order to correctly deal with this issue, an effective and efficient combination of strategies will have to be formulated. First and foremost, those strategies would have to include coping with the causes of migration, reducing poverty and empowering women. Finally, it is likely most of these actions would have to be initiated by the countries where the migrants originate.

The consequences of migration

It has been discussed by several authors that the major aspect of migration is its contribution to pattern distribution of population, which is the increase or decrease of population. The rural-urban migration impact, for instance, is urban growth. Migrants regularly enter and exit varying cultural, socio-economic, and political environments. And, according to Peters and Larkin, they comprise a large and disparate array of social types both before and after migration.

Several interviewees said migration has created changes in their lives since they have had new experiences and encountered new styles of life. In the meantime, those who migrate are seen as "*people who hold disdain for those they left behind,*" by the people remaining in their place of origin.

According to interviewees, migration *has* resulted in behaviour changes in both men and women. This is not exactly a surprising revelation because, obviously, once the migrants have been relocated into large cities, they are subjected to new environments and new ideas. During the colonial period, there was no room for the mixing of people from different backgrounds such as Yaos, Nyanjas or Emakhuwas. A few generations ago, the Nyanja people regarded the Ajauas and Yaos as slaves and considered themselves superior to them. Today, this perception is as dead as Mozambique's colonial past.

In determining their most important achievements in the migration process, interviewees most often said learning new skills from other in-migrants was the most valuable. This was followed by meeting new people and making new friends.

5.5 Patterns and typologies of rural migration and its links with urban spaces

In Mandimba, there are several groups of people who do not travel long distances or engage in cross-border trade. Short travels in terms of distance and duration occur within the border districts. Duration varies from one to five years.

Soil fertility and its exhaustion act as an attraction and a repellent, respectively. Itinerancy has also impacted the structure of family, production (agriculture), housing, education and health development. Additionally, serial or successive transfers of civil servants within the district were identified as causes for relocating households.

People from Mandimba tend not to have relatives in either Lichinga, the provincial capital or in Maputo, with exception of those who were forcibly sent to the area as so-called "non-productives."

Migration is a demographic feature involving the entry and exit of people from one location to another. As a consequence, migration contributes to increasing (in) and decreasing (out) population in the localities where the phenomenon takes place. Mandimba district has experienced several in and out movements. People have decided to migrate for numerous reasons as explained throughout the chapter.

Gender relations exclude women from the decision-making process from marriage to migration, in both of Mozambique's prevalent cultures, families, brothers or husbands make women's decisions. As well, Gender relations differentiate the types of roles and work activities men and women are allowed to undertake. Currently, males can decide to relocate autonomously. Females do not have this luxury. They must still ask for their family's decision and hope the response will be favourable. Males are free to engage in cross-border trade and other money generating activities such as selling goods in open markets. Females are not permitted to cross borders or to sell in open markets. Instead, they may only sell their surplus crops from their back yards.

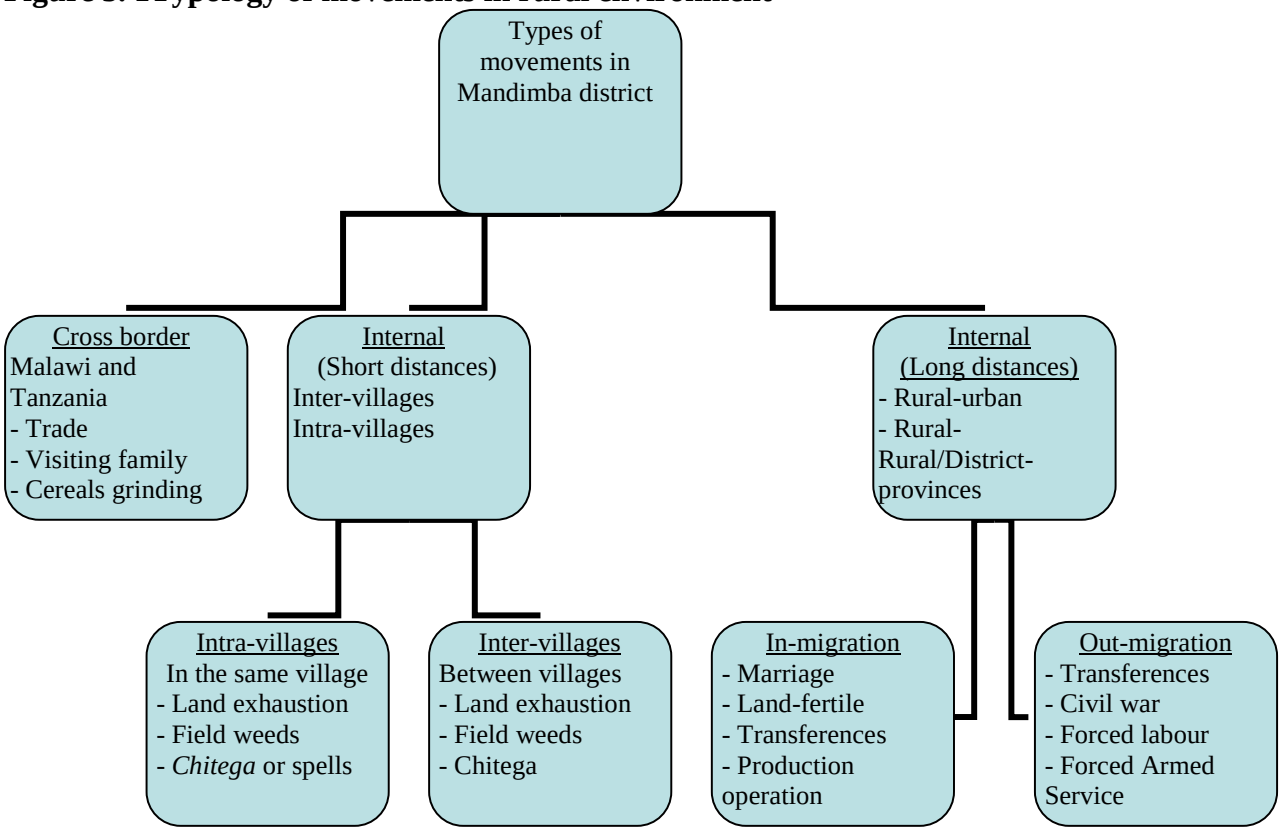
Land is an abundant asset in Mandimba. And, because of this, the district has experienced the arrival of many legitimate returnees as well as numerous Malawians who allege they are Mozambicans. Family ties and kinships have facilitated these returns and access to land.

Some conflicts arising from people rejecting control by the *Mwenes* were identified but such disputes were not necessarily concerned with land. These disagreements surfaced as a result of taxes and ceremonies involving money.

The district is reasonably well organised and has registered the movements of people who arrived to claim land in an irregular manner. Lastly, in Mandimba, migration remains movement of men as women are required to be "sedentary" due to customary laws. The only exception occurs when women follow their husbands, but they never relocate over long distances.

To sum up, I am presenting the typology of migration in the rural environment as shown in fig. (5.1). this is represented by three kinds of spatial movements: cross border, internal (shorter distances) and external (long distances). As well, there are inter and intra movements as explained throughout this chapter.

Figure 5. 1Typology of movements in rural environment



Household Dynamics and Urban Migration

It is fully established, rural-urban migration drives the urbanisation process (Morrison 1980; UN-Habitat 2008). While the sending areas, the place from which a migrant leaves, decreases in population, the arrival or destination areas, the place at which the migrant arrives, increases its population. Both population growth and decrease produces far-reaching socio-economic consequences.

Rural-urban migration impacts the sending and the receiving areas but it also affects the households involved since one or more members of the family unit lives away from the family. In regard to this, the two questions need to be answered: How do these households adjust when one or more members migrate? What happens to those left behind?

This thesis investigates the activities of various groups of women and men who have become migrants in the urban environment as well as particular situations they have encountered. Several experiences of interviewees illustrate their circumstances prior to when the migration occurred, how the decision to migrate was made and their experiences in the new environment.

In the urban environment, women with the following characteristics were identified:

h) Women who migrated by themselves; made the decision to migrate by their own volition, with no need to ask permission of anyone else. Typically, this group is comprised of single mothers, widows, separated women, students and women pursuing work as carriers.

l) Married women who followed their husbands.

m) Women (and men) whose decision to relocate was the result of work transfers as in the case of State/Government workers. This group includes civil servants, students, as well as war veterans and soldiers who were reassigned to the city through Forced Military Service

n) Civilians who fled the civil war.

Some women arrived as a result of government orientation. Although their backgrounds may be matrilineal, once in the city, some women chose to take charge of themselves, defying traditional customs and began selling their goods in open spaces like the Malhangalene market. Quite apparently, the need for survival proved to be more compelling than observing customs.

One objective of interviewing these different groups of women was to ascertain their migratory history. I wanted to learn about their decision to migrate and its impact upon the household structure in their departure area or homeland. I also wanted to explore the integration and the extent to which they managed their incomes and how they maintained access to their land and the house they left behind.

The decision to migrate is defined within the context of the circumstances individuals or households experience. The choice to relocate or stay where they are is dependent upon whether or not the essentials for day to day living are met.

My findings led me to create a migration timetable in which

(1) Those who arrived in the larger cities before 1992, the year of the signing of the General Peace Agreement; and

(2) Those who migrated after 1992.

The first period revealed the following situation:

a) Almost everybody who came to the city before 1992 did so out of family or household need. However, at the time, the Government relocated people, dictating where they were to live and what work they would do. The country was ruled by a socialist regime and no other rational was necessary. . Accounts of this were related by war veterans, militaries, students and civil servants.

b) Those women who followed their husbands did so because the man had decided to undertake the move and the wife's family had allowed their her to leave with him. These women relocated within the social context of family reunification, not for economic reasons.

c) The civil war did not allow for protracted decision-making. It was a life or death situation and people needed to find a safe place to live as quickly as possible. There was no time for family decisions and though families were disrupted, the situation was accepted within extended families as well as nuclear families.

Following the signing of the General Peace Agreement, decisions in favour of migration, tended to be shaped by a growing trend towards individual or personal desire. As time goes on, traditional family/ household decisions are falling into disuse. Such choices are also influenced by economic factors such as: abandonment, widowhood, separation, divorce, working as carriers, and furthering studies. Interestingly, this is a very strong trend in northern Mozambique. This is happening in spite of tight customary laws and "resistance" to migration. My findings have revealed, some women have made personal choices to relocate, effectively bypassing the traditional process of "household decisions."

Most of these women made their decision to relocate because they needed to pursue studies or they were professional carriers. However, the peculiarity is: women who come to the city from northern Mozambique are relatively well educated. Generally, most people originating from this departure area are illiterate. With this evidence, do I dare conclude these migrant women, low living Maputo, are their home region's "elite?" If so, are are all those they left behind ***illiterates***, bound by tight customary law?

Conversely, women from southern Mozambique only "decide" to migrate when they are abandoned by their husbands, or they are widows, single mothers, and/or destitute. However, some women from the south did defer to customary law and asked permission of their relatives but – justifiably – not the husband's relatives.

Several life histories and Focus Group Discussion were used as tools to explain some of the questions I asked. There is, however, an imbalance of life histories and migrant women's histories in both study areas. In Mandimba, I allowed men's life histories to be included because they were more open to sharing and, indirectly, I could better ascertain the process of migration in the district with their input. But, in the city

of Maputo, women were certainly more open to disclosure than were their male counterparts.

The population growth picture in Mozambique, particularly in Maputo, shows an increase of those who are impoverished (see the UNDP reports of 1998 and 2004). What has to be of concern for planners, decision makers, and civil society is rapid urban population growth is accompanied by an increasing number of poor households, most often headed by women. The deterioration of infrastructures and services and an increasing informal economy negatively impinges upon the management of the cities.

Maputo, in its dimension as the capital of the Republic of Mozambique, is a place where families and unrelated groups of people share accommodation, expenditures and their problems. It is a cosmopolitan society since there is a mix of matrilineal and patrilineal lineages. The city accommodates people from all provinces of the country. However, there are very small numbers of in-bound female migrants from Niassa compared to women from the nearest southern provinces and other northern provinces such as Nampula and Cabo Delgado.

The 1997 census result shows women dominated rural-urban relocation and comprised the majority of the population in Maputo (INE 1999). Likewise, as in other developing countries, few of these migrants are able to find formal employment and, as a consequence, they generate income by working in the informal economy (UNDP 2000).

Census results from 1980 and 1997 show a faster in-city growth of women from southern and central Mozambique and, to an extent, some northern provinces. Women from Niassa, during the same period, represented virtually no growth in Maputo. Only 49 women relocated in 1980 and 269 arrived in 1997 (INE 1999).

Questions arising from this data are:

a) What deters the women of Niassa from moving to Maputo – even during the civil war, the advance of poverty, or job transfers of husbands?

b) Why is there an increase of women from southern, central and northern Mozambique?

c) How was the decision made to migrate in these areas? And lastly,

d) What is role of the household in making the decision in favour of migration?

I take the opportunity of concluding the following:

a) Even though the role played by the then FRELIMO government changed people's ideas in relation to the discourse of women's emancipation, matrilineal society is now

influenced by the strong Muslim patriarchy society. Muslim custom prevents female migration either as followers or independent movers.

Forexample, Lúcia Ianussa from Naucheche village expressed the following: "*I have been a widow for years. My husband was killed during the civil war. Once I had opportunity to marry another man, but that man wanted to take me away from Naucheche village to Nampula. I asked my uncle and he did not authorize me to follow him.*" According to her uncle, Nampula is too far away and he would not be able to take care of me, since she was a widow. "*He told me,*" added Lúcia "*to stay and take care of my husband's grave.*" Here, we have two situations: First, because Lúcia is a widow, she is expected to "look after her husband's grave."Secondly, because she belongs to her mother's lineage, she is not allowed to "abandon" her homeland.

b) The same socio-cultural structure has imposed limitations for women to enter into public businesses, particularly those related to cross-border trade, which would involve interactions with men while marketing their products, etc. With respect to this, Jaime Sale (Naucheche village, 6th of June 2005) said: "*Our society does not allow women to sell in public. However, a woman can sell her surplus goods from her front yard.*

c) Due to poverty, many of these people cannot afford to travel to far-away places such as Maputo. João Jamissone (Chikwenga village, 6th June 2005), is one of the examples demonstrating how lack of funds prevents people from leaving a bad situation. His desire was to reach Maputo where is younger brother has been living for several years. According to him, "*poverty is high in Chikwenga. People do not have enough cash to afford travelling to Maputo. The journey is too long.*" Also. in the city of Maputo, I met a young man who worked as the driver of an informal taxi. He desperately wanted to go to South Africa. Because, according to him, "*it is a land of opportunities and I have friends there who are involved in businesses. However,"* he went on to explain, "*my parents are poor and they are still living in Maqueze,in Gaza province.*"

Looking at the census data, I have determined to it does not clearly show whether women have migrated following men, or they have relocated on an independent basis. Census information also does not contain reasons why people chose to migrate. However, my own field study reveals the majority of women arriving in Maputo prior to 1992 were relocated through State orientation – either by Forced

Military Service, or as war veterans of the Liberation war. In that conflict, women often replaced Portuguese soldiers. Additionally, a few women followed their husbands during the war.

Clearly, the need to have an accurate picture of who decides to initiate a move – and to what extent decisions are made within rural household structures, such as in Niassa province – reveals crucial information to understanding the expansion of urbanization of Maputo. In-bound migrants once arriving in Maputo, face the following situations:

a) Integration into the city environment

b) The employment market and access to land

c) The experience of social and cultural discrimination predicated by language and their circumstances – such as a status of poverty.

The degree of integration into the city depends upon the opportunities available and the person's capacity to ignore the discrimination. Overall, the interviewees felt discriminated against in the city of Maputo. They have names according to the place where they come from. For example, all people from the central and northern regions are called *Chingondos,* meaning "people who are inferior, lazy and thieves." This group is also called "*Chiviyawane,"* which means "small plane" – because they arrived by airplane. People from Gaza are known as "*Floods*" because they come from a flood region. And, the Inhambane are called "*Hodza sangos,"* which means "cheap." This is because there is an assumption people from Inhambane are tight-fisted with their money.

After the General Peace Agreement, even in the era of post war reconstruction, poverty increased in both the cities and the countryside. The rural people sought to regain their properties and rebuild, while the urbanites also had to reorganize their lives by themselves. Now that the country was no longer a socialist regime, everyone – urban and rural –had to fight for survival. Apart from the traditional in-bound migrants called as *vientes,* the people of Maputo city were forced to accept a new group of in-bound migrants who formed the ranks of the poor. For the *vientes,* the capital city has become a place of potentially higher advantage, compared to their homelands.

Poverty, as push factor for migration, is certainly not new nor is it a specifically Mozambican characteristic. Increases in rural population and rural unemployment have pushed people out of their households in search of a stable livelihood. Several scholars including Adepoju (2008); 2002) have stated: the traditional pattern of migration,

within and from sub-Saharan African countries, is increasingly becoming feminized as women are migrating independently to fulfil their own economic needs; and this occurs both within and across international borders. In fact, inter-census statistics demonstrate this trend of female migration as already discussed.

5.6 Chapter conclusion

It is clear urban and rural population growth patterns vary across countries and regions. Over a million, people live in the city of Maputo in 300 km^2, meaning the population density is approximately 363 Hab/km^2. The number of city dwellers has grown as a direct consequence of in-bound migration and natural growth, since the birth rate is still high. Analysts have predicted most of this growth will mainly occur through the expansion of the peripheral areas or suburbs, where the poor live.

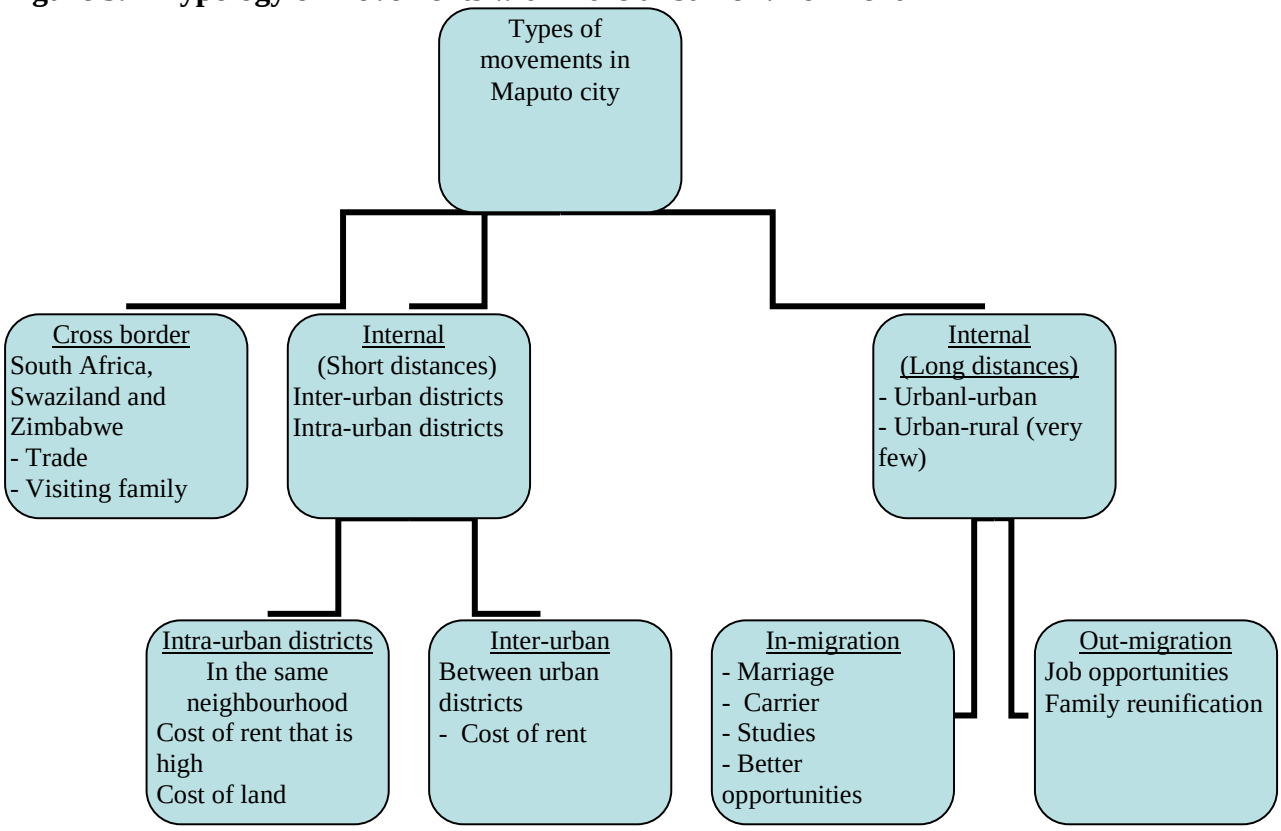
The reasons why people migrate are many and varied, but the economic motive, the desire to better one's self and family, still predominates. This has been happening since the end of the civil war as well as the socialist government's relocations and "orientations."

Several life histories show, unlike past migrational surges, the majority of today's migrants' bypass going to smaller cities andmove directly to Maputo. Previously, those relocating followed a step migration pattern – moving from rural areas to towns or small cities, and then later, on to the larger areas. The reason for this shift is explained by the previous policy of orientation, the civil war and the concentration of important economic opportunities, transport facilitations, education and health facilities in urban areas.

This thesis concludes by saying decisions to migrate were made in different circumstances and contexts. Some came under parents' authorization, others as government orientations, and some relocated following a personal decision. The household represents a decaying institution. Migration, per se, has disrupted households since the move of just one household member – such as a wife, or a husband, or a father, or a mother, also impacts the lives of children who were left behind under the care of grandparents. Lastly, the city population of Maputo, like most sub-Saharan cities is growing at an unprecedented speed. This increase of the urban population has obviously impacted its territorial organization.

To summarise, Maputo city, apart from rural-urban migration has internally undergone particular types of movements. These include both in-bound and out-bound migration represented by cross-border movements as shown in fig (5.2).

Figure 5. 2 Typology of movements within the urban environment



. CHAPTER VI

Opportunities and Challenges of Migrants in Contemporary Mozambique

6.1 Introduction

Maputo is a multicultural and multifunctional city in which people from different backgrounds, races, religions, and therefore different ways of behaving, interact and make their homes. It attracts people from all over the country as well as foreigners.

General city population has increased but growth in the slums is notorious with its claustrophobic population density. Some *barrios* such as Xipamanine, Chamanculo, and Malanga in Municipal district number 2 have reached a population density of over 3,000 residents per km^2. Conversely, *barrios* like Sommerschield, Polana, Costa do Sol and Central, situated in Municipal district number 1 have a population density of less than 100 people for km^2. These differences exist in relation to income, type of buildings, infra-structure facilities, and mostly by the people who live there. While Municipal district number 1 is where the wealthy live, the others constitute the peripheral areas and mostly accommodate in-bound migrants.

The increase of in-bound migrants reveals what lies beyond the structure of households and how relations are developed within the household structure. Growth of urban population is also derived for migration coming from the countryside into urban areas, where females and males adhere to the familiar systems, as recent history tells.

However, what makes some difference are the conditions in which decisions are made by females as compared to males. Additionally, where these people come from has a bearing on how they make decisions and conduct their lives. As well, such differences come to the fore when women make personal decisions as individuals, rather than deferring to a "household" choice.

Several life histories collected over the last two years of my research demonstrate gender differentiations in terms of decision-making around the topic of migration to the city. And, ***that*** difference occurs in terms of space and social organisation.

Statistics indicate females from the Northern provinces are not well represented numerically in the city for reasons discussed previously. However, these same figures

show female migrants from Southern Mozambique outnumber their male counterparts. These differences are also revealed when we discuss which integration and survival strategies are being used.

What this thesis demonstrates is women from Niassa province came to Maputo as soldiers, war veterans, parents' and followers of husbands. Other women from the same area came to complete their studies or those following their carriers and only a few were independent migrants. Female war veterans are actually retired and live on an army pension or by the operation of small business. However, they do not participate in cross-border trade and are not long-distance traders like the women from southern Mozambique. Migrant women from Niassa province only sell wares in their front or back yards as they did in their homelands. A scant few are housemaids. Mostly, these women are housewives, in the literal sense. Their livelihood comes from the salary of their husbands.

Other groups of migrant women are made up of those who came from the southern provinces such as Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, and whose background is patrilineal. They either came to the city following their husbands or arrived on an independent basis. "Independent basis" means they did not consult any relatives – neither their own nor their husband's relatives. Those who came to Maputo on their own were typically abandoned women, war widows, single mothers and the adventurous.

Once in Maputo, these women find employment in:

a) Small business such as street vendors and traders, in rented or owned stalls as well as selling from home in the front yard.

b) Big businesses, owned by Indians, where they work for suppliers, stores or warehouses. They may also work as cross-border and/or long distance traders; from Maputo to South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe as well as the provinces that were originally home. While engaged in internal (inter-provincial) trade, these women buy and sell maize, beans, vegetables and cassava flour. As cross-border traders, they export and import goods. Some of these women are also involved in the automobile business.

So, this chapter is basically a discussion about the challenges and experiences of migrants once they are settled in the destination area. I found several examples and distinct situations made each case or experience unique. This also made it difficult for me to draw conclusions. Life stories of widows, single mothers, married, abandoned

and divorced women painted a vivid picture of what life in Maputo is like for female migrants. Some came as a result of the government "orientation;" others arrived, fleeing the dangers of civil war and natural hazards such as floods. Yet others – the rare few – simply wanted the experience of city life.

As well, in the last part of the discussion, I have advanced some examples of male experiences as migrants. The objective was to understand the context in which male migration was developed.

In general, gender relations are masked primarily within the government structure. And, the ensuing civil war did not challenge the traditional family structure. I If anything, the war strengthened it. But, with the advent of the Structural Adjustment Program, a new picture of familial relations developed. If, in the past, people did not have the power to decide in terms of their own life, the economy "facilitated" more and more freedoms, encouraging independent decision. This occurred primarily in southern Mozambique.

In most households, the decision-making process for everything was disrupted because of several factors to be presented next.

Migrants were – and still are – expected to discover and adopt any number of methods/skills to integrate themselves into the culture of the destination area. No matter their origin, migrant men and women must learn to deal with and then prosper in their new environment. Some only find disappointment because the city does not meet their expectations. Others suffer from homesickness and some find city life difficult because of rampant discrimination.

Over the course of this chapter, several excerpts of life histories will demonstrate the complexity of migration itself, as well as the challenges both women and men have had to face. And lastly, how the decision to migrate was made will be further explored. Different life histories outlining the entire migratory experience illustrate the journey from the time the decision to move was made, to the day they were interviewed are included.

6.2 Migrant women: Challenges and opportunities

This section explores migrant women's experiences by relating their life histories. These life experiences in the destination area, include their challenges as well as opportunities the opportunities they have found. Additionally, there are some particular experiences recorded here.

One interviewed woman said she had come to Maputo following her husband. It was a situation where the decision to relocate was made by an outside party. Her husband was not given the opportunity to decide whether to go or stay since his employer made a unilateral decision to transfer him without any consultation. Because her husband needed his job, he had to accept the transfer. In effect, this was forced migration disguised as a job transfer.

"*My husband's boss persuaded my husband to leave the family and go to Maputo,"* she said. *He did not have any other choice than agreeing with his boss. My husband looked at the few opportunities he did might have here and it was better to follow the boss instead of suffering here.*"

So, this woman was confronted with the need to follow her husband and to settle in a strange environment where she didn't particularly want to be. In this case, she did not ask permission of her relatives. "*I am in love of my husband,*" she said. She and her husband merely informed her relatives she was leaving the homeland and they had to accept that decision. *"But I do no care for the city life,"* she said in closing, *"there is no land to cultivate our staple food."*

Other females who migrated to Maputo were literate women and most of them had not asked for permission from family members. One interviewee, a primary school teacher and a university student, said: "*I did not ask for any permission from my parents since I felt I have my own life to live.*"

Rural women from Niassa and other northern provinces found it very difficult to integrate into the Maputo lifestyle. In the city, they could not engage in agricultural work due to the scarcity of land and even if there was land available, it wouldn't be their land.

Such situations have negative impacts on savings and the amounts of money sent to relatives in Niassa as remittances. Conversely the situation for those who come from nearby provinces is much better. They have more opportunities for generating income through cultivation. Some are able to hold down a job in the city and still work their land in their home areas. With the resulting crops, they feed their households and are able to send remittance money to their relatives from profits derived from the sale of surplus crops.

For some interviewees from northern Mozambique, sending remittance money home is a far different story.

"I have never sent money because I do not have it. In this city, everything is sold. In this city, you cannot save money. I pay for renting a house while in Niassa the house is free."

"In Niassa I have my own house that is occupied by my nephews. Here, I do not have a plot of land to grow crops and that puts me in a very desperate place. In Niassa, the land is free, plenty and fertile."

"I do not send anything to relatives because I do not have any. All my relatives were killed in the many attacks done by the Portuguese. I don't any have contact with people from my village."

Apart from long distances and lack of opportunities for cultivation, the absence of regular transport linking Maputo and northern Mozambique is another serious issue. Difficulty in accessing proper transport creates a huge gap between Maputo's in-migrants and their relatives in home provinces such as Niassa and family ties are weakened. This is even more apparent for migrants who cannot regularly send remittances home to relatives.

This state of affairs is absolutely contrary to what in-migrants from the southern part of the country experience. These people have the benefit of short travel distances and dependable, regular transportation. Also, historically, migration between southern provinces and Maputo has existed for many years (see Penvenne 1988). Post-independence resettlement seems merely to be a continuation of an earlier migration and constitutes the consolidation of family ties via remittances between the in-migrants and those left behind.

What also makes the integration of in-migrants from northern and central provinces difficult is language as several interviewees have related. *"In Maputo, if you are black, people will approach you, speaking in Ronga or Shangana. And, if you tell them you are not part of those ethnic-language groups, they make fun of you."* Therefore, it can be concluded language differences and not having relatives close-by makes for a hard life.

Interestingly, most interviewed women and men from Niassa were fairly well educated. Even though there is a lack of statistics to support my assumption, I am confident enough to advance the postulation that men and women from Niassa, now living in Maputo constitute an elite group of migrants. As well, I am also quite certain those who have remained behind are generally illiterate. Interviews taken in Mandimba affirm my supposition.

Conversely, those who came from southern Mozambique were functionally illiterate with only limited reading and writing ability, at best. Most of my interviewees in Maputo, coming from Gaza, Inhambane including the Maputo province were illiterate, or had a maximum of primary school education. Most of those who worked in the informal markets did not know to read or write.

Generally, in-bound migrants from northern areas are homesick, unlike the southern Mozambicans who have more facility to travel to their homelands. Declarations made by interviewees attest to the degree of homesickness.

"*I would like to return to my homeland because my mother is there as well as my brothers and sisters...*"

"*I am homesick for my homeland...*"

"*Sometimes I feel like a stranger in this city. Nobody cares about anybody. It was because of that, [when I was living in Maputo] with my brother and sister, I became bored and decided to go back home...*"

"*After 5 years of living in Maputo, the desire and curiosity that brought me here has vanished. I did not find what I was looking for. I am disappointed and I am willing to return to my homeland. However, my husband told me there is no way we can return since we sold everything we had in Quelimane...*"

"I would like to return to my homeland, but I have children. I want them to be well educated. Now, I cannot afford to go back home. Maputo has become my land..."

To some, there is a sense of compensation in coming to Maputo since they have found employment. Also, their children have access to better schools, thus better education, as Emília Alano says:

"*What makes a life a 'hell' in the city is the lack of houses. And, what makes it a 'heaven' it is the fact of education and health facilities. I would never return to my homeland because I came here to succeed. Returning means one is defeated, or is sick and returns to die. People migrate in search of a better life."*

What has truly facilitated integration in Maputo are marriages between people from the same place of origin. Thus they have the same socio-cultural background. Asked about in-bound migration into Maputo, some said it is not good. There is no access to land; housing and the cost of living are astronomical. Added to this is the sense their land "back home" may be occupied by foreigners or by the "vientes" as they call immigrants. "*I do not agree with out-[bound] migration, since in the places of our origin, the land will be occupied by aliens.*" Other interviewees said they would

like to return after finishing their studies since they would like to explore the still-virgin natural resources and prospect for minerals in Niassa.

What many in-bound migrants most dislike about city life is the derogative names people call them – names such as *Chingondo*[19].

Capunde Anase's experiences in Maputo bring four important issues to the fore.

The first is related with how she came to Maputo in the first place. She related her experience of being attaché – a wife who migrates to be with her husband.

"*I am 47 years old, born in the district of Lichinga. I followed my husband. I left the children with my mother and assisted them by sending food and sarongs while staying in Maputo."*

The second issue is the discrimination immigrants must endure once begin live in the new destination.

"*I live locked in the house. People from the south of Mozambique call us "Chingondo." – That means 'they don't know anything, they are useless."*

Thirdly, integration into 'city life' is extremely difficult for those accustomed to a village life.

I left the district of Lichinga in 2000, when we arrived here, in Maputo, we did not have one relative in the city. That made life very hard. What made things worse was "not knowing" the local language of Maputo. Even for business, like selling something, language is a barrier."

Four, is her desire to return home, which is fuelled by "homesickness." "*In spite of the derogative name-calling, I like to live here since I have learned a lot. But, I would like to go back to my homeland because I am homesick. My husband made the decision on moving to Maputo as well as about the place where we would live, not me."* – Capunde Anase (Military *barrio*, at Malhangalene market, 21st September 2005)

With reference to returning migrants Martin, Martin and Weil (2006) say this occurs mainly after sufficient savings have been accumulated and the person is ready for retirement.

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[19] People from north of the Save River are called "chingondo" by people from southern Mozambique. Is not clear where this word came from. People from north of the Save River call the southern Mozambicans "Landim." Actually all people from the south were known as Shanganas although there other ethno-linguistic groups to be found, such as Gitongas, Shopis, Matswas and Rongas (personnel comment).

In relation with the issue of discrimination, Estefânia Bernardo (Malhangalene 'A' *barrio*, 22nd September 2005) said: *"People from Maputo call others "Chingondos" and they despise people from northern Mozambique…"*

However, I also found contrary opinions about discrimination. "*The issue of discrimination comes up when people do not have anything to do and are waiting gossip.*"

The next case illustrates how strong motivation can move people to break with traditional customs such as asking permission from extended family members. This has been the experience of Estfânia Bernardo (Malhangalene 'A' *barrio,* 22nd September 2005) who brought to us anecdotes of "breaking the rules." Her "strong motivation" was obtaining a good education and to do this, she would have to leave her homeland for higher studies.

*"If I did not take the decision to move, I would have remained an illiterate or at the best, working as a teacher."*So, she rebelled against the custom of asking her bothers or uncles for permission to follow her husband by just ignoring it.

"*I left Metangula in 1982, following my husband who was transferred to the city of Maputo. From Niassa, I came with my two daughters. Given that I was working, I also asked to be transferred in order to stay closer to my husband. I did not ask for any permission from my parents or any other family members because I felt I had my own life…*"

Government orientation

There are significant numbers of people who were "transplanted" to Maputo as a result of government orientation. They came as war veterans, soldiers drafted into Compulsory Military Service, students plus those attending teacher's training schools and nurse's training schools, as the next life histories reveal.

A 59-year-old war veteran who refused to give her name and was born in Member, Niassa province (Malhangalene "A' *barrio*, 2nd October 2005) tells us several of experiences resulting in migration experiences. She came to Maputo following the government orientation.

"*…I came in this city in 1974, integrated into one of the military battalions that protected the Gago Coutinho airport, now the Maputo International Airport."* Migration began for her at age 14 years, in the time of the liberation war. She had chosen to follow her boyfriend who had joined FRELIMO

"*My migratory experience started when I was 14 years old. I crossed the frontier of Niassa and Tanzania via Matchedge, pursuing my boyfriend who joined FRELIMO in Tanzania. This was in 1967. After several attempts, I managed to locate him in 1968.*

…After the bombing of our village, I was integrated into the Female Detachment were I received military training. In the same year, my boyfriend and I got married and he was sent to open the Tete Front. He was killed in an ambush in 1973."

Life as a Widow.

"…By 1974, as a widow I was sent to the city of Lourenço Marques and was part of the military who protected the State interests. These were airports, Radio stations, sea ports, railways and frontiers linking with Swaziland and South Africa. We also guarded the banks, because the Portuguese were fleeing and destroying everything and they were taking money out of the country, using those borders. I had the mission to protect the airport and part of my job was to search every piece of luggage. I found money and jewels hidden in coffins."

She remarries.

"…In 1977 I got married to a man from Niassa with whom I had three children. …In the meantime, in 1979, I was appointed to train the Female Detachment in Boane district. I did that for 10 years."

Today, this woman's survival experience in Maputo city is related to selling. "*...Actually, now, I survive by selling things from my balcony. I do not cross borders like other women do."* This is linked to her matrilineal background as women in this culture rarely cross borders to do business.

Students' orientation

For several years, the FRELIMO government inducted people into all kinds of activities including carriers, studies, military service, etc.

"*I did not have chance to decide whether to stay in Maputo or go elsewhere since I was fulfilling military duties,"* as one war veteran said.

Thousands of Mozambicans were sent to study in former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Cuba, China and Vietnam as well as internally. People were moved from their places of birth to other provinces, mainly to Maputo, because it was the one

city with functioning high schools and a university in this period. The general idea was to train people to replace the Portuguese. The notion of sending people from one province to another was to create unity among Mozambicans.

"The *FRELIMO government thought this was the best way to abolish division and tribalism among Mozambicans*," one war veteran explained. Therefore, all these "move-outs" and "move-ins" were in accordance to the government "plan." At the time, it did not matter what people liked or what vocation they had. The important thing was to "serve the nation and the Mozambican people." In those days, the national slogan was: "*The country calls for us.*" That meant there was no room for complaints. It was a call for patriotism.

The orientation program had ended by early 1990 for two important reasons. First, the government no longer had the capacity to continue educating "the masses" due to the lack of schools which had been destroyed during the civil war. Secondly, and possibly more importantly, Mozambique had begun reintegration into a market economy.

The carrier orientation, as several people having gone through it have said, destroyed the dreams of many youths in the country. Some who intended to be doctors and were sent to be accountants, while others who wanted to be teachers were trained to be nurses. –And, there was no room for the religious who wanted to become Christian or Muslim priests. Orientation also included a mandatory place to live. Araújo (1988), in his doctoral thesis, discusses in-depth the system of forced settlements, known as communal villages.

Widows' experience

The widowed have become another category of migrant women with interesting experiences as survivors in the city. Not only did such women have to cope with being widowed, they had to take on the duty of being the family breadwinner. Even in the present, most survive within the informal economy, urban agriculture and odd jobs such as carrying water for construction. Many said they were doing these activities because they did not have formal education or any other qualifications to compete in the regular employment market.

"*For my survival, I am selling second-hand clothing from my balcony. I use to be a walking-seller. I have to feed all these people in my household."*

"I used to sell charcoal and bring out water for the places where buildings were constructed. Each 20L of water cost 500.00MT (5MT). I used that money to buy bread and sugar for my children."

"I have tried several businesses to earn a living. I used to sell cassava, sugar cane and firewood."

People fleeing the civil war

The civil war produced uncountable refugees and internally displaced persons. Many people seek refuge either in cities closest to where they were running. Others sought locations far from their villages while yet others decided to cross international borders in order to find refuge. Neighbouring countries as well as the city of Maputo became shelter for numerous Mozambicans. Among the following interview excerpts are a variety of reasons why people chose to migrate.

Alegria (Zimpeto *barrio*, 10th October 2005), believes she has lived through some very complex migrant experiences.

"I am 32 years old, born in Chibuto. I am married (lobolo). I have 1st grade education and I manage to read and to write. I am a walking-seller… My migratory experience is quite confused because I have been living with my parents. At the beginning of 1982, my village in Chibuto suffered the first armed attacks from the bandidos armados."

The decision to move in search of safety was made by her parents. *"My parents took us to Moamba district, in Maputo province. I do not know why we went to that district because we did not have relatives there. But I guess it was because my father had been a miner in South Africa and perhaps, he had a house there."*

Soon after, Alegria and her parents had to move several more times due to armed attacks. *"In 1985, the family moved again because the bandidos armadas were attacking in Moamba district. In those days, railways, buses and any circulating vehicle was target. My father feared we children would be kidnapped. My father sent one of my brothers to South Africa and I haven't heard any news about him since. Because of these moves, I did not have opportunity to study. And to make things worse, my father passed away 5 years after we moved to the city of Maputo…"*

Marriage as a way of survival

Even though there is not much information on this issue, this study reveals some women considered marriage as a way of escaping poverty. This occurred in the places where women originated as well as in Maputo. The following life histories tell the extent marriage is used as a strategy to escape rural-area poverty.

The first life history is from a woman who was deceived by a man with the promise of marriage:

"*… when I was 17 years old, I agreed to marry a man who was 20 years older than me. I did this because I saw it as an opportunity to come to Maputo. He told me he was divorced and he was looking for someone who could take care of his two children. I believed him and without consulting my parents I followed that man. When we arrived in Maputo, he left me in a rented house in the Benfica neighbourhood. After 6 months, his wife came and beat me up. That is when I found out he was married but by then, I was already pregnant… Suddenly, I lost who I believed was my husband and the house where I was staying. Luckily, I was given refuge in my neighbour's house until the time I gave birth. Of course, by that time, the man had disappeared."*

The second is from a sex worker who said she came to Maputo city in order to find a husband.

"*I came to Maputo following a man who promised to marry me. Once in Maputo, he started to tell me stories and I realized he did not want anything serious with me. I am very disappointed with Maputo because I did not meet the kind of man I had been looking for. That is why I have to do what I am doing now."*

Natural hazards: Drought and Floods

As I explained earlier, Mozambique is a country vulnerable to natural disasters such as floods, drought and cyclones. Several examples of people who changed their residences due to these events are found in several life histories.

Carolina Aly (T3 *barrio*, 20th October 2005) has identified two important thrusts in her migratory experience. The first is related to her move in response to natural hazards such as drought, "*I am 31 years old and born in Memba, Nampula. I am married and have a 5th grade education. I am a maid* (because she does not work in a paid job). "*The place where I was born is known for its terrible droughts. Often, people get their limbs paralysed* (Tropical Neurosis) *due to consumption of the kind of cassava which contains some poison that paralyses the limbs...We were starving and*

were tired of suffering. That is why I came to Maputo." The second push related to her migration was being an "attaché." *"I left Memba in 1999 to join my husband who decided to move away in search of a better place to settle. We were suffering there."*

She elected to join her husband who had fled Memba in the 1980s as a result of the death of relatives and two children due to hunger. *"The civil war killed many of my relatives during 1980s.Then, in the early 1990s, we lost two children because of hunger. My husband decided to move to the city of Maputo, following his brother."*

In this life history excerpt, experiences of war, networking migration – the husband's brother was already in Maputo – and being a man's attaché highlights several facets of the same person.

Escape from parent's compulsory marriage.

Forming part of this category are young women in their early twenties and those women who were influenced by the "winds of independence" and women's emancipation. These women's desire for independence is also reflected in their attitudes towards marriage and rigid rules (Little 1973:130).

In some villages, such as Mandimba, parents continue to regard marriage as a union between two families or groups. Of course, nowadays, personal choice is more frequent than it was in the past. These changes have appeared in response to women's emancipation or empowerment discourses promoted by FRELIMO after the independence and by the government's orientation programs. This stance was taken by both since gender has to be acknowledged in development programs. Today, freedom of choice is enforced by the Constitution and specifically prohibits forced marriages.

The next two life history excerpts demonstrate how these women escaped forced marriage because the civil war allowed them to make their own choices about relocation.

Severina Paulino, (Zimpeto *barrio*, 16th October 2006) has been influenced by several migration push factors. The first was the desire to escape a compulsory marriage. "*I am 42 years old, born in Malema, Nampula province and I am divorced. I left Malema in 1986, and it was my own decision. I did not want to marry the man my parents had chosen to be my husband."*

The second push factor was related with poverty. *"I was tired of all the misery*

The civil war provided another reason to migrate. *"I was studying in Malema when "bandidos armados" attacked the place. I ran to the city of Nampula."* Her choice of Nampula as a safe destination was influenced by family ties. *"I had a sister living in Nampula at the time. It was a distance of 90 km, but I asked for lifts and got there easily."*

Her final move to Maputo was prompted by the need to retain her autonomy. *"I don't want to have someone else make decisions about my life. I am free and well educated. But what was the point of going to school if in the end, it was my parents who decided everything about my life? I decided to run away to Maputo and that is that was what I did."*

Olga Cumbane (Maxaquene B 11th October 2005) was born in Massinga District, Inhambane province, disclosed her parents tried to force her to marry a mine worker. This was happening in spite of the fact she had a fiancé who was studying in Cuba.

"They wanted me to marry an old man, the age of my father. Their argument was: I should not wait for my fiancé who was in Cuba. The better thing to do was marry this man because he would eventually die and I would inherit his wealth."

However, she refused to go along with her parents' decision. *"I could not accept this. The man was old and very ugly, so I made a plan to escape. Because of the war, it was really quite easy to run away and I took a bus to Maputo."*

During the interview I discovered my interviewee was multilingual and fluently spoke English, French and Portuguese. Her migration history began in 1983.

"I am 43 years old, born in Inhambane city. I am a housemaid with a 9th grade education. I left Massinga in 1983. This was when my fiancé was studying in Cuba. He returned in 1995, and that year, we got married."

Women as independent migrants, Independent decision-making and Integration in the city

The purpose of this work is to analyse the decision-making process for moving into the city or elsewhere. Historically, women have been bound by restrictive laws related to their marital status or their position as females within matrilineal and patrilineal societies.

Women as independent migrants arouse debates among the various scholars. The first debate is about the meaning of the term "independent migrant." The second is

how such women have become independent and importantly, what is their marital status? Another question is how the decision is made within the household structure or within the extended family structure? Finally, there is the concept of “making one's own decision” And how that has come about.

Circumstances and situations creating the need to move are as varied as the circumstances of each woman. For the purpose of this study, an “independent decision for migration“ means these women – and men – had the opportunity to choose staying their places of origin or leaving, without asking permission of anyone including government structures.

In matrilineal society, married women must seek permission from their own relatives. In the patrilineal culture, women must approach their husbands’ relatives. Single, divorced, abandoned and young women have more freedom to “follow their destiny” by making choices for themselves.

Many changes in Mozambican society have occurred since the country's independence. Some have been of great significance in terms of social, economic and political structure at the household level as well as at the community level. Women’s adaptation to city life also has had particular influence upon others who have remained in the rural areas. They see their kin as having better opportunities and more choices than they do in the more rural environment.

However, analysing this kind of data has not been an easy task. Over the years, the country has gone through several movements, ranging from socialism to a free market economy. In 1990, the government introduced the multiparty system, allowing the citizenry the freedom to consider all ideologies and insights. Abruptly, Mozambique shifted away from a system where all decisions were made by the government or according to customary laws. With the switch to an open system, people started to drift away from these traditions. Male migration, plus the addition of greater mobility for women led to increased urbanisation.

Some of my findings reveal female students and those who pursued work as carriers were the first migrant women to do so independently. They arrived in Maputo in the early 1990s. The second group comprised of the poor, widows, abandoned wives and single mothers arrived by the late 1990s.

While the students and carrier followers had it in mind to reach higher positions after finishing their studies, the abandoned, widows and single mothers simply wanted to avoid rural poverty. There were better chances of finding work to feed their children

in Maputo. Several life histories painted a vivid a picture of the lives of migrant women who no longer had relatives in their places of origin.

Teresa's and Joana's life histories show the reverse side of what is happening in the matrilineal system. Teresa came to the city as an independent woman. "*There was not a need to ask for permission to come to Maputo. I am an orphan and without brothers and sisters there is no reason for that.*" In fact, this appears to be quite an abnormal situation, taking what I witnessed in Mandimba district, as an example.

Joana's story is another instance of changes in attitudes in relation to decisions concerning important aspects of life. "*Although I felt there was a need to inform my parents about my plan, I bore in mind that whether or not they accepted my decision, I would still come to Maputo. I had the chance to take the training course to be a teacher. Living in Maputo meant I could enrol in the university,*"

Her moving to Maputo was also facilitated by the networks she had with relatives already living there.

The next story is that of a woman born in Zavala, in southern Mozambique. Here, the picture changes drastically because her background is patrilineal. According to customary laws here, she is dependent and belongs to her parents when single. However, when she marries, she becomes member of the husband's family and thus belongs to them.

Marta was born in Zavala, in Inhambane province. As a single mother with some education, she left Zavala as a consequence of her pregnancy. During time she was pregnant, the baby's father was chased away from the parent's house. So, she went to live at her boyfriend's house. Soon, the boyfriend had the opportunity to pursue his studies in Cuba and left her with his parents. Unfortunately, she was not made to feel welcome in that house. Because she was mistreated, after the birth of her child, she decided – without consulting anyone – to move to Maputo.

Teresa, Joana and Marta represent women who have begun to live and think outside the boundaries of customary laws. Of course, from just three life histories, I do not have enough evidence to make any definite conclusions. However, it would be interesting to further pursue what has precipitated this change.

Collecting the experiences of women who became orphans at an early age would be interesting and useful data to gather. Perhaps the lack of relatives who would otherwise support a young female might lead a young woman to think and behave more autonomously.

There is also the issue of poverty. At a time when one cannot support him/herself or immediate family, networking with friends and relatives helps in making the decision to migrate.

Chant and Brydon say people move into urban areas as a result of the need for income (to pay taxes to a colonial or post-colonial state). Need of income also comes from a desire to buy consumer goods such as clothing, bicycles, sewing machines, radios, etc. Income is also needed to invest in business and/or education.

Townsend and Momsen, quoted by Brydon and Chant, defend the need for income-earning opportunities are a major reason why women have dominated rural-urban migration flows in Latin America. That postulation must be taken cautiously when we analyse the feminization of migration in Africa, and Mozambique in particular. This country has endured natural hazards, colonialism, civil war, socialism and has returned to the capitalist system. Therefore, Mozambique has experienced a very different history compared to Latin America – including the recognition of female migration.

In spite of gathering new data, it is still quite difficult to reach a final conclusion for the reasons why female migration in Africa has become so much more prevalent. Generally, this is because women's migration studies have received very little attention until now. The authors whom I have cited say this is because of the historic dominance of men in migratory flows.

My limited background has impelled me to add, that besides this postulation, there is a general scarcity of migration studies in countries like Mozambique. Several scholars, Chant, Radcliffe and Brydon, to name a few, have tried to generalise female migration studies in Africa. They argue migrant women are divided into two categories – older women: those who move with their husbands, and secondly, younger women who move on their own.

In Mozambique, it has been observed, particularly between 1975 and 1990, most women who came into the city were forced into taking on "revolution tasks." This group is very significant since it includes war veterans, politicians, the Portuguese civil servant replacements in the public sector, as well as those who followed the principles of women's emancipation.

If scholars such as Brydon and Chant emphasise economic vision is dominant in women deciding in favour of migration, this conclusion must not generalized.

Different countries have different histories. Countries such as Mozambique, ruled by socialism, have another history to remember. In Mozambique, the socialist system stimulated the migration of both females and males within the context of their "orientation" settlements.

By 1980s and 199's the civil war forced virtually everybody in the country to move. Most women who were not part of military service were forced to leave their places of origin for reasons of safety and security. Maputo was the most preferred destination city, particularly for those who were from southern Mozambique**.**

As the 1990's approached, the rate of social change gained momentum due to the Structural Adjustment Program, introduced in 1987. This one policy seems to have transformed the production system from collectivization into the private system, which directly impacted the rural areas. One of the direst consequences was and is rural poverty. Most scholars as well as the UNDP (1999; 2000) agree on this point.

Initially, this movement of "independent" women was strongly condemned by traditional leaders and men who wanted to maintain the status quo. Gender inequalities, such as the inability to make decisions or having a voice in the household, worked to keep women "in their place." At the very beginning of this movement, most men did not want their spouses working in the labour market or vending publicly.

As a matter of fact, in Mandimba, only few women have payable jobs or are involved in businesses. Partially, this is because most women here are illiterate and those who work in the public or in businesses were originally from other localities, mainly the southern provinces.

However, considering the county's history, it must be recognised women have long demonstrated they can very well take on the responsibly of feeding those left behind. "At *bus stops, it is common to see women sending packages or goods to their relatives in their homeland.*" (Focus Group Discussion, 5th May 2007)

An analysis of interviews demonstrates the decision to migrate is shaped by the following conditions:

- After independence, everybody had the freedom of choice. They could move where they wanted, rather than where they were told.
- The "winds of independence" and women's emancipation have influenced the thinking of women and men.

- With the increase of poverty in rural areas, women have to look for work to survive.
- It is fashionable and a matter of pride to have someone within the household who is a migrant. It is generally known the rural subsistence economy has become increasingly more dependent upon remittances.

Although men have long been migrants, in the matter of remittances it can be observed women have taken on the important role of sending money or products "home." Such remittances may be small or of low value but they are sent regularly. This happens no matter what difficulties may be faced in the hosting areas. Men mostly send home goods of high value like furniture for the house, agricultural tools such as ploughs, solar panels, grinder mills, bicycles, building materials, etc. Women send money, clothing, and cosmetics. They also save money (*pé de meia*) to buy land or houses.

In general, the majority of those interviewed were from the southern Mozambican provinces. The average age of my sampling ranged between 25 and 45 years. However, many of these in-bound migrants had their migratory experiences in their early teens.

The period showing a major flux of migrants was between the independence and during the civil war, 1975 – 1992. Several women telling their life histories revealed their age and, in most cases of migration, marital status was a determinant. Thus, if they had the opportunity to choose between staying or relocating, a decision would be made. For example, children and adolescents mostly moved within the family context, meaning the decision to migrate was made by adult members of the family unit. However, there were also government decisions which separated families.

In the family context, children and teens might be sent to an older sister or aunt to look after them. In return, these children and teens were expected to do unpaid domestic work for their relatives. Most children, especially girls, did not have the opportunity to pursue their studies. Once grown, many again ended up as housemaids or were involved in informal work activities and some went into prostitution in order to survive.

Especiosa Macuácua, a house maid, (Maxaquene 'A' *barrio* Mafalala neighbourhood, 24th September 2005) tells her story.

"*My name is Especiosa Macuácua. I came to the city when I was 9 years old. That was in 1977, following being sent to my aunt. I was born in Chibuto and my mother was a peasant. My father was a mine labourer in South Africa. My aunt was living in the Museu barrio of Maputo and drove a nice car since she worked for the government, I think. I was really too young to know who she was working for. My mother thought that by coming to Maputo, I would have the chance to continue my education since I was already studying at the grade 3 level."*

At this early stage in life, her expectations were crushed. Life in Maputo was difficult and a complete disappointment.

"I found another reality in Maputo. I had to look after my aunt's two children. Actually, they were well married and had nice jobs because they had university degrees. When my mother came to visit me, I told her about how hard I had to work and about my living conditions but she did not take the issue seriously.

"Then, in 1978, Chibuto was flooded and because the family was living so close to the river, our belongings were washed away. What made things worse was the silence from my father. He abandoned the family. We have never heard from him again. Perhaps he died or maybe he is still alive. Only God knows what happened to him. My mother had six children and I did not have any choice other than to remain at my aunt's house. She did not want to put me into school, so that was the end of my education."

Especiosa's situation only got worse when she got pregnant at age 14.

"When I was 14, I got pregnant and my aunt chased me away from her house. I joined the father of my child but life was not easy because he was not working and was living in his parents' house. And he was no good. He deceived me with another woman, so I left. After two years of suffering, I started to work as a housemaid in a flat in Polana Cimento 'A.' I have been working in that house ever since.

"My mistress bought me a house in Maxaquene 'A,' where I still live with my son who is now 21 years old. He is studying at the university. I did not marry and did not have more children. I think I was made barren. Still, I have to thank God, since my son is now studying at the university, even though I did not have that opportunity, I am thankful."

Although Especiosa has led a difficult life as single mother, in the end, things have turned out rather well. She is comfortably employed, a home owner and her son is attending university.

Marieta Chunguane, from Manjacaze (Malanga market 31st October 2005) shared her migration history which included being forced into a polygamous marriage.

"I married at the age of 14 in 1980. He was a mine worker and already had two wives. The senior wives used to beat me up during his absence. I was very sad but could not leave that house because my father used to threaten me. He said the man had paid a lot of money for my lobolo. My mother would say 'marriage is like that' and told me I just had to accept it. But I was not doing well in that kind of life and wanted to get away."

The opportunity to escape came with armed attacks.

"With the worsening of the civil war, in 1987, Chilatanhane, our village, was attacked and we had to flee. My parents were killed and the house where I was living was burnt. I took that opportunity to run off to Manjacaze and then to Xai-Xai."

"In Xai-Xai, I stayed at my aunt's house. She was married and worked looking after her children. Her husband tried to rape me and I told my aunt. But she accused me of trying to take her husband. She chased me out of her house during the night. I did not have any place to go and asked for refuge with a neighbour.. The next day, I started looking for a job and soon found employment as a housemaid. After 6 months, I decided to go to Maputo because they were not paying me regularly."

As we can see, in Xai-Xai, Marieta experienced two "push" momentums. First, were the unwanted sexual advances of her uncle and her aunt's anger forced her out of the only home she had. And second, an unreliable employer did not pay regularly gave her enough reason to look for something better.

"I decided it was better to skip that job and go somewhere I could find something better. Then I moved to Maputo. I did not have a child to look after, so I moved to Maputo."

Her moving to Maputo was facilitated by the fact of not having children.

"In Maputo, I found a place to stay with a friend and she introduced me into the business environment. I use to sell her products and she used to give me a commission of 5 percent. (Calculations made by this researcher) *Then after one year, I established my own business. I moved from her house and rented a room in the Benfica neighbourhood. Now, for more than 15 years, I have been involved in the business of*

selling sweet ice, cotton ice and toasted peanuts. I really cannot say whether my migration experience has been good or not."

Another case in point comes from Lídia Matemula, a woman who was authorized by her in-laws to leave the place she was living because their son had abandoned her. Her history is notable because of several somewhat unique experiences. She was born in the Magude district, of Maputo province (T3 *barrio*, 17 the November 2005)

"*I was married to a man from Manhiça district, in Maputo province. I met my husband in Magude when I was at school and he was there visiting his relatives. I got pregnant at the age of 16 years and moved to the boy's parents' house in Manhiça. This happened because my parents could not afford to support my daughter and me.*

"We lived together for a few months until he was summoned for the Forced Service, in 1986. However, unknown to me, he had escaped to South Africa as an illegal. He left when I was almost due to have my baby. I had my daughter while staying at my in-laws house. For two years, I did not hear anything about him and I thought that he had died.

"When my daughter was 3 years old, I received a letter from him saying he was O.K. and not to worry about him. He said I was free to decide about my future since he was not willing to return to Mozambique. Then, my parents-in-law told me they did not want to have anything to do with me, so I had better to look for another place to stay. From their attitude, I understood they had known all long about their son's decision. Suddenly I was alone.

"This was the time of the civil war and armed attacks were worsening in Magude, where I came from, so I could not go back there. Instead, I went to Maputo, following my relatives who were there already. In Maputo, I went to the so-called Barrio Magude, where my parents were living. It was very hard to live in one hut with my parents, brothers, sisters my daughter and me – five in total.

Without a suitable education to get a decent job, she started to make and sell alcohol. *I started to look for ways to earn money. Initially depending on the availability of the raw material, I was involved in selling alcoholic drinks such as 'xilalassane'* (made from pineapple), '*xipawane*' (made from bread), *tontonton* (made

from sugar cane) and *uputsu* (made from maize or maize crumbs). *I sold my products from the front yard of the house where we were living. With the money I earned, I was able to support my parents and my brothers and sisters as well as my daughter."*

After the signing of the General peace Agreement, Lídia's life conditions started to change for the better and she moved into her own house.

"By 1994, two years after the signing of the GPA, I decided to look for a place of my own to stay. My businesses were running well. In the meantime she embarked in work as a cross-border trader and she got "married."

"I also had started doing cross-border trade into Swaziland. There, I was buying clothing and some groceries and was able to earn enough to save some money. In 1997, I joined with a man with whom I had two children in the T3 neighbourhood. The house belonged to him, but with my savings I contributed to extending and repairing it. If it ever happens that we separate, I think the house will belong to our children. But, I don't even think about separation since the relationship has gone very well. We have already lived together for 8 years."

The next history belongs to Ilda Mate from Guijá (T3 *barrio*, 27th September 2005) who made her own decision to leave the place she was living. In Ilda's history, I easily identified the different push-pull factors. The first is related with the fact she hated her life in the countryside. For her, this was reason enough to enter into migration. Quit happily, she left parents and home in search of the good life.

"I left Guijá for the city of Xai-Xai when I was 14. I was single and free and I hated the life in the countryside. I had a friend whose boyfriend was working on the Massingir Dam and used to bring many nice things to her. My friend had nice clothing. So without any notice to my parents, I just left my homeland. This occurred in late 1970s or early 1980s. I do not know if it was a good thing to do or not."

Shortly after her arrival in Xai-Xai she met a boy who had fancy things and also got her pregnant. *"In Xai-Xai, I met my boyfriend who also was working at the Massingir Dam. He had a motorbike. At the beginning, things went very well because we use to go to the Bilene beach as well as the beaches in Chongoene and Xai-Xai."*

Ilda's third momentum occurred when she was abandoned by the boyfriend because of her pregnancy. She had to drop out of school and look for work.

"When I got pregnant in 1981, my boyfriend left me. I did not have any education because I had dropped out of school when I was in the 4th grade."

Because life became more difficult, she sent her child to her parents. *"When my son was 1 year old, I sent him to my parents' house. Fortunately they accepted their grandson. In 1983, I enrolled in a training course to be a primary school teacher at the Inhamissa Training School in Xai-Xai, But, I did not finish my training since I met another man who promised to marry me. In 1985, I was pregnant again and moved-in with him in downtown Xai-Xai.*

It turned out he was a bad man. He would beat me up and I found out he had another wife and four children. But, because I had no choice, I stayed on with him 4 more years. In Xai-Xai, I worked doing cultivation. I also learned how to crochet and started to sell children's boats and hats. All the while, I was doing my pé de meia, saving money for my migration to Maputo and a better future.

I saved that money with a friend. I trusted her very much, because I had it in my mind to leave that man. I did not intend leave Guijá to get into a situation worse than where I was.

One of the strategies Ilda used was not to get pregnant again. Having

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"W*ith that man, I had only one child. He wondered why I was not getting pregnant again. I told him it was probably because he did not pay any lobolo and perhaps his other wife was jealous. In truth, I had been deceiving him because I was taking contraceptives.*

"With the money I saved from my crochet activities, I took my daughter and ran away to Guijá. In Guijá, I stayed only four months since it was not safe because of the civil war. But the war also helped me because that man could not follow me.

"I used to exchange letters with a friend who was established in Maputo. So, in 1991, I decided to travel to Maputo. The first trip was just to see how things were there. I found the place satisfactory and decided to leave my homeland permanently."

Lídia cautiously used a two-step plan in her move to Maputo. Settlement there was facilitated by networking with a friend. Once in Maputo she experimented with several businesses and she lived in several different *barrios.*

"*My friend was already involved in cross-border trade to Swaziland. After a month in Maputo, I liked it enough to decide to settle there. That was in 1992. After 3 years, my businesses started to be profitable. I was able to save some money and in*

1995, I bought a house in Maxaquene 'A.' In that same year, I gathered my children and brought them to live with me. Both are studying and are doing well at school.

"My migration experience was full of ups and downs. One thing this life has taught me – and I will never forget it – is no man will deceive me again! I have learned a lot. Now, I have a friend who I entertain but it is not serious because he is married and I no longer believe in men. He has is wife in Chicuque in Inhambane – and most importantly – he does not interfere in my businesses."

Laura Musochua (Zimpeto *barrio*, 10th November 2005, Zimpeto) is 42 years old and born in Chibuto. She is an example of how parents-in-law made the decision for her to move. Of course, later, when it was time for another move, she decided for herself. Laura's story starts with her pregnancy and the consequent dropping out of school.

"When I got pregnant with my first born, I was 15 years old and he was 17. We both were attending 5th grade in Chibuto. I dropped out of school and he pursued his studies. Then, in 1980, he went to Maputo search for work. Once in Maputo, he did not come back to visit me and did not send anything to support his child.

Eventually, Laura consulted with her in-laws about following her husband and they consented, even purchasing her bus ticket. And, due to the sensitivity of the situation, she was allowed to travel with her brother-in-law. This attitude of her in-laws reveals they were concerned about the silence of their son and his whereabouts.

"After consulting my parents-in-law, we agreed I should travel to Maputo in order to find out what was going on. He had not been in touch for three years. My father-in-law paid for a ticket on the Oliveiras Transport. It was my first trip to Maputo. I travelled with my brother-in-law because he knew where my husband was living."

"He was staying in the Malanga barrio. I was shocked because I found a pregnant woman also in that house. I was very desperate and did not know what to do. I returned to Chibuto in order to inform my parents-in-law about what was happening. But because he had not paid any lobolo they just released me.

"I returned to my parent's house but they were very poor. Because my parents were not able to feed my son and me, I asked my grandmother for a plot of land so I

could do cultivation. That was in the late 1980s. Farming was very hard work, so I thought it would be best to start looking for a better future for me and my son.

That opportunity came when I learned the provincial directorate of Education, in Xai-Xai, was organising a training course in adult education. Since I had already my 5th grade, I attended that course for three months. I was then qualified to teach adults to read and write and to read. Although it was voluntary work, it helped me to meet people. Since this was not paid work, I decided to find another alternative. That meant going to Maputo in 1991".

Her move was facilitated by a friend, which means friendship plays a relevant role in migration. However the job the friend offered her was sex work, which she accepted to get her life in Maputo started.

"I had a friend who was living in Maputo and told me I could always find something to do in the city. She meant being a sex worker. It was a very hard thing to accept but it helped me survive for two years. Finally, I decided to give it up when I met a man who promised to look after me. I was happy to give up that kind of work and he bought a house for me in Zimpeto.

"But, living with that man is like being in prison because he is always threatening me. He says if he ever learned I was having any affairs, he would chase me away and would take back everything he had given me. This man, himself, is nothing but insincerity. He is already married and has four children with his official wife. He lives in Polana Cimento 'A.' His wife knows about me but she cannot do anything because she doesn't want any scandal. She is dependent on him, just like me. I am very unhappy.

*With him, I have one child. But, at least I could bring my son who is studying and is trying to start a business. In the meantime, I am having my 'pé de meia' since I sell 'matoritori' (*baked biscuits made of coconuts and sugar*).*

"I also do after school classes with children who are in the 1st and 2nd grades. Once in a while, I sell female underwear that I buy from a friend who gets it from the Nigerians.

Of course, that man knows all about the money I earn and I have to give my income to him. I cannot refuse to show him my profits because he gave me permission to go into business. In the meantime, I put my savings in the bank and also I do xitique. My plan is, one day, to buy my own piece of land so I can build my own house. I am

aware this will be difficult since this man is violent. I am married since I have a man who pays all my expenses. Everybody in this barrio knows him, even the secretary of the barrio."

For some women migration is a way of improving their lives compared to those who decided not to move. "*If I look back to my friends, who I left behind I can see those who did not decide to move had too many children, became old and are still poor,"* says Ilda Mate.

This next history tells the story of yet another migratory experience. This is Madalena Massinga's story and she is from Vilanculos (Malanga *barrio,* 30th November 2005). Madalena was abandoned by her husband and this was the reason she chose to relocate to Maputo.

"When my husband abandoned me with three children, in 1989, I decided to go to Maputo. I had some friends in the city who were making a life for themselves there. At that time, the war was so terrible. I could not risk staying where I was. And, I could not simply watch my children starve or die because of the war. In the late 1980s, I had two options – get out and have a chance to live, or stay and die of starvation or at the hands of the bandidos armadas."

It has been said children can prevent women from taking advantage of the opportunities presented by migration. Madalena was faced with a difficult choice. "*So, I left my children with my mother and went to Maputo.*

Here, I worked selling coconut biscuits. From this, I managed to save some money and I moved into a rented house in Malanga. In 1993, I bought that house. By then, the war was over and the previous owner decided to return to Moamba district, in Maputo province. When my house was ready, I went to Vilanculos to fetch my children"

"*Now I own a stall in Malanga market, close to my house. I sell coconuts, coconut biscuits and cassava flour, sent by my mother. Also I sell some vegetables. Those I grow in Boane, where I have a piece of land. I have a business partner, who is my also husband – even though he is officially married to someone else. I do not have any children with him, but the guy has helped me in so many ways associated to my house. He is a long-haul driver between Vilanculos and Maputo. He carries my orders to my mother and brings the coconuts and cassava back to be sold here, in Maputo.*"

Beyond the issue of independent decision, women's emancipation impacts the culture as well as the structure of society. At a glance, it can be concluded the women who migrate to Maputo city possess the following characteristics:

Women from southern Mozambique who relocate independently, most often are illiterate, while those from northern Mozambique tend to be functionally literate or better. When asked to describe the circumstances around their decision – provided they felt they had made the decision – answers were varied. The answer received from a woman named Lucrécia was quite typical.

"*An independent woman is one who lives alone, without a man who controls her life, or wants to know where she has been or what she has been doing. So I decided to move because I felt that I was free and there was no need to ask for permission from anybody."*

This group of "independent migrants" once in the city of Maputo tried to maintain their freedom. "*I built my own house because I did not want to have someone controlling my life – down to what I have been doing in the toilet.*"

Some forms of access to Land and cash-income

As explained earlier, the issue of land access and use has taken on several forms. Women in the cities are more vulnerable since there is a scarcity of land because land has become expensive. – This has happened in spite of the fact that the Mozambican Constitution says land cannot be sold.

Several ways of access to land have been identified. These include inheritance, purchasing, borrowing, and receiving property as a gift. What's certain is most of these women who gained access to land, still do not have title deeds. This puts them in a place of vulnerability as some interviewees have related. With the implementation of several development projects, such as the Maputo corridor, the building of houses and other enterprises, the result is personal loss. "*Most of us lost land without any compensation because we were cultivating on State property.*"

Since it has been very difficult to obtain land for cultivation, some interviewees said hey did cultivation in their homelands such as Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces. Obviously, this system has its own disadvantages since women stay away from their households for long periods of time. This forces the children and husbands to subsist in the city without the mother/wife. This system has obviously changed the structure of the household. In the past, it was the man who went away from the household to generate income.

Lastly, it is clear the issue of land management has become more complicated. According to the law, all land belongs to the State and cannot be sold. However, throughout the country, since the GPA, several ways of "selling land" have emerged, as it falls under the "protection" of *barrio chiefs* in the cities and rural villages. Therefore, people are, in actuality, able to buy land. This includes women as there are no restrictions preventing them from buying property.

A growing number of women are now in possession of land deeds despite current high prices. This increase is particularly noticeable among *mukheristas* and others who are heavily involved in business. Women, from southern Mozambique, when asked about the ownership of land said they bought property in order to secure the future of their children. This is because most were not married and wanted to create a legacy. Some women who were married declared the land they tilled belonged to their husbands and children.

The situation of female ownership of land is a new phenomenon since, according to the customary laws, women do not inherit land and cannot possess it. Traditionally, land was borrowed either by their husbands or the in-law-relatives.

With respect to cash income, unequal gender relations make women dependent upon their husbands. Some women disclose their incomes to their husbands as is the case for Preciosa Mabote (Alto Maé 'B' *barrio*, 22nd October 2005).

"*I am 35 years old. I was born in Mabote, in Inhambane province. I am married and a seller at the Malanga informal market. I have my own stall in that market and the money I earn I give to my husband since he is the head of the household.*

The money I earn belongs to my husband because he authorized me to sell. Otherwise, I would not be doing this business." Her only compensation is she knows she is earning money even though she has no right to manage it. *"When I need something, I have to ask my husband for money."*

Several life histories indicate all cash-income within the household is managed by the head of the household usually, the man/husband. Only he can decide how that money may be used.

However, with the advent of the civil war, the Structural Adjustment Program, the economic shift and the increase of rural poverty, the result has been a decline of the male presence in the household. Thus, there is suddenly more room for women to be involved in business and to some extent, in cash management.

Through interviews, it is clear there are changes in the composition of Mozambican households and several ways, cash management can be found:

a) The man controls all the income. – This is a general situation.

b) In households without a man, the oldest woman is responsible for family expenditures and has control of all income.

c) The man receives all the income and allocates a portion for food which is managed by the woman.

d) Those members of a household, who generate income do not hand it over to anyone. Each has an individual responsibility for certain types of expenditures. In the case of a second wife, she has the opportunity to "hide" some money through the *pé de meia* strategy.

Even though most women do not manage or control their own incomes, there is the other side of the coin. Women, such as Júlia Macore (Alto Maé 'A' *bairro*, 3rd October 2005), from Niassa, have taken charge of their cash in the following way:

"*I am 26 years old and born in Mecanhelas, in Niassa province. I am married. I have 12th grade education and live in a rented flat which has two bedrooms. In that flat, I live with my husband and three children."*

Júlia came to Maputo on her own decision. Similar to other interviewees, Júlia already had contacts in the city.

"*I came to Maputo in search of better living conditions and to pursue my studies. I did not ask for permission because I knew no one would forbid me. I had some connections in Maputo. They were my former classmates who told me about the city life.".*

Although her integration into the city was difficult, she felt she had succeeded since she has attained some prosperity from her business.

"My integration into the city was very difficult but I did survive and even prospered since now I am an owner of a hairdressing salon. I would like to get a university degree in order to go further. Since I have the support of my husband, my experience in the city has been positive.

When it comes to the issue of money management, her business is her own and her husband has no say in it.

"In relation with the issue of cash-management, I can say I am blessed. My husband allows me to use my money according to the needs of the business and my

personal needs. He says that money belongs to me. If he is in need, only then will he ask for money. It was a family decision to have this system of money management."

In the meanwhile, she saves for the future, a strategy she learned while living in Maputo.

"In this city, I have learned women do their pé de meia because their husbands demand all their cash from them. Fortunately, I do not need to do that because I manage my cash myself, because I earn it in my hairdressing salon."

Women are concerned about their status. Traditionally, they have to obey the "*mulumuzana"* since he is the family breadwinner. However, with women's emancipation, many have learned they do have a voice when it comes to the issue of money and other household concerns. The 1990 revised Constitution has given women more rights and more confidence. However, women still fear their husbands as some are very aggressive and beat them because of money and other issues (FGD, 3rd November 2006). In these situations, some women have created strategies to prevent all their money from being taken money, while still avoiding beatings, as the next Focus Group Discussion reveals.

Women admitted to giving their incomes to their husbands. However, while they do this, they also contribute to *pé-de-meia.*

"*Most of us, who are involved in business, present our incomes to our husbands or partners."* They need authorization in what to expend money as they

They require the man's authorisation for any expenditure f money.

"Only he can decide what to do with that money. Generally, they want us to buy furniture and to help them put petrol in their cars."

Apart from the *pé-de-mei*a women engage in the informal credit system, called *xitique.*

"Since women can think like men, and due to our cleverness, we have developed strategies in order to save our money. We save money through xitique. Through this system, we manage to buy land as security for the future. "

With the money saved, they buy land for house construction.

"Most of us, who are cross border traders, have trucks and pieces of land in Gwava, where we are building our houses. In Mozambique, a woman can open her own bank account without a man's authorisation. This is fortunate. In the other countries, we have learned, a woman cannot have her own account unless she shares it with her husband or another man of authority in her life."

Saved money also serves to help cope with harsh times, such as losing a house, illness and death.

"One of our members, who recently became a widow, lost the house in which was living with her late husband. This was because hers was the second marriage. Even though the husband was divorced from the first wife, the court decided to give the house to her because the man was the father of her children.

It seems she, our associate, was thinking about the future because, by the time she was married, she was doing well. She had bought a flat and rented it out. Also, she has started to build a house in the Mahotas neighbourhood. Imagine if she did not have that strategy? Today she would be homeless. You have to open your eyes if you do not want to be trapped by life!"

Women in urban areas and survival strategies:

Women in Africa have had a long history of organising themselves, formally or informally, in order to overcome the problems they face (Miles 1997). Through such initiatives, women have helped each other meet family welfare needs and to give each other advice and moral support (UNDP 2001). Several survival forms can be found like savings systems known in the southern Mozambique as *xitique*.

Xitique, as Casimiro (2004:166) points out, is an urban strategy used by women consisting of saving money. The minimum amount is stipulated by the group of savers. Through this saving system, the informal traders buy more products to sell, or invest for children's school fees, clothing or other domestic products. This strategy has proved to be effective since as it allows women to better manage their incomes through pooling resources. More and more women are getting involved in the informal economy in this manner. They have become vendors and businesswomen feminising business as well as Migration.

Although business is largely operated by women, control and cash management usually lies in the hands of men. As with many things in the patriarchal system, men still decide what to do and how to spend cash. Chant (1989:245) describes patriarchy as the manifestation and institutionalisation of male dominance over women and children in the family. It is also the extension of male dominance over women in society in general.

In response to this "control" by men women have created several strategies for survival. These are explained in the next section.

Survival strategies

The most widespread and typical survival strategy used by women is to be a vendor. There are three categories of vendors. The first is comprised of those who use stalls in public areas or sell door to door. The second is made up of those who sell from their homes, in their backyard or front yard. The third group consists of true entrepreneurs.

They include storehouse suppliers, mainly cross-border traders, either internally, between different provinces; or regionally, with neighbouring countries. The true international traders are those who go to Brazil, Thailand, Hong Kong, Dubai and China to buy goods for resale in Mozambique.

In fact, for many households, the informal economy has become their key survival strategy and the main income source. Men, like women, have also gained through informal activities. Apart from being sellers, they also manage their wives' incomes. Even though there are some signs of women's advancement in decision-making, it is still clear women's decisions are, more often than not, influenced by men.

Women are involved in some associations such as *Mukhero.* However, it remains an association of female traders chaired by a man for over five years.

"W*e rather prefer to have a man [take the lead],"* explained one member, *"because he can discuss things with the sharks at the Custom Services and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Ourselves, we only know how to deal with the Custom Services at the borders.*" (Focus Group Discussion, Maputo 1st March 2006).

Women have been engaged in business and trade to an unexpected extent. They manage thousands of USD and Rand. They possess trucks and chains of supply stores. They have become prominent in the local markets as it is mostly women who tend to supply all informal markets and Indian shops. It has been said these women saved Maputo during the "hungry years" in the 1980s and 1990s. This was when women, moved by the sense of survival, became involved in business.

These were women who did not worry about crossing the border into Swaziland, using a route where the RENAMO forces ambushed people and cars. They were on a quest for "bread" for their children. Apart from their spirit of motherhood, they were tired of eating cabbage. During the war, cabbage was called "*if it was not me,*" meaning if it was not for cabbage, people would be starving to death in Maputo. In

fact, during 1980s, Maputo city dwellers survived on cabbage, bitter yellow maize flour and a kind of fish known by Pedro Ben[20] (Focus Group Discussion, Maputo 1st March 2006).

Apart from these above discussed systems, there are those who involve women in working systems where there are psychological group supports such as burial and church societies or prayer groups like The Legion of Mary. Some of these experiences date back to the colonial period and have continued into post-independence in new forms such as an association of Housewives. Actually, many associations formed by migrant women have been growing in the city – "The Association of Housemaids," "The Association of Women Cooks," The Tufo dancers" as well as the wide-spread association of business women, called "*Mukhero*[21]."

Burial and church societies are formed to function as a financial, emotional and spiritual support structures in the event of a death in the family. In Zimpeto barrio, they pay an annual fee of 600.00 MT and a fixed monthly subscription fee of 50,00MT (Interview with Ms. Massinga, 20th October 2005). The membership is restricted exclusively to women. Meetings are held at the homes of different members on a monthly rotational system. The hostess is expected to provide food and drinks for the society members after the meeting.

Prayer groups, through which women give and receive financial, spiritual and emotional support, are also present elsewhere. This structure involves mutual exchange of meeting needs. Christian associations such as The Legions of Mary and other networks are particularly important in alleviating an immediate crisis situation. As a result of my observations and findings I sum up by saying: women have created the following strategies over years:

1) To work as house workers and caretakers.
2) Participate in voluntary associations such as *Xitique.*
3) To be a member of the *Mukhero* Association made up of cross-border traders. This association is chaired by a gentleman and serves to deal with the customs

[20] Pedro Ben it is a Mozambican singer who was very popular during late 1970s and 1980s and was known for his big eyes.

[21] This name came from a corrupted English phrase: "Will you carry this bag for me?" This referred to processing at border facilities, which in Shangana and Ronga Mozambican national languages, spoken in Maputo and Gaza provinces, as well as Southern Mozambique sounds like: "Mukhero." so, mukhero means cross-border informal trade and the "Mukherista" are the woman who are involved with cross-border trade (Mr. Sudeca Novela, President of Mukhero Association, 2nd August 2005).

services since it is said the custom services officers are the "stones in their shoes".

4) *Pé de meia savings* is a practice used by women for saving money. This money can come from what their husbands give them monthly, or it can be money they hide from the husbands. It may also be money these women earn from their businesses. This money is usually is hidden in a place only known by the eldest daughter or a good friend of the woman doing the saving. This strategy provides a "nest egg" or cash buffer to be used in times of difficulty or in a situation of divorce. Therefore, a woman would not have to leave the house with "*One hand back and another in front*[22]." Sex workers use the same *pé de meia* strategy. They hide this money from their gigolos or pimps[23]. They usually do not give their earnings to any other member of the household, but spend it or save the cash as they think best.
5) Religious associations: A Catholic association, The Legion of Our Lady serves to support its members during times of need – such as funerals, weddings, *lobolo*, illness, etc. These associations have something in common as the all come to aid of their membership experiencing problems or difficulties.
6) Being "second wives" as another means of survival and has the same level of prestige as being a married women.
7) Prostitution – the sale of sexual services.
8) With them arguing that: "Niassa is too far."

6.3 Challenges and opportunities of migrant men

As demonstrated in the previous chapters, for countless years, men have been the major migrants. Causes for men's migration are not any different than those reasons prompting women to relocate. Men, as well as women, experienced forced migration. This took many forms, including Operação *Produção*, transferences, government orientation, civil war runners, forced military service, the Structural Adjustment Program and the repatriation process following the war. Apart from these factors, it is well known labour migration into neighbouring countries, as well as long-

[22] It is a popular a Brazilian saying that means to leave without anything only to cover the nakedness.
[23] Put in my pocket.

distance trade, has been the dominion of males. This is expected to such an extent that in southern rural Mozambique, if a fellow is not a migrant miner he is not considered a man.

Looking at all these factors, it can be concluded that since the independence, migration does not have a gender. Differences are found mainly in the circumstances impelling people to leave their homeland.

In both societies under analysis, men have more freedom to leave their places of birth, make the decision of where to go and where to settle. When it comes to land access, cash-income management, and marriage, men occupy a privileged position. This generally is because they are the heirs and, as the heads of households, can decide how the household income – usually cash – is used. Typically, they control all income generated by themselves and by their female counterparts.

Several men's life histories attest to these conditions as well as specific situations compelling them to move to Maputo. Married men have used various strategies to migrate. Most commonly, they inform their partners they have decided to move and the wives are expected to join them. A variety of reasons for relocating, such as job transfers, were given. These men also said once they were settled in the destination area, they summon their wives to join them. However, some men made the decision to neither inform or call their wives, thus, abandoning them.

The majority of interviewed men were from southern Mozambique. The majority opted to move to Maputo without informing their wives and relatives. Some may have informed their wives but felt there was no reason to notify any relatives. To the contrary, when men from northern and central Mozambique decide to relocate, they must ask permission of their parents-in-law as customary law demands.

A few examples follow men who either discussed the move with their wives or asked permission from their parents or other relatives. Once in the city, such men, usually find work in the informal job sector, just as female migrants do. They rent or own stalls in the markets, do odd jobs such as gardening, security guards, stonemasons or painters. However, they seldom work as cross-border traders or internal long-distance traders.

Men from southern Mozambique are mainly involved in the transportation businesses, including being automobile mechanics. Others are marketers in the main and informal markets. Literate men work as civil servants, in the military, in the police force or as security guards.

In terms of age, men who come to Maputo are divided into two specific groups. The first is comprised of people who are over 40 years of age and came as war veterans, soldiers, students and civil servants. The second group is comprised of those who are in their late twenties and arrived as students, pursuers, job seekers as well as those who were summoned by relatives already living in the city.

There were several men who came to the city in fulfilment of their citizenship duties. Typically, these people had been drafted into the Forced Military Service. When asked about their future plans in terms of migration, such as returning to their homelands, most men said they would like to go home but it was not practical. They would not return to their homelands because some were married to women from the south, thus they would not do well in northern Mozambican environment. Other reasons for not returning to rural areas included lack of employment in the north and they now were too "urbanised" to live in the country.

Most of these men, when they first arrived in Maputo, expected to have some level of support in the city, since their relatives lived in communities such as Mafalala, Malhangalene and the Military neighbourhoods. However, the dream quickly vanished because, generally, they did not get any support from their relatives and this made their lives very difficult. To live in a big city, where people speak strange languages, made integration even harder for them. For most, their original plan was to return to their homelands as soon as the war was over, but since they had no land for cultivation to generate household income, there was no point.

For those who married women from southern Mozambique, these men felt limited desire to return to the north since their wives said: "*Niassa is too far away to live.*" According to one interviewee, there is a sense among the people of southern Mozambique that people from the Northern provinces are cannibals, thieves and any number of other bad things. This is a hold-over from the Portuguese colonial era when whites used such rift-causing ideas to divide black Mozambicans. These old tales frighten the southern-born wives who then refuse to join their husbands if they ever decided to move north. This is a pity, said many interviewees, since Niassa province has plenty of land.

Male War Veterans and Forced Military Service

As shown by some in-bound migrant women, Forced Military Service was imposed upon most of the country's youth, men and women, alike. Several interviewed

men from northern Mozambique were part of the liberation war and the civil war opposing the FRELIMO government. However, many also joined the RENAMO guerrilla movement.

António Farinha (Central 'B' bairro, 30th October 2005) explains what brought him to the city of Maputo was his profession, which was a soldier:

"I am 51 years old and was born in Lago, Niassa. I am married and I am a soldier. So, my profession is killing people. I cannot go any further because I am old. I have spent my entire life in the army killing people. I experienced the smell of gunpowder and bombings at the age of 12 and maybe younger, during the Portuguese bombings."

Before he came into Maputo he spent his youth in the bush combating Portuguese soldiers. He served in several places in the interior of Mozambique such as Tete province. *"I joined the liberation when I was caught by the FRELIMO guerrillas in 1965 or 66. In 1973, as the result of the 'Nó Górdio Operation,' I joined the comrades who were on the Tete Front. I spent a year and half there."*

As a soldier, by the time of independence, he was assigned to protect the Maputo airport since it was considered primary target to be destroyed by the Portuguese before they fled to Portugal.

"I was sent to Maputo in order to protect the International Airport, Gago Coutinho. I continued in the army until 1983, when I joined the reserve. I got married in 1978 to a woman from Maputo."

As a soldier he was on permanent mobility. For instance, he had to fight in areas targeted by the Rhodesian Defence Forces. *"My marriage did not last long due to my military commitments. I had a son with that woman. During the Rhodesia*[24] *armed attacks, I was protecting the Limpopo Corridor. I was involved in the Mapai massacre in 1977, in Gaza province, where civilians were killed by Ian Smith* (the then Prime Minister of the then Southern Rhodesia). *Due to my military obligations, I could not form a real family because, as a soldier, it was my first duty to protect the country against invasions. In 1983, I was hurt in combat, fighting RENAMO's guerrillas in Magude, in Maputo province. As a consequence, I was released from the army."*

[24] Currently Republic of Zimbabwe.

Abudo Momade (Maxaquene 'A' barrio, 22nd September 2005) also a former soldier had a similar story.

"*I am 47 years from Lichinga-Niassa. I am married and I am a police officer with 9th grade in the former system. I moved from the place of my birth in fulfilment of Compulsory Military Service. This was in 1976. I fulfilled that duty in Nampula province. I did not have time to say goodbye to my parents.*

"I was demobilised from military service in 1981. In January, one hundred colleagues and I were supposed to go to the former Democratic German Republic. However, once in the city of Maputo, we were sent for six months, to Centre for Police Training, Matalane, Maputo province.

"With the worsening of the civil war, I was ordered to defend the Petrol Station (SONEFE) in Matola Rio, in Maputo province. I was released from service in 1986 and sent to Maputo, where I was appointed to work at the Police City Command of Maputo."

Civil servant transferences

Transfers among civil servants have become a major issue disrupting many households, according to many interviewees (Feliciano Muanhele, Horácio Jaquissone,

Carlitos Matuwana, Camilo Dunduro and Maliatu Demissoe, (Mandimba 30th May 2005). Civil servants, nurses, teachers, and soldiers are the occupations which set people on the road to permanent mobility. In the colonial past, people most affected by transfers were those in the administration, civil servants, and railway employees. In the past, transfers were minimal between the provinces since it was a Portuguese policy not to mix different ethnic-linguistic groups. After the independence, the government moved people in all directions.

Alberto Canjauele (Malhangalene 'B', 3rd March 2006) is one example of a person who has lived through several transfers in his life history. Schooling, military service and becoming a civil servant his entire life has been shaped by one relocation after another.

"*I am married, 55 years old and born in Chuanga, district of Lago, Niassa. I left Lago in 1961, when I was 11 years old, to go to primary school in Messangulo. I was enrolled at the Anglican School because my father did not want me to be a shepherd or a fisherman.*

"By 1967, I went to Vila Cabral (Lichinga) in order to look for work because, where I did my training course, it was not possible to find an adequate job. In August of 1970, I was drafted to serve in the Portuguese Army and in 1971, I trained in Tete as marksman for three months. At that time, I had it in mind to join FRELIMO's guerrillas. I already had connections with them and I used to send information to the guerrillas about all movements of the Portuguese Army in Tete.

His first transfer came about because he was suspected of assisting the rebels.

"Someone suspected me and I got transferred to Gaza province, in southern Mozambique. In 1973, I was transferred to Vila Cabral and in the same year, I was demobilized. Then, I was integrated into the Police forces.

"By the year of independence, the current president Guebuza was Minister of Interior. He summoned me to work in Maputo in 1976. Because I spoke Swahili, I was appointed to be a police trainer at the Railway Station. In 1980, I was appointed to work at the Secretary of State of Cashew Nuts.

Another relocation occurred when he was a civil servant in the late 1990s. This time, he was transferred to his province of origin. During his time of mobility, it was a family decision that only he would move while his wife and children would stay in one place. Home for them was Lichinga the capital city of the province he claimed to be his birthplace.

"I got married 1973 to a woman from Massangulo, Niassa province. However, due to my commitments and several transfers, I could not afford to bring my wife to all these places. So, we agreed on having her remain settled in Lichinga while I was in moving around.

His wife joined him by the time he was in Beira due much to disagreement of his wife's relatives. These came because their background was different as he related.

"My wife finally joined me in 1975, when I was posted in the city of Beira. I had some disagreements with my wife's relatives since she is Ajaua and a Muslim. I am Nyanja and a Catholic. My wife decided to convert to Catholicism. I did not force her into this conversion. As district administrator I spent 5 years there and this coincided with the implementation of the Mozagrius project. Finally, on the 7th of November 1997, I was appointed district administrator of Majune, Niassa province."

The next excerpt came from Abasse Anussa, a man from Niassa. (Zimpeto *barrio*, 21st September 2005). What makes his history interesting it is, as an adult age had to ask for permission to move to Maputo.

"*I am 55 years old and born in Lichinga-Niassa. I am married and I have a colonial period 4th grade education. I am a stonemason by trade and I live in a rented house. I moved from my place of birth because I needed to find employment. Since I was a good stonemason, my boss who had a construction business in the city of Maputo, transferred me to work here. That was in 1992. Although I was already an adult, I asked for permission from my parents.*

The second peculiarity of Abasse's story is he had relatives willing to take care of his wife and children.

"I left my wife and other relatives. My parents agreed to take care of my wife and children. When I arrived in Maputo I was staying in an apartment belonging to my employer."

Changing of Residence for Studies

Like women, men also relocated to engage in studies, as demonstrated in the next two portions of life histories.

Pedro Jussar (Alto Maé 'B' *bairro*, 29th September 2005) has relocated in order to continue his studies. This move was not of his own choosing, but rather, it was decided by the then Government of Mozambique.

"*I am 36 years old, married and a primary school teacher. I have 12th grade education as well as Primary School Teacher's training. I left my homeland to pursue my studies. In 1986, I relocated to Maputo to take the teacher's training course at the Elija Machava School. I came alone and I did not ask for my family's permission because it was a government move. I left behind my parents, brothers and sisters. I did not have any relatives in Maputo.*

After the completion of his training program, Pedro was appointed to teach a teaching post.

"When I finished my course, I was appointed to work in the Magude district of Maputo province. I spent thirteen years there and in 2000, I asked for as transfer in order to pursue further studies. Presently, I am studying at the Pedagogic University in Maputo."

Abdala Mamad Juma (Malhangalene 'A' 22nd of September 2005) moved from his homeland to pursue his studies.

"*I am 22 years old, born in Mandimba, Niassa, married to a Muslim woman from Maputo. I moved from Niassa in 1996 to pursue my religious studies in Maputo. The school selected the best students from Madrasa (Islamic school) to go on with further Islamic studies in Maputo. I made the transfer with colleagues from school.*

However, in order to move into Maputo for studies, he had to ask his parents for permission.

"I asked for my parents' permission because, at the time, I felt I was too young to be making such decisions all by myself. The director of the school chose me and approached my parents. He was actually the one who asked for permission, not me."

Men who fled from civil war.

Many male civil war runners originating from northern Mozambique did not relocate individually. Instead, they managed to move their entire households. However, there were those who came as singles. In most cases, those who were married prior to making the move consulted their wives about relocating. However, the travel distance between Niassa and Maputo is more than 2,000 km. Those able to reach Maputo did so because they had military experience and knew the way to the capital. As well, over the course of their journeys, they were given lifts by the soldiers.

These civil war runners who dared travelling to Maputo had some literacy and professions such as carpentry, locksmiths and military training. This is why they where employed in construction, as police or in the locksmith trade. Like the situation in Mandimba, their wives did not agree to be interviewed. Despite several years of living in Maputo, these women are still do not want to speak to anyone they don't know and they continue to do business inside their yards. However, it is interesting that in the situation of war, the husbands consulted their wives and not the extended family. This is further explored in the next life histories.

José Miquitão (Malanga barrio, 29th September 2005) claimed to have moved into Maputo because of the war.

"I am 41 years old, born in N´gauma, Niassa. I am married and I am a security guard. I did not complete the secondary school. I left my homeland in 1990, due to the civil war.

Unlike other migrants who did not flee with their wives and children, José managed to do so.

"Fortunately, I managed to run with my wife and son. I did not have time to inform anybody about that decision. During, the war there was no time for anything. I left behind brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles and aunties. I decided upon Maputo as our destination because I had heard it was the safest place to live."

Similarly Paulo Fernandes (Malhangalene bairro, 1st October 2005) came into Maputo also because of the civil war.

"I am 36 years and born in Nipepe, Niassa. I am married and a businessman. I have 9th grade education. I left Nipepe in 1990 because of the war. At that time, I was 21 years old and already married with two children. I did not ask for permission since RENAMO's armed forces were attacking and everybody was running from the district.

Though the decision to move and settle in Maputo was made within the household, after consulting his wife as he said: *"I consulted my wife only, about coming to Maputo. I did not have time to inform anybody else about that decision."*

Sebastão Madequeta is a war veteran who – according to his statement – was "compelled by patriotism" to leave his homeland and to fight for the country. Before he left, he discussed his plans with his wife. It was decided the safest place for the family, in his absence, would be Maputo. Once the family was settled in the city, he presented himself to the General Command Headquarters in Maputo.

Sebastião's story is one of the few examples of men who discussed the issue to migrate or not to migrate with his wife. Sebastião was concerned about his family's safety and made every effort to leave his family in the safest possible place. He served in the army until 1995 and was demobilised after the signing of the General Peace Agreement.

I was quite interested to learn about his wife's life during the time he was in the army as well as record her experiences as a migrant. Unfortunately, she refused to be interviewed.

Employment and businesses opportunities

Employment and better life conditions are two of the most common factors impelling people to leave their places of birth and relocate in the city of Maputo. The idea that men are the breadwinners represents the pull factor inducing people to make the decision to move. Albino Bitine is a migrant who came to the city in search for a job, before the colonial period ended.

Many employment seekers did not go directly to Maputo. Instead, they followed the step migration pattern – from rural areas to a middle or small cites and then finally on to Maputo city. Several places were indicated as stopping points. Durations in these places lasted from one month to three years. People passed through Bobole, a plantation village; Lichinga, Quelimane; Beira and then on to Maputo because the objective was always to eventually reach the capital city. The main reason for these steps was to earn and save money in order to continue their journey to Maputo. This money would cover expenses during their travel days, when they would not be working. Step migration, it appears, is a common trend even among women.

Men who move into the cities, like their female counterparts, supplement their regular jobs or pensions by working in the informal economy to bolster their incomes. These activities can include selling cigarettes, baking bread, carving, as well as weaving straw to make bags, sieves and mats. Some who are night guards in buildings, clean steps of buildings during the day to earn extra money to save.

José Eduardo (Coop *barrio*, 4th October 2005) left his homeland in Nampula in fulfilment of Military service.

"*I am 36 years old, born in Lichinga and I have 11th grade education. I am married and a policeman. I live with my wife and my son in an annex on the terrace of a building. I left Lichinga in 1990 following the fulfilment of my Forced Military Service in Nampula province.*

Once he was released from the Military service, he decided to move to Maputo.

"I was demobilised from military service in 1998. It was then I decided to come to Maputo with three friends. We all were searching for a job. I did not ask for permission to go to Maputo since I had already fulfilled my patriotic duty. In Lichinga, I left behind two sisters. During the war, my parents had been killed by the 'bandidos armados.'

Albino Bitine, (Maxaquene 'B' barrio, 11th October 2005), from Southern Mozambique, left his homeland in search of a job.

"*I am 73 years old, a native of Maevane, Chibuto district, Gaza province. I am married and retired with 2nd grade education of the colonial period. I left my homeland in order to search for job opportunities. In my homeland, there were no well-paid jobs for people with my qualifications."*

According to him, at the time, a black with 2nd grade was well educated because they had to pass 1st grade elementary, 1st grade rudimentary and 2nd class and then 2nd grade, which means it was equivalent to the current 4th grade.

"I came alone to the then Lourenço Marques city."

6.4 Attitudes of the society towards migrants

Attitudes towards migrants differ depending on whether one is a female or a male. There is the sense that females become migrants for frivolous reasons or woman migrants were not well educated by their mothers. This assumption is especially prevalent in Mandimba district. Twenty years ago, in southern Mozambique, it was considered very suspicious to see a woman as a migrant.

Esperança Faustino (, Zimpeto 21st March 2006) said when she left her homeland for Maputo, 20 years ago, she became the subject of gossip. She eventually learned her parent's next door neighbour had said she had gone to Maputo to escape house-work and work on the *machamba* (farm), not for pursuing her studies.

However, currently, among southern Mozambican men and women who were interviewed, female migration is viewed as something very positive. This is because migrant women regularly bring or send money home and they are admired for their good dealing and business skills.

If migration was truly negative, men would never authorise their wives to engage in cross-border trade. However, this is not the case for males, especially young boys. There is the sense that when a boy leaves the parents' household, it is because he is going to fulfil the tasks of a man. This gender comparison may, in reality, reveal the misconception of the circumstances under which the phenomenon occurs.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

This thesis discusses decisions made in favour of migration within the household structure. Also, it discusses the effects of the movement toward urbanisation as well as the strategies and difficulties these in-bound migrants face in the destination

area. As a matter of fact, most important decisions such as migration have been conducted outside the formal structure of the household. Women and men who decide to move to the city tend not to observe the formalities previously required by the family. Once in the city, these migrants are exposed to few opportunities for success and mere survival presents many difficult challenges.

Settling in strange land in a foreign language, odd habits and a perplexing social structure is really harsh for many migrants. However, it is many times more difficult for women from northern Mozambique who are still resistant to being involved in the so-called public sphere – even when their survival is at stake. They lead far more structured and rural lives than women from southern Mozambique, who are gladly involved in public vending as well as cross regional and provincial border trade. Northern Mozambican women only sell from their front or back yards.

Women from southern Mozambique also complement their household incomes by doing cultivation whereas women from northern Mozambique do not do. The reason for this is the inaccessibility to arable land and its general scarcity. Conversely, southern women have a long history of migration into Maputo and possess land in their homelands which are not far from the city of Maputo. Therefore, they can afford to travel to these areas and engage in agriculture as well as other activities to generate income, including buying and vending.

For men, I found several reasons for them to relocate to Maputo as well as their strategies used for survival. Their decisions for migration, as previously mentioned, are made at the individual level rather than the household level. This is because most men feel they are more independent than women.

Guidelines for the research included:

a) Learning the household structure of the migrant.

b) Determining their ages during their first migration, assuming they had a previous migration history to the city. In general, the majority of those interviewed came from the southern Mozambican provinces and most migrants relocated in their early twenties.

The period showing the greatest influx of migrants was between the independence and during the civil war, specifically 1975 and 1992. Several women's life histories indicate their age and marital status determined, in most o cases, how migration was decided upon. Thus, single women, tended to make decisions for themselves, as to whether or not they would migrate. For example, children and

adolescents typically moved within the family context or within the government policy of orientation.

In the family context, younger women would move in with a sister or an aunt to look after their children or do unpaid domestic work as payment for staying with their relatives. Most of these girls did not have the opportunity to pursue their studies and often ended up as housemaids or involved in other informal activities in order to survive. Some came to Maputo with their parents who fled the civil war.

The government's orientation policy consisted of directing people into "revolutionary tasks" such as the replacement of clerks and Portuguese civil servants. Compulsory Military Service and training courses slotted people into careers such as teaching and nursing, not taking into account personal interests or avilities. All over the country, there were several examples from women and men who were forced into this generally unsuccessful experiment.

In relation to marital status, most women who were abandoned, divorced and even widows decided to migrate on search of better living conditions as well as the pursuit of their husbands.

Once in the destination area, in-bound migrants face challenges related to land access. In this context, men and women face real difficulty because land is extremely expensive in Maputo and there are too many people competing for the small plots of ground available.

Within the gender relations context, researchers have demonstrated access and management of resources – cash-income and land – is a matter of power relations among people (Moser 1987; 1996; Parpart 1993; Colson 2004). Access to resources has become more of a privilege restricted to the strongest groups in society, namely men. Inequalities in access to resources as well as the lack of power in decisions related to cash, including heading their own businesses, limits women's influence within the household.

There are various situations demonstrating the diverse strategies in which households utilise and manage their incomes. Access and control of resources have influenced women to apply strategies in order to either survive in the city as well as to escape the control of men. As WLSA, the Mozambican study indicates, actions embraced in these so-called survival strategies vividly stand out.

Implemented by women, these tactics emerge as a response to their weakened access to resources. This places in question the daily maintenance of the family

nucleus for which women feel responsible. These actions outline situations resulting from numerous factors, but all are linked to the consequences of family change. Such alterations compel women to assume new activities in the framework of the sexual division of labour, including assuring the survival of the household.

It was discussed that in patrilineal societies, the forms through which women gain access to land are determined by marriage. As WLSA Mozambique points out, the forms of access to land are related to men's and women's positions within the household. Men inherit land, then define and control its use. Access to and use of land for women necessarily implies marriage, which guarantees possession. Therefore, mainly through her work, a woman will guarantee her maintenance and that of her children. In urban areas, particularly the city of Maputo, there is great pressure to obtain land as in-bound migration and demographic fertility increase.

Within the legal and institutional frameworks in practice, land for housing and agriculture in the periphery of the city is granted to inhabitants through the local political-administrative structures. The same applies to land in contiguous areas of untitled concessions.

Forms of access to land are generally guaranteed by norms and legal dispositions establishing the terms of its use, possession and transmission. Land belongs to the Mozambican State as established in the Constitution (Chapter I, Article 1, number 1 of the Land Law of 6/79) and all citizens may benefit from it.

As mentioned previously, there are several methods of land access in the city of Maputo. These include borrowing land from neighbours, friends and relatives; inheritance, according to customary laws; "purchase" from other people and awards from Dynamizing Groups or administrative structures. Dynamizing Groups played an important role during times of crisis such as floods and cyclones (natural hazards), civil war (refugees) and during the time of the implementation of the government's development projects. The construction of the Maputo-Witbank freeway during late 1999 and 2000 can also be placed in this catastrophic grouping.

People were given land and title deeds in Zimpeto, C.M.C neighbourhoods. It is a fact of life that access to land has become more and more difficult since the geographic limits of the city have been reduced due to the growing population. It is also true there is no land tenure – especially in the situation of borrowed land or having no title deed.

This chapter demonstrates that once in the city, people create numerous ways of maintaining survival. The *pé de meia* is one of many strategies employed by women in response to the control exerted by husbands or other men in their lives. In Maputo city, women are integrated into the labour market via the informal economy (INE 2006).

Women have said during interviews: "*Women have money because they sell something.*" Although they may run businesses, husbands, as heads of households, require these women to disclose and often hand over al; of their incomes. However, it is common for them to hide cash, either within the house or with a confidant. Typically, they have learned these strategies from their mothers.

Women argue in favour of this practice because their husbands spend the money on alcohol and gifts or support for their other partners. Also these women said they needed money to purchase *capulanas* (sarongs), cloth, crockery, etc. This kind of strategy is widespread amongst most businesswomen and even those who are not involved in business.

Some said the *pé de meia* prevents their husbands from having access to all their cash. It also ensures for their children's future as they can use this money for hospital treatment in case of sickness. A final reason given was it is a way of preventing their husbands from having too much control of their cash and their lives.

This chapter forms the core of the thesis because the system in which migration has occurred is discussed. Throughout the collected life histories of people interviewed, from northern and southern Mozambique, I was able to create a more accurate picture of migration within the country. Maputo city is the destination for most people from all over the country. This also includes a mix of several cultures and socio-economic structure. People arrive in the city for various reasons and most migrants are willing to try any and all survival strategies.

A distinct division between northern and southern migrants is very clear. That distinction is due to several circumstances: distance, socio-cultural structure and their individual motivations for migration. This also tends to include the specific circumstances which prompted people to take the decision to move. Most movements occurred as individuals rather than a shifting of the entire household. In most cases, the decision to migrate is no longer made within the household since the institution of the household has been virtually destroyed by migration.

The household's role as an institution of family decisions has also suffered serious impacts through socialism, women's emancipation, the civil war and structural adjustment programs. While the government may have taken over the role of family decision-making in terms of moving, the civil war did not allow enough time for people to think, let alone have the family grouping make all the important decisions. After the signing of the GPA, structural adjustment programs, instead of generating wealth or reducing poverty, created unemployment and poverty which forced people to leave their places of birth.

UNDP reports confirm Mozambique's poverty is engendering – more women are poor – and it is also regionalised. Under this spectrum of poverty, women in particular made the decision to relocate in order to seek ways of feeding their families. People are increasingly more mobile in their search for a better life.

They engage in all forms of trade, including cross-border trade, as well as their continued search for land. Both situations have created new types of households. These are what I call "split households," since infinitely more women are living at a far distance from their families, doing cultivation and selling the products they grow. However, this kind of dynamism is more frequent among women from southern Mozambique.

The picture portrayed about migration in Mozambique is that women from northern Mozambique are still living in a "shell" in which they are less impacted by social changes. The reason for this statement is the fact most of them – even with the high cost of living in Maputo – are still dependant upon the salaries of their husbands. They do not dare to travel or to conduct trade in open spaces because they fear being "exposed."

Lastly, male migrants are still following traditional trends. This involves labour migration, migration in search of work and migration in fulfilment of government tasks. When men migrate, they do so as individuals and very seldom as a member of a family. And, most assuredly, such moves are rarely previously discussed within the family.

CHAPTER VII
Concluding Discussion

7.1 Introduction

In the decades, 1980-2000, migration in the world has became an important issue of study due to the increasing number of people on the move and people likely to move. In analysing gender migration, scholars point to relations of power and access to resources as determinants for who moves where, when, how and why (Brydon 1989c; Chant 1989; Carling 2005). The result was a pattern of various opportunities for migration among women and men. Actually, the trend of migration shows an increase in women moving from rural to urban areas, including crossing international boundaries. This, of course, changes the traditional concept of "migration being a male feature or women as men's attachments."

In Mozambique's second population census in 1997, there was a reverse in terms of gender composition in the population. This census indicated more females were living in the city of Maputo who had not been born in Maputo, but were there as a result of migration. Broadly, this rapid feminisation of migration can be explained by hardship marked by natural hazards. Life in the countryside was made exceedingly difficult by the long droughts of 1981 and 1983, followed by floods. The worsening of the war impacted innumerable lives, when women left their rural homes to seek safety and a livelihood in the towns and cities.

Also, since 1998, there has been the issue of increased poverty in Mozambique as demonstrated by UNDP reports. These reports indicate, apart from the general poverty characterising the entire country, when comparing rural and urban areas, it is seen that rural poverty is very high. The civil war resulted in the destruction of the rural infrastructure. This, coupled with lack of investment in rural areas makes the countryside a very unpleasant place to live – and this is especially so for the people of southern Mozambique.

The trend of migration is characterised firstly as being a male feature. But, with the advent of the independence, females also began to relocate to the cities. If the women at first – I mean before independence – were pursuing their male counterparts, by the 1990's that trend had changed. Second stage migration was not something organised by women but was in response to the need for reconstruction of the country, following the demise of colonialism. Female migration has expanded to the point where their numbers now slightly exceed that of male migrants. What makes

feminization of migration unique are the conditions under which it occurs. Therefore, this chapter is specifically a collective concluding remark.

This thesis concludes by saying women in Mozambique have firstly become independent migrants outside the formal structure of male authorisation in both matrilineal and patrilineal societies. These changes came quickly and were made possible with women's emancipation, an ideology introduced by the post-independence government. The emancipation of women adheres to the principle of equality between men and women. With this assumption, women have generally begun to remove themselves from male dominance. Some women view emancipation literally as a way of being able to do what they want.

Secondly, in deciding to move and in choosing where to go, some women have stepped forward to take advantage of what the constitution provides – such as equal rights.

Thirdly**,** a person who (relocates) emigrates – depending on their age, marital status, profession or occupation, literacy, economic and social position – sheds more light on the motives for (relocation) emigration, including the circumstances under which the migration occurred and the dynamics of the decision-making process. The many attractions of life in Maputo, such as more perceived freedom, the mode of dress and speech seem to be the initial factors impelling young women to move to the city.

On the other hand, even though the Niassans faced the same rural circumstances, rather than flee to Maputo, they preferred to follow the routes of their ancestors. During the colonial period, through both world wars, the liberation war and the civil war, Niassans moved into Malawi and Tanzania.

Women, once in Maputo, become involved in many different strategies. These range from getting married – even as second or third wife – to being involved in small-scale and/or big businesses as well as informal credit systems in order to deal with their financial deficits or surpluses.

Their life histories, as well as the Focus Group Discussions, demonstrated that extended family is an institution whose role has been challenged. However, with lesser influence in Southern Mozambique and stronger influence in Northern Mozambique, relatives still play important roles in migration decisions when it comes to women. This group of factors can be internal, such as the Mozambican policy, enacted since independence, or it can be international. Globalisation and the impact of the structural adjustment programs have greatly influenced Mozambican culture.

7.2 Migration Factors

This thesis has, in different ways, explored why and why not, how and under what conditions women and men decide to move from the rural areas into the city of Maputo. The study was conducted in Mandimba district of Niassa province, representing the place of origin and in the city of Maputo representing the destination.

Different life histories as well as Focus Group Discussions raised interesting questions and provided illuminating answers. The people from Mandimba were not linked to the city of Maputo and seemingly, their migration history is marked with circulation within the Mozambican provincial border districts or the far away places of Malawi and Tanzania. Few women who participated in this research relocated from Niassa to the city of Maputo. To the contrary, most women here remained in their places of birth or their relatives' villages as many interviews attested.

This thesis, therefore, comes to tell a very different story. In this concluding section, I present the main emerging issues. First, the everyday reality of the socio-economic situation of migrants and non-migrants' livelihood strategies as well as the migrants' relationships and networks are discussed.

Next, I deal with the impact of global processes upon the lives of women. As well, I have it in mind to acquire an image or "snapshot" of their sense of the migratory experience through their mobility experiences. I also delve into their decision-making processes and choices for migration. Hereafter, I discuss women as actors, including the space of action they have and the power relations involved between them and men, their parents or in-laws in relation to their decisions to migrate.

Lastly, I draw attention to the major themes characterising the lives of women in the city, such as their survival strategies as well as their access to resources and income management. All these issues are discussed within the formal structure of the household.

7.3 The Structure of Migration

Soon after independence, the FRELIMO government introduced socialism to the country. This meant family farmers, mostly Portuguese settlers and commercial plantations were replaced by state-operated farms, co-operatives and a socialised version of family farming. The state farm was the predominant sector through which the government intended to accumulate wealth for the people. Many households were forced to be integrated into these co-operative systems but the lack of agricultural

inputs leads these households to allocate their labour resources into state farms or to migrate. The civil war and structural adjustment programs introduced by the late 1980s also played a significant role in migration. Although, there is no accurate data on the extent these structural adjustment programs impacted the household structure, it can be inferred that post-war migration was a direct result of that particular program.

The main feature of migration observed in Mandimba district, as well as in the city of Maputo, is itinerancy. Factors such as drought, loss of soil productivity/soil exhaustion, belief in witchcraft and the fear of war have influenced the itinerancy rate, particularly in rural areas. In the city of Maputo, itinerancy is caused by the increase of rents, changes of marital status, areas vulnerable to floods and changes of employment status. All have contributed to a certain “fluidity” of residences.

The thesis demonstrates that in certain rural Mozambican areas, changes of residence occur approximately every three years, depending upon the amount of the cereals – maize, sorghum and millet mostly– harvested. In Mandimba, itinerancy has created food insecurity, school drop-outs and the need for relocation of clinics and hospitals. In Maputo city, I did not uncover any impacts of note, except for stratification of people according to their income. This situation was not at all evident during 1980s but had its beginnings in the early 1990s.

Finally, the object of this thesis was to ascertain the issues of migration, decision-making and choices within the household as well as the extent of urbanisation. What is certain is: it has been observed through statistics that women have contributed significantly to the increase of urban populations. This obviously stands to reason since the majority of Maputo's in-bound migrants are women who were not born in that city.

From 1980 until 1997, the time encompassing the first and the second national censuses, the number of women who were not born there has increased significantly. That increase is largely formed by southern Mozambican women from Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces. They are followed by women from Sofala, Zambezia, Manica and Tete.

The Northern provinces – Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Nampula – have demonstrated through statistics and interviews that they are not contributing significantly in-bound migration. What makes northern women not choose Maputo as their destination? The answer was found to be their area of origin. Generally, it is because of the huge travel distance to Maputo, coupled with a long history of trade with neighbouring countries such as Malawi and Tanzania.

I have chosen Mandimba district to be the study area as a source or probable source of migration for the following reasons:

1. It has a matrilineal society.

2. It is a border district.

3. It is the cradle of FRELIMO and its contribution of the so-called “Production Operation” movement.

In general, Niassa province, apart being the epicentre of the liberation war, is the largest province in the country and the least populated. It is also important to keep in mind this province was a major “drop area” during “Operation production.” The destitute, those who were considered “anti-FRELIMO government” and people linked to the colonial regime, such as former police officers, were relocated. Also included in this group were all people considered to be “un-productive” – street vendors, sex workers, artisans such as shoemakers and dressmakers, bakers, and those whose identity and work cards were considered “irregular.”

Two central themes were investigated during my research:

a) The decision and choices for migration

b) Land and income management.

However, the situation has become confused since several disparate events seem to have contributed to these factors in northern and southern Mozambique. In general, both rural and urban areas were affected by the following events:

Independence and the orientation system changed life for almost everyone in the country. It started with the replacement of Portuguese civil servants and the protection of Maputo city. Both women and men were uprooted from their homelands.

The emancipation discourse was especially disruptive to traditional values in southern Mozambique. It was suddenly possible for women to make their own decisions as constitutionally, they were equal to men. This influenced women to make independent decisions about migration. Multiple transfers of husbands, particularly those in the military, nurses, clerks and other civil servants, including teachers, disrupted countless households to the point some women preferred not to relocate and remained in their homelands or at the location of the first transfer.

The civil war affected countless households in the sense there was no time to make any decisions – family nature or otherwise – as people needed to flee for safety as quickly as possible. Increased poverty in rural areas, as well as unemployment forced

people to seek survival strategies including migration. In this process, women and men were involved in the same plan of action.

7.4 Migrant women as actors among other actors

Women in the cities represent large portions of migrants and their work has contributed to the increase in household incomes. Therefore, Mozambicans need to come to terms with the fact that female migration is not a temporary phenomenon and has to be accommodated in development planning at various levels.

Several interviews have supported my theory that decision-making in favour of migration has to be viewed separately from the socio-cultural structures of the matrilineal and patrilineal systems. As well, numerous events have occurred in Mozambique over the last 30 years which have impacted the structure of the household.

Until the 1980s, households were formed by people from the same family – blood relatives. Nowadays, particularly in urban areas, it is not usual to find several households living in the same home. This trend is a direct consequence of the scarcity of housing. Sharing living space and expenses also occurs because of extremely high rents, land prices, the general high cost of living and the accelerating growth of poverty.

Looking at both societies – matrilineal and patrilineal – I found matrilineal women to be more resistant to migration than patrilineal women. Women from the patrilineal society appear to have more freedom. Over all, they seem to have broken free of the tight patriarchy rules. However, if a prior decision to migrate was made within the structure of the household, migration arrangements and choice of destination depends upon the influence of friends, including the social network and the success of others who have migrated.

In Southern Mozambique's patrilineal society, women easily decide to leave their families and homes. For women in the north, such decisions are difficult. Niassan women were impelled to relocate because of floods, drought, civil war, and other harsh conditions linked with scarcity of basic food and the decrease of production.

If we assume these events have affected household structures, we can also extrapolate that they also have affected all migration structures such as decision-making in favour of migration, the gender of the migrant, the destination of choice, as well as the typologies of migration. The civil war and the FRELIMO government's

decision for “orientation” and forced settlements also changed the structure of the family throughout the entire country, as they seriously interfered with household decision-making.

In southern Mozambique, several post-independence events seem to have especially impacted the household structure. This is in respect to making decisions in favour of migration, types of households and the chosen destination. In several instances, migrant women from southern Mozambique mostly arrived in Maputo as individuals, and without asking for permission from anyone. Two factors facilitated this situation – the civil war and close proximity to the city of Maputo.

Conversely, northern Mozambique seems not to have been impacted as strongly by these cultural changes. This can easily be determined by the small numbers of northern women in the city. In making decisions concerning migration in a matrilineal society, the thesis concludes as follows:

1) For women in a matrilineal society, making a decision of any sort is a collective determination involving parents and other close relatives such as maternal uncles, or the eldest brother in the case of orphaned woman. The decision is made as an extended family, not as a household.

2) A married woman can follow her husband in the situation of a job transfer. However, a minimum of two witnesses for both sides – the husband and wife – are necessary in order to prevent future problems in the case of separation or divorce.

3) The concept of extended family is still strong. This is where all decisions are made within the family structure. A woman’s individual decision only has value within the dimension of love. All other matters of importance are decided by the extended family.

For example, one literate woman said she decided by her own volition to move because her life was her own and so, there was no reason to ask for permission from anyone. However, once in the city, such women tend to face pressing issues like the lack of land for cultivation and many become homesick.

4) Men migrate after consulting the wife’s relatives and, according to their decision, he is allowed to take his wife along or he has to depart alone.

5) Men do consult with their wives in making the decision for migration. It was only during the civil war snap decisions were made as there was no time to consult in-laws, parents or other relatives.

6) With respect to residence in Mandimba – after marriage, men took up residence with their wives in the wives’ village or in the wives’ parents’ village or homes.

However, there were exceptions in the cases of village leaders. These men are not required to move as they must perform duties in their villages of origin.

The patrilineal society tells quite another story as follows:
Currently, men in the patrilineal system have the freedom to make individual decisions about migration. And, in most cases, they do this without consulting their partners. The reasoning is: "*He decides because he is the head of the household.*"

In terms of period of migration, I found among the interviewees in the city of Maputo that between 1975 and 1990 people moved there as a direct consequence of independence, patriotic duties, natural hazards and the civil war. These migrants were made up of war veterans, civil servants, students and internally displaced persons.

Between 1987 and 1992, a slight emergency in cross-border trade and the informal economy began to develop. Reasons for this "dip" were the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program, the liberalisation of the economy and the death of Samora Machel, Mozambique's first post-independence president. People who were mobile, such as cross-border traders, internal traders and commuters started to converge on the city. Apart from these, there was also a huge increase in the number of refugees, as a consequence of the civil war. People began to arrive in Maputo city from everywhere – including the remote areas.

The latest migratory boom reported in this study, occurred between 1992 and 2005. This coincided with the signing of the General Peace Agreement, post-war reconstruction and the expansion of foreign investment, which resulted in many more jobs. Maputo city has definitely felt the impact of this population surge as settlements of the in-bound migrants continue to swell and near-by land for cultivation becomes scarcer. But all the while, the informal economy is booming more with each passing day.

Migration into the city of Maputo has created ghettos whose populations are determined according to place of origin and cultural background. For example, people from Niassa province are found in the following *barrios*: Military Zone (Colombia), Alto Maé, Mafalala, Coop, Zimpeto and Zonas Verdes. In-bound migrants from southern Mozambique tend to settle in Polana Caniço, Luís Cabral, Malhazine, CMC, Zimpeto, Maxaquene, Magoanine and Costa do Sol *barrios*.

Before 1990, it was much easier to obtain land without payment. But since 1992, access to land has become very difficult and is more dependent on the amount of money the applicant is willing to pay.

For all migrants – from the north or the south – integrating into the "Maputo life" is difficult. Access to land, as previously stated, is problematic. Finding a job is a daunting challenge. And, language barriers push even the well-educated into menial, low-paid work.

Most in-bound migrants from northern Mozambique say they have been discriminated against with the use of derogative names such as *Chingondo*, meaning "useless thieves." Migrants coming from southern Mozambique, particularly Gaza province, say they feel discrimination because they are called "floods." And, people from Inhambane province are called "*Hodza sangos,*" which means "stingy." However, some of those interviewed said the issue of discrimination only arose when the in-bound migrant is not well prepared to face the new environment. However, it would be pertinent to keep in mind that even in Mandimba, there was a particular kind of discrimination aimed at single female migrants.

However in spite of homesickness and discrimination, people from northern Mozambique preferred to stay in Maputo because they viewed it as "the land of opportunities" and, in the city, there are better schools for their children. Some men said they were not willing to return "home" because they had married women from southern Mozambique who refused to relocate to such far-away places.

In-bound migrants from southern Mozambique cannot complain much since they are very close to their places of birth. They speak the language of Maputo and, to some extent Shangana has become the main language spoken in the city rather than Ronga, which is the traditional language of the people from Maputo.

Also, these in-bound migrants have more connections with their relatives who remain in the "homelands." These connections are maintained by women who do cultivation in these places as well as those engaged in the exchange of goods. Migrants relocated in the city, send industrial products to their relatives, while in return, they receive vegetables, cassava, peanuts, coconuts, charcoal, firewood, traditional alcohol, and more, from the countryside.

7.5 Why did they migrate and why did not?

Generally, in migration studies, researchers have discussed more about why people migrate. There are few instances in which they bother to ask why they do not migrate. Most reasons impelling people to move were indicated as: family reunification, government transfers, pursuing studies, Forced Military Service, the civil

war, natural hazards and the search of a better life. To a lesser extent, other reasons included soil exhaustion and belief in wizards.

All examples found during the research showed the importance of understanding the decision-making process – to move or not to move. Making such decisions involved a complexity of elements involving families/relatives and, to some extent, the coercive influence of the government.

Interestingly, although I did not find substantial evidence to support my theory, relocating due to the belief in witchcraft affected both men and women. Level of education, however, seemed to have little bearing on believing in witchcraft. Literate people, holding high government positions, often believe in the power of wizardry. Several interviewees attested to this and because of that belief, adamantly said they will not return to their homelands, nor will they build big houses there.

In the past, women needed to ask for permission in order to migrate. Today, that situation seems to have changed significantly. Although the matrilineal society is still more adherent to customary laws, it was quite simple to determine the situation has changed. Women are allowed to accompany their husbands in the case of job transfers. Women do not ask permission from their families because of pursuing studies, or government orientation such as transfers, Forced Military Service and other State tasks, etc. Also, some interviewed in Mandimba said a woman could follow her husband if she loved him. As said by one interviewee: *"Nowadays, women and men move out for the same reasons – employment, feasts, and searching for other women or men for partners."*

The matrilineal society still seems to view female migration as a taboo. However, there are some exceptions where women are allowed to move, such as wives relocating with their husbands. Escaping witchcraft is another acceptable reason for a woman to move. And, single mothers as well as those who "misbehave" are forcibly "encouraged" to leave the village.

Turning to the question of why people do not move, I found in Mandimba, there were women and men, who due to their duties, were specifically not allowed to migrate. These included the *Apwyamwene*, married women and *Mwenes*. In nearly all circumstances, women are compelled to follow their husbands.

A traditional leader in Mandimba, traditionally, is not allowed to move. Additionally, he has the right to have more than one wife and some of these wives may

be situated in important towns such as Mandimba. This is done so he does not have to "suffer" when he travels on official duties and other matters.

The concept of "*a marriage ends because it has to*," is another factor allowing both women and men to experiment with several marriages. And, to some extent, increased propensity for mobility does bring some marriages to an end. The research revealed not more than five cases were found where couples had less than two marriage experiences. This is very unlike the situation in southern Mozambique.

However, the interesting thing is: all those interviewed came either from Niassa or one of the other Northern provinces, but once in Maputo, they maintained only one marriage experience. This is only my conjecture but perhaps they were discriminated against, due to their northern background, language and customs, or because it is not common for single women from Niassa to come into the city without a man.

Most said, in Maputo, they are faced with intimidation and were called "*Chingondos*," meaning "lazy thieves." As well, they are continually asked: "Why don't you return to your homeland?" In Maputo, these women did not have many choices in terms of whom they could marry and the research indicated that those who married into different ethno-linguistic groups face great difficulties arising from clashing cultures and those marriages did not last long.

In southern Mozambique, women are forced to follow their husbands. This is because men hold all the power in the family and decide what happens in their women's lives. He can unilaterally make the choice to move without consulting her. If she objects to that choice, he is likely to abandon her. This is why there are so many cases of abandoned women in the south as compared to northern Mozambique.

7.6 Who are the migrants in the city of Maputo?

As mentioned earlier Maputo is a multifaceted city. This is due to its status as the Mozambican capital. Rural people view this city as a paradise as it is possible to find job opportunities and pursue tertiary education. For some women, it is a place of family reunification because they migrate to join their husbands who earlier came to Maputo for work. Until the signing of the GPA, most women from northern Mozambique, and in particular from Niassa, arrived into the city not by their own choice. Typically, that move was initiated by government orientation programs. Today, these "re-oriented" people are primarily veterans of the liberation war. Most were single at the time of their arrival but a few were already married.

Of course, there was another group of women who relocated to the city of Maputo who did so, following their husbands. However, after the year of the signing of the GPA, the picture began to change. Certainly, women from Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Niassa still came to Maputo with their husbands. However, many also arrived in the city to become students and a few women were merely curious about city life. Their curiosity arose due to the influence of friends, relatives and television.

In southern Mozambique, I found several women who came to Maputo alone. Their decision to migrate, as well as the choice of destination was their own. Most are established in businesses as internal marketers or cross-borders traders. However, although these women may have come to the city on their own, they are most often attached to men who typically manage their income. In some cases, women have to ask for permission as to where and how the money they earn is to be spent or invested.

Although these women's incomes tend to be managed by men, they have their own ways to save some of their earnings through informal credit associations such as *xitique* and '*pé de meia'* savings. Women also remit to their rural relatives. These remittances consist of consumer goods – groceries, sarongs, domestic tools, etc. – as well as money. Survival strategies used by women are many and varied ranging from teaching extra-lessons to operating businesses. "Business" is a nebulous word and encompasses street vending; stall selling, cross-border traders, caring for the ill – those having cancer and HIV/AIDS – and sex work.

Some women have tracts of land in their places of origin, mainly in Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces, where they employ others. In these areas, women cultivate crops and sell the produce they grow in Maputo city.

A snapshot of female in-bound migrants looks like this:

- They are women who were summoned by a relative or a friend to work in the city in some specific task, such as being a nanny or housemaid.
- They are women who came to Maputo in search of a better life. They came for employment, to start a business or further their education.
- They are women who are involved in the Carrier orientation.
- They are women who came to Maputo as civil war runners, former refugees or the internally displaced due to floods and drought.
- They are women who came to Maputo in fulfilment of Forced Military Service. This includes the wounded during the war.

- They are women who are veterans of the liberation war and were demobilized after the independence or after the General Peace Agreement
- They are married women who followed their husbands to Maputo.
- They are women who are widows or abandoned wives.
- They are curious and adventurous women who were attracted by the "glamour" of the city.

Asked about the possibility of returning to their homeland, women from southern Mozambique said Maputo was their environment now and there was no probability they would ever return home to live. A very few women, mostly those of advanced age, said they would return. Some said the only reason they had not already gone home was because they were poor and had nobody in the homeland to take care of them. Only one woman from southern Mozambique, married to a man from northern Mozambique said she would like to move to northern Mozambique in order to appreciate her husband's culture.

Conversely, women from Northern Mozambique were eager to return to their places of origin because they felt if they did not do so; their land would be occupied by aliens. They also said they needed to develop their land as the Niassa province was still a virgin territory and full of mineral resources, wild animals and Lake Niassa, has the potential to be a lucrative tourist area. Anther common reason is: because they were born in that part of the country, they would have to return in order to die there and be buried there.

Only one woman said she would like to return home in order to get married. She said it was very hard to find a suitable man in Maputo. Women choose not to return to their places of origin because their children are studying or finishing their university degrees. Also, their husbands had steady work in Maputo, something not readily available in the country. Male in-bound migrants, particularly from northern Mozambique, are willing to return, but they often feel this is not possible because they have wives from southern Mozambique and their women did not want to go. They argue that: "Niassa is too far."

7.7 Networking

The issue of networking has largely been discussed by migration scholars. On this topic, Adepoju says: "migration in Africa is a linked chain and the out-bound migrants seldom sever their ties with home."

As other scholars have said, this study conforms that in some way, all people in a nation are connected. Networks are established through how well a migrant succeeds and how well integrated they become. There is a chain of networking formed by relatives, friends, colleagues, neighbours, teachers and militaries. Such networks work in two ways: to attract and deter migrants as well as open a conduit for remittances.

To this extent, migrants who come from southern Mozambique have better opportunities to remit than those who come from farther away. They are favoured by short distances to their places of origin, plus a well established and regular transportation system. For example, there are only four air connections from Maputo to Niassa per week and by bus, it takes full three days including crossing into Malawi.

7.8 Migration and the new households

Unequal power relations between men and women were also illustrated through the various interviews. These power relations have been demonstrated by who makes the decision in favour of / or against migration. This same person also chooses the destination for settlement, is in charge of income management, and holds ownership of land or house. And, it has been shown in this research, many women – both in urban and rural areas – occupy vulnerable positions.

Earlier, with the men migrating, many women became heads of their households by default. They had to assume certain tasks, which were usually done by men. Women are important actors in the ongoing urbanisation process since the cities have become feminized. When the household embarks upon migration, whether it involves a man or a woman, that movement necessarily disrupts the household structure.

In the "modern" sense, households are currently headed by children or grandparents in the places of origin. And, in the destination areas, there are a growing number of households headed by single mothers, divorced, abandoned or widowed women.

In the past, single or "lonely" migrant women were associated with prostitution. In the present, women are equally compared to their male counterparts since their reasons for coming to Maputo are exactly the same. They venture to the city to find work, create income and feed the members of their household. Therefore, migration has become an optional way of meeting one's livelihood. It is clear, as discussed previously; "female migration" has been, for various reasons, a neglected area of study.

In sub-Saharan African countries as well as in Latin America and Asia, it is obvious women's migration has gained dimension, manifesting changes in gender relations. This is especially so in the division of labour – both in the sending and receiving areas – and has seriously impacted the structure of the household (Francis 1995; Wright 1995).

Although it has been given little attention, migration of younger and adult women has now become a reality. They are still arriving as their husbands' attachments, in what Brydon (1989:127) calls an "adjunct to marriage." The common feature of these women is that when they reach the cities, they become involved in income-generating activities.

Since the early 1970s, scholars have played a crucial role in analysing the various issues related to female movement. Also studied, have been the developing strategies used by women to deal with the phenomenon, so it becomes a viable economic feature. Increasing attention has been paid to the important role males and females play within the traditional structure of the household. And this is compared to the way the modern Mozambican household is managed. This new regulatory and institutional framework occurs within both patrilineal and matrilineal households, and has created a substantial impact.

The increase of female migrants and growth of the informal economy over the past few decades can be seen as a persistent manifestation of how a very large and varied segment of the population has adapted to numerous influences. These include economic liberalisation, structural adjustment and globalisation as well as changes within the patriarchal system. The situation in many urban areas, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, is characterised by a dissemination of informal vendors, mainly females. This comes as a result of a stagnant or declining formal economy, the rising of unemployment, high rates of rural in-bound migration to cities, and rising poverty levels among urban populations (Todaro 1997).

The informal sector increasingly serves as a safety net and performs an important socio-economic role. However, at the same time, migrants face problems of saturation and decreasing incomes, worsening working conditions, and a lack of official recognition/support of informal business – Todaro (Op cit). Women who are involved in this process are obviously the first ones who face these challenges.

7.9 Final considerations

The two areas analysed in this thesis – Mandimba and Maputo city – offer cases for examination which are diametrically opposed, since the former is ruled by the matrilineal system while the latter by the patrilineal system. Mandimba is still a male-receiving area despite the influence of Islam, which is ruled by patriarchy.

In this melding of two opposing systems, men have customarily gone to live with the families of their wives after marriage. Thereby, they have come under the control of their wives' "matriliniage." Conversely, with Maputo being the capital city of the country, it is, by its excellence, a receiving area. It is the place where both females and males carry out survival activities.

Examination of the female migration and the circumstances under which it occurs, has strengthened the hypothesis that even with emancipation, women nevertheless continue to live under male dominance, particularly with respect to income management. Most women interviewed said they still needed a male shoulder since "being married" is a status and they are respected because of that. Furthermore, these women are not bothered about being the second even the third wives, as long as people acknowledge they are married or have a mate. Data from the 1970 and 1980 censuses reveal the beginning of the population explosion in Maputo city which continues to grow at an exponential rate.

To conclude, the thesis presents the following typologies of migration in both rural and urban areas.

Typology of migration in rural area

a) Migration, typologies and trends

1. There is itinerancy within the district borders. People regularly move from one village to another.
2. People tend to live far away from the main roads since they fear another war.
3. People settle closer to the Malawian border.
4. Men conduct cross-border trade to Malawi and Tanzania.
5. Cross-border visiting, and grinding cereals outside the country is a common occurrence for women.
6. There are a significant number of in-bound migrants who have come to this district. These include war veterans, former "un-productives," people

"compromised" with the colonial regime, those forcibly sent to re-education campuses, demobilised military personnel from the civil war, and civil servants transferred from other districts.

b) Reasons for migration and itinerancy

1. Transfers – generally clerks and civil servants such as teachers, nurses and radio operators
2. Fear of witchcraft.
3. The existence of available land and easy access to it. All wars – the Second World War, the Liberation War and the Civil War – were the main factors that forced people to move to Malawi,
4. Forced labour – cotton and tea production.

c) Advantages of migration

1. Migrants are welcome because they contribute to economic and social growth. *Is not good to be born, grow up and die in the same area without having been exposed to the "outside" world.*
2. Migration allows for new job opportunities, new friends and doing different things.

d) Disadvantages of in-migration

When people bring "*chitega"* and are disdainful towards those who are left behind.

e) Decision for migration

1. Women in all communities of Mandimba do not make their own decisions to migrate. Migration happens either in following their husbands or for other reasons, depending on the wishes of a woman's parents and/or her maternal uncles.
2. For men, the decision to migrate is by individual choice.

f) Socio-economic and cultural structure and family ties and networking

1. In matrilineal society, on average, both men and women marry at least twice. In all cases of separation, the children stay with the mother or mother's relatives – grandparents, etc., as matrilineal customary laws decree.
2. The Ajauas and Emakhuwa are Muslims while Nyanjas are Christians.
3. In maternal culture, the only way to inherit land is through the mother's side. When a woman is married and she does not live within her parents' domain, her land then belongs to the husband, even though the woman will cultivate it.

4. Generally, people who have relatives in the city of Maputo are related to other migrants or those relocated during the "Production Operation;" not to people who were born there.
5. There are virtually no linkages between the people of Mandimba and the city of Maputo.
6. Generally, networking serves to guarantee land access since there are no remittances sent "home," either in the form of goods or money, because these migrants said they were too poor and had no extra resources.

g) Land

- Land is not issue since there is plenty of land in the rural areas and people can gain access to it through the traditional leaders, since these people in charge can identify what land is still available and where it is located.

Typology of migration in urban area

a) Migration, typologies and trends

1. Itinerancy exists within both urban districts and rural areas
2. Rural-urban migration
3. Urban-urban migration.
4. Cross-border trade conducted by women.
5. Itinerancy

b) Reasons for migration and itinerancy*:*

1. High cost of rental housing
2. Scarcity of land for housing and agriculture
3. Agriculture and land access

c) Advantages of migration

1. Migrants are welcome because they contribute to economic and social growth. *Is not good to be born, grow up and die in the same area without exposing one's self to new people and different ideas.*

2. Migration allows for new job opportunities, new friends and doing different things.

d) Decision to migrate

1. Many women who reside in the city made their own decision to relocate or had the decision made within extended family ties.

2. For men, the decision for migration is an individual thing and depends upon their personal wishes.

e) Land

- Land has become an issue since there is not enough of it for housing or cultivation.

7.10 Directions for future research

Throughout this thesis, I have tried to demonstrate how gender relations in Mozambique influence decisions and choices around migration within the household structure. As well, I have explored its impact upon the growth of Maputo city. In my research, I tried to avoid solely discussing women's migration without also discussing men's experiences.

Analysing both sexes is a matter of balance since women's and/or men's experiences happen within a specific household or family structure. Also, the migration of one household member – husband, wife or child – impacts the entire structure. Obviously, I did not discuss all the issues related to gender migration in Mandimba and Maputo city, nor did I discuss all situations occurring in the country.

Since gender relations affect both the causes and consequences of migration, introducing narratives on both sexes proved to be crucial. With these varying viewpoints, I could understand the dynamic of the process in specific cases from Mandimba and Maputo. What I would like to have discussed more fully was the impact of migration upon masculinity. Since the feminisation of migration seems to have turned women into the breadwinners, males must feel they have been stripped of their historical role as the household's provider.

Women now constitute a significant proportion of the migration flows. But, how have they been more successful than the non-migrants? Is it the issue of independence? Or, it is it because they are "free" in the sense that they do not have a man who controls them? If it works in this way, why is it that in-bound migrant man are also seemingly more successful rather than those men who do not choose to be migrants?

Therefore, a focus for further studies should be the questions of: making one's own decisions, and successful integration. Interestingly, this is what I discovered about the women of southern Mozambique, which was also regret of women in the city. So,

it would be pertinent to evaluate the extent of women's own decision-making power in relation to migration in the opposite direction – back to their places of origin.

8. REFERENCES

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APPENDIX I

Guideline questions for Focus Group Discussions, in-depth interviews/life histories

1) The household structure
The Socio-economic implications of Internal Migration

A. Household structure

1. Who is the head of the household?

2. How many members live in this household? (By sex and age)

3. Present place of residence?

4. Where each member of the household was born?

B. Social conditions of the household

1. Housing: Type, facilities (water access, lighting, cooking) and ownership, toilet, etc

2. People who live in that house and how many do work or contribute for the income generation for the household

C. Migration

1. When did they come? Why did they move? How did they come? Who was left behind?

2. How decision making handled in household?

3. Why did not move?

4. Relationship with those were left behind?

D. Economy

1. How do household pool resources: such as money

2. Access to land?

3. What activities for income generation are the households engaged?

2) Focus Group Discussions

1. What is the migration decision process of the household prior to migration?

2. What kinds of social interactions exist between the migrants and relatives?

3. To what extent have economic, political and hazardous conditions affected women and men in terms of migration decisions?

4. To what extent is the household affected with respect to the decision for moving?

5. What kinds of family networks – linkage with family members left behind or in other areas exist?

6. Do women make migration decisions by themselves?

7. To what extent do households directly influence the incidence of migration among women?

8. What makes the similarities and differences in terms of patterns of migration between male and female?

9. The impact of migration to the households?

10. How do community see a migrant?

11. Types of migrants?

3) Life histories and in Depth-interviews

1. Name (optional), place of birth, marital status, level of education, profession or occupation and socio-cultural background?

2. Number of children?

3. Members of the household and relationship?

3. Type of house: ownership, size, cooking, lightning and toilet?

2. The motives for migration if they were wife's husband followers (family reunification), abandoned wives, widowhood, poverty, civil war, study or other reasons?

3. The decision for migration, if they had to choose and to whom they did ask permission and why?

4. The year of migration and ways of travel?

5. Their experience as migrants: integration in the city, constraints, etc.

6. If they had any network for migration?

7. The access to land and cash-income management?

8. Survival strategies in the city?

9. Future plans/returning?

APPENDIX II
Statistics

Population distribution according to the place of origin in 1980 and 1997 (Table 2.1)

Province		1980		1997	
	Total	Men	Women	Men	Women
Niassa	266	217	49	495	269
Cabo Delgado	447	382	65	475	329
Nampula	655	550	105	1,347	836
Zambezia	668	501	167	4,255	1,433
Tete	432	354	78	609	415
Manica	251	197	54	552	402
Sofala	773	587	186	2639	1,503
Inhambane	3,596	1,870	1,726	9,188	8,301
Gaza	6,167	2,870	3,297	5,729	6,955
Maputo province	2,907	1,290	1,617	5,466	7,224
Foreigners	303	190	113	6,567	3,726

Source: Direcção Nacional de Estatística 1981; INE 1999.

Evolution of the Maputo population: (Table 2.2)

Year	Population		
1894	1,721		
1898	2,041		
1909	9,800		
1930	20,642		
1925-1940	50,800		
1950	93,265		
1960	187,565		
1970	385,775		
	Total population	Male	Female
1980	718,334	372,646	345,688
1997	966,946	473,837	493,109
2001	1,018,938	498,165	520,773

Source: Santos 1985; INE 1999; 2001.

APPENDIX III
Typology of migration

Patterns of Women's Migration in northern Mozambique (Table 3.1)

Year	Geographic area	Characteristics of migration	Events	Destination	Migration management
1975-1986	Nampula, Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Zambezia (northern) and Tete (northern)	Forced migration: Former FRELIMO's Women's Detachment (DF')	Independence Villagization Operation Production	The city of Maputo Rural areas The Niassa Development Rural Project	Orientation by the government - Control of movements through "Travel permits" - The role of Dynamizing Groups - The 'end' of the customary laws
1980's		Forced migration Men's attaché	- Compulsory Military Service (SMO) - The Great famine - Cross border trade done by men	- Maputo training camp - Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia	A movement controlled by husbands and family members
1987-1992		Forced migration Men's attachés	Civil war The Structural Adjustment Program Transference of the husbands	The city of Maputo Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia	- The end of migration control - Family or household decision for migration
1994			The first general elections in the country		The end of control of people's movements The end of resettlement process of refugees
1992-1999		Following studies A few number of women in an independent basis: strongly dependent on customary laws (Godmothers, parents' and uncles decisions) including traditional leaders	General Peace Agreement Returning of refugees Resettlement (unemployment) and the growing of the informal economy	The city of Maputo Rural areas of Niassa	The new role of traditional leaders in controlling movements The new rule of God mothers, parents and uncles
2000-2005		A slightly independent movement of women	The growing of informal economy The growing number of single mothers	The city of Maputo Cross border trade	

Source: done by the author based in different interviews and life histories over the year of v2005 and 2006

In-bound and Out-bound migration in Mandimba district: a historical perspective (Table 3.2)

Year	Origin	Characteristics of migration	Events	Destination	Migration management/control
1930's	Mandimba	Forced migration	Forced cotton and tobacco agriculture	Malawi, Zimbabwe and Tanzania	Chiefs and the district administrator
1939-1945	Mandimba	Forced migration	II world war	Malawi and Zimbabwe	Chiefs and the district administrator
1964-1974	Mandimba	Forced migration	Liberation war	Malawi	Chiefs and the district administrator
1975-1980	Mandimba	Forced migration	Replacement of Portuguese civil servants and military protection	The city of Maputo	Ministry of Defence and the FRELIMO Party
1983	Southern provinces	Forced migration	Production Operation	Mandimba	Dynamizing Groups via FRELIMO party
1987-1992	Mandimba	Forced migration	Civil war Compulsory Military Service	Malawi Southern Mozambique	Ministry of Defence, Interior, Security and Dynamizing Groups
1994-1996	Malawi and Tanzania	Voluntary repatriation	Repatriation post-war	Mandimba	Government and UNHCR
1997-2005	Mandimba	Voluntary migration and cross border trade	Itinerant movements Permanent movements including transferences	Between villages From other districts of the Niassa and Nampula and Zambezia provinces	No control

Source: done by the author based in different interviews and life histories over the year of 2005 and 2006

Patterns of Migration in the district of Mandimba (Table 3.4)

Out-bound migration	**Type of People in move**	**Destination**
	War veterans and Compulsory Military Service Soldiers (both women and men)	Southern Mozambique (Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane).
	Civil servants including teachers, nurse clerks and radio operators.	Lissiete, Entre-Rios, Lipúzia, Mandimba Sede, Mitande and Meluluca. A few to Lichinga the capital city and none to the city of Maputo.
	Business people (traders)	Malawi and Tanzania to sell maize, fish beans and tobacco.
	Students	Cuamba and Lichinga and not to the city of Maputo
In-bound migration	**Type of People in move**	**Origin**
	Returnees from the civil war, liberation war and runners from forced cotton and tobacco production	Malawi and Tanzania
	Business people (traders)	Nipepe, Maúa, Marrupa, Lago, Majune and Nampula in a period of three or six months and Malawians in a daily basis
	War veterans and civil war demobilized soldiers	From Southern Mozambique who were in missions
	Land seekers	Malawi and few from districts of Niassa

Source: Done by the author based in different interviews and life histories over the year of 2005 and 2006.

Patterns of Women's Migration in southern Mozambique (Table 3.5)

Year	Geographic area	Characteristics of migration	Events	Destination	Migration management
Before 1975	Southern Mozambique	Men's attaché Family reunification	Labour migration to South Africa and Lourenço Marques Ports and Railways	Lourenço Marques (reed bairros	Mothers'-in law or brothers-in-law mangers
1975-1986		Replacement of Portuguese officers Villagization Internally Displaced Persons	- Independence - Villagization - Production Operation	Maputo Rural areas The Niassa Development	Orientation by the government - Travel permits" - The role of Dynamizing Groups
1980's		Cross border trade Internal trade Forced migration Men's attaché	The great famine: Cross border trade as a survival strategy Informal market Compulsory Military Service	Swaziland Chokwe in Gaza province Maputo Training military Camp	The beginning of the cross border as a clandestine movement under consent of husbands The re-activation of Female Detachment
1987-1992		Forced migration Men's attachés Studies	Civil war The Structural Adjustment Program	The city of Maputo South Africa and Swaziland	- The end of migration control
1994			The 1st General Elections	Mozambique	Returnees and resettlement
1992-1999		Students and independent movers	GPA Returning and Resettlement The growing of the informal economy	The city of Maputo	Not clear management
2000-2005		The growing number of women in the city of Maputo born in Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo province	The Great Floods of 2000 The growing of informal economy The establishment of "Mukhero" association	- The city of Maputo - South Africa - Cross border and long distance trade to SA and Asia	

Source: done by the author based in different interviews and life histories over the year of 2005 and 2006

APPENDIX IV
Cross border trade and traded goods

Types of Goods Traded (Table 4.1)

Activity	Product	Country
Import	Groceries, furniture, cars, fruit, vegetables, clothing, shoes, cosmetics, detergents, adornment for coffins fabric, radios, electronic devices, cell-phones, soft drink, including juice, mattresses, house furniture, dairy, poultry, etc.	South Africa
	Beef meat, eggs and chicken, sugar, etc.	Swaziland
	Oil	Zimbabwe
Export	Cacana (*Momordica balsamina L.)*, cassava, cassava-leaves, peanut, cashew-nuts, coconuts, spring greens, seafood (prawns, fish, crabs and calamari), beer (2M and Laurentina Mozambican beer), craft (straw and carves), sarongs, clay and aluminium pots, goats, bread, wild medical plants, etc.	South Africa
	Cacana (*Momordica balsamina L.)*, cassava, cassava-leaves, peanut, cashew-nuts, spring greens, seafood (prawns, fish, crabs), beer, crafts (straw and carves), sarongs, clay and aluminium pots, goats, bread, etc.	Swaziland
	Cacana (*Momordica balsamina L.)*, cassava, cassava-leaves, peanut, cashew-nuts, spring greens, seafood (prawns, fish, crabs and calamari), beer (2M and Laurentina Mozambican beer), craft (straw and carves), sarongs, clay and aluminium pots, goats, bread, second hand clothing, shoes, etc.	Zimbabwe

Source: Focus Group Discussion, Maputo, 1st March 2006

APPENDIX V
List of interviewees

District of Mandimba
Leaders/Key-informants

1. P. Mahumane (District Administrator of Mandimba)
2. Leo Jeremias (District director of Education)
3. Mataka Mustafa (Mwene of Nassato)
4. Essinate Metano (Apwyamwene of Nassato)
5. Ambrósio Mário Massamba (FRELIMO Party leader of J. Nyerere)
6. Feliciano Ajuma Munhehele (FRELIMO Party leader, J. Nyerere)
7. Manuel Salange (Traditional leader of Chikwenga)
8. Francisco José Jane (Traditional leader, J. Nyerere)
9. Ndebele Abudo (Traditional leader, M'Bawe)
10. Ernesto Bulaique (Mitande, acting Head of the Administrative Post)
11. Biché Timamo (Head of the Crossing Post of Mandimba)
12. Ngunga Gumila (Mwene of Naucheche)
13. Simão Nauhea (Health District Director of Mandimba)
14. Angondo Podzo (Apwyiamwene of Meluluca)
15. Mustafa Abudo (Shehe of Lissiete)

Interviewees

1. Simão Manuel Muteto
2. Natawilapé Imede
3. Likanda Baraca
4. Daúde Chitequete
5. Caire Jawado
6. Horácio Jaquissone
7. Marta Miguel
8. Verónica Salimo
9. João Jamissone
10. Carlitos Matuwaia
11. Gerassi Dolosi
12. Damião Cossa
13. Luísa Bacar

14. Camilo Candurro
15. Maliatu Damissone
16. Fátima Amade
17. Eduardo Mpipa
18. Dayton Paulo
19. Amurai Mualeva
20. Fátima Omar
21. Adjica Yassine
22. Mástala Maúde
23. Nalestina Yasse
24. Ângelo Inglês Mussa
25. Helena Rajabo
26. Mánasse Ajate
27. Fátima Dairesse
28. Mariana Mamo
29. Joice Eusébio
30. Quénesse António Rubalo
31. Maria Coniquene
32. Aiasse Hochi
33. Essinate Julias
34. Manuel Fernando Lucas
35. Saíde Ausse Lichinga
36. Bernardo Ntambo
37. João Manhiça Vilanculos
38. Albino Camela
39. Vicente Maca
40. Castigo António Tovela
41. Jorge Námbaze
42. Dairosse Ayeme
43. Tuaíbo Belo
44. Carlitos Matawa Charamba
45. Jaime Salé
46. Luquia Inussá
47. Gaspar Taulo

48. Saíde Ausse
49. Gaspar Taulo
50. Upile Samango
51. Daniel Atanásio
52. Vitória Abudo
53. Rafael Muhaquia
54. Ájulo Rajabo
55. Júlio Sirca
56. António Afonso Arabo
57. João António Chiúre
58. Madalena Sambo
59. Xavier Momade
60. Elizabeth Mussa
61. Issa Augusto Mataka
62. Saíde Assima Malindasse (District commander of Police of Mandimba)
63. Carolina Waire
64. Aida Juliasse

The city of Maputo
Leaders/Key-informants

1. Salvador Zawangone (National Director of War Veterans)
2. Momade Panachande (former National Director of Immigration)
3. Humberto Cossa (Director of the Immigration in the city of Maputo)
4. Isabel Maciane (chief of Malhangalane market)
5. Sudeka Novela, President of Mukhero Association
6. Sister Marizete Garbin, Secretary General of Episcopal Commission of Refugees and Migrants in Mozambique
7. T. Sigaúque (Secretary of the Bairro Central A)

Interviewees

1. Alberto Estêvao Canjauele
2. Mónica Chitupila
3. Simão Jacson
4. José Eduardo
5. Conceição David
6. Anabela Lampião

7. Clara Matsimbe
8. Ricardo Braga
9. Alegria
10. Clementina Muchanga
11. Albino Bitine
12. Luís dos Santos,
13. Rita Licangala,
14. Esperança Faustino
15. Olga Cumbane
16. Graça Henriques
17. Eulália Gusmão
18. Abílio Calimoto
19. Horácio Teixeira
20. António Wilson
21. J. Murende
22. Jorge Fugueiro Sulemane
23. Ermelinda Assumane
24. Capunde Anase
25. Abasse Anussa
26. Bernardo Maniamba
27. Abudo Momade
28. Imane Uman Chaquimo
29. Constância Zefanias Halar
30. Abreu Lopes Assane
31. Catarina Chaibo Nchoteca
32. Marcelina Chamusse
33. Lucrêcia Adriano Flor Bela Bonaia
34. Npaicua Magona Sandes,
35. Cirio Celestino Muarapaz
36. Ana Maria Gabriel Aly
37. Sérgio Ganda Filipe
38. Rute Miguel Kogoma
39. Victor Castiano Serrão
40. José Miquitao

41. Cândida Mariamo
42. Pedro Jussar
43. Preciosa Mabote
44. Tânia Mboé
45. Manuel Jacinto
46. Carlos João Vasco
47. Marta de Brito
48. Mateus Marcelo
49. Jacinto Amiel
50. António Farinha
51. Paulo Fernandes
52. Teresa Mapai
53. Catarina Julião
54. Joana Simão
55. Júlia Macore
56. Nelson Paulino
57. Sebastião Madequeta
58. Luísa Mabunda
59. Catarina Mitema
60. Ribeiro Cândido Victorino
61. Samo António
62. Saide Atumane
63. Bartolomeu Pedro Sunde
64. Tanda Zé Maria Jacaré
65. Jardim Meneses Laquimane
66. Jojó Domingos
67. Assumane Caetano
68. Renata Ntchamoco
69. Estefánia Bernardo
70. Severina Paulino
71. Ana Maria Costa da Silva
72. Maria Estrela White
73. Mariamo Ussufo
74. Carolina Aly

75. Cristina Wetimane
76. Joana Américo
77. Emília Alano
78. Georgina Fernando Gumende
79. Abdala Dala Mamad Juma
80. Jacinto Calisto