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## The Interaction of Gender and Migration Household Relations in Rural and Urban Mozambique

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### Introduction

The concept of migration has in the past been applied to two related but different indicators of population mobility: people in *movement*, and people as *movers* (Gould 1994; Oberai 1987). The concept of *movement* views migration as an event much like birth and death, while the concept of *movers* treats migration as a transition of status analogous to a change in marital or employment status (Gould 1994; Oberai 1987). It is argued that a fundamental aspect of migration is its ability to change over time (Chant 1998; Chant and Radcliff 1992). Migration is not only the consequence of unequal development, which could be the result of natural causes, such as the difference in the natural potential of different regions (Amin 1995). Migration is also in itself a part of unequal development, thus resulting in different impacts between females and males serving to reproduce or aggravate the socio-economic conditions in both sending and receiving areas (Chant 1998; Chant and Radcliff 1992).

In the decades 1980–2000, migration has become an important issue of study in respect of the increasing number of people on the move and people likely to move, particularly those who move forcibly as a result of persecution and economic instability, such as refugees and participants in the brain-drain phenomenon (Oucho 2001; Lubkemann 2000; Gould 1994; Parnwell 1993). In analysing gender migration scholars such as Dodson (2000; 2001), Gugler and Ludwar-Ene (1995) point out that relations of power and access to resources determine who moves where, when, how and why. The result is a pattern of different opportunities for migration between women and men. In terms of

who has migrated in the last two decades Chant (1998) and Adepoju (1995) show an increase of women's migration from rural to urban areas and across international boundaries. This, of course, changes the traditional concept of 'migration being a male feature as a rite of passage for adult manhood' (Brydon 1989) while females were left behind and involved in reproductive activities (Chant 1998).

Dialmy<sup>2</sup> (2005), Kimmel (2004), Anderson and Accomando (2002) point out that different countries or societies construct a model of masculinity in which each man defines and measures himself as a man and gives the characteristics of who is a man and who is a woman. That hegemonic definition is constructed in relation to various social, economic aspects vis-à-vis women and other men. Any male who fails to conform to one of those so-called men's features is likely to be viewed as unworthy, incomplete and inferior (Dialmy 2005; Kimmel 2004). In all situations masculinity is constructed in relation to femininity and expresses the multiple ways in which gender identity is articulated through the process of power relations (Dialmy 2005; Kimmel 2004). Masculinity is an 'adaptable' and 'mobile' concept that varies according to psychological features, moral qualities, social indicators and political qualities (Dialmy 2005). It is because of that 'adaptability' that throughout generations 'new men' emerge (Gill 2001) The nature of that new man represents a shift in his attitudes in relation to the 'new' environment that has been produced by changes in the global economy and has intensified the movement of people, particularly the movement of females.

It is under this variability of the concept that I locate this chapter, including the extent that migration can be a factor that defines masculinity. The issue is: to what extent can migration be a masculine characteristic and how does female migration counteract this characteristic? Despite the growing volume of research on women's movement, there is still a lack of study focusing on the effect of the trend of men's masculinity. This study will highlight the new challenges for masculinity in the context of the increase in women's migration. It aims to discuss some of these trends of migration and the effects of some men's masculinity in Southern Mozambique.

### **Scope of the Study and Methodology**

The study specifically aims to discuss how masculinity has been affected by the trend towards feminization of migration, and to determine to what extent the new trend of migration has affected the rural and urban household structure. It was carried out in the city of Maputo, capital of the Republic of Mozambique among adult females and adult males aged between 23 and 62 years. In individual interviews some of respondents were migrants (3) and some not (3). The collective interviews were a mix of migrants and non-migrants. The study largely focused on: a) the migration experience, b) the root linkages between migration and

masculinity, c) respondents' views on the feminization of migration, and d) the impact of this feminization on men's masculinity.

### **Research Methodology**

This study is a result of the administration of qualitative methodology comprising life histories and focus group discussions. A collection and analysis of six life histories comprised a fifty-fifty ratio and two focus groups (adult male and adult female) in the receiving area, the city of Maputo. These gave an idea of how migration has affected masculinity in both sending<sup>3</sup> and receiving<sup>4</sup> areas. The effect of the feminization of migration on men's masculinity is also discussed. This task was preceded by a review of literature on gendered migration in sub-Saharan Africa and other settings as well as literature on masculinity. The study was carried out in the neighbourhoods of Xiquelene (Urban District number IV, Maputo city) because of its concentration of the largest number of females resulting from rural–urban migration (see 1997 Census returns<sup>5</sup>).

The life histories focused on the migration experience, the decisions made for migration, as well as choices, vantages and constraints faced during the process of departure and integration in the receiving area. The issue of migration as a rite of passage for men was fully discussed during the focus group as well as the impact of the feminization of migration on an individual level. This data refers particularly to the changes on gender migration patterns, bearing in mind certain limitations to the study such as time constraints and limited data and literature in Mozambique. The focus group was mainly around the impact of migration within the community and the factors that impel people to move. Issues such as whether migration is a male or female feature were discussed in the target group, along with issues relating to how migration has contributed to the changing concept of masculinity. The focus group discussion was organized separately according to gender. The languages used were Portuguese (Mozambican official language) and Shangana and Ronga (national languages spoken in Maputo city).

### **General Findings: Population Mobility and 'Feature' Towards a Definition of Masculinity**

This study attempts to discuss population mobility as a masculine (macho) attribute by giving examples from Southern Mozambique's predominantly patrilineal society. As a socio-cultural concept, hegemonic masculinity defines the characteristics of being a 'real man'. A 'real man' can have several characteristics that define his ability to: provide food, build a good house, have a plot of land, have children, have a job, to some extent be able to provide support to more than one wife, defend the household and be the house protector (Dialmy 2005; Men's Focus Group discussion, Maputo, 22 July 2005). To what extent does migration attribute to this? How is a man seen if he does not migrate?

The population distribution by sex in the municipality of Maputo shows a gender imbalance (Table 1).

**Table 1:** Population Distribution by Sex in Municipal Districts according to the 1997 Census

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: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1998.

The Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1999) explains this gender imbalance as a result of rural–urban migration. What makes women move, according to the people interviewed (Maputo, 21 July 2005), is mainly the search for employment, the pursuit of studies, the following of parents and military obligations. The trend of female concentration in the cities particularly in neighbourhood areas varies according to their social and economic status. A study of income done by Araújo on urban geography of Maputo (1999) indicates that this is the case.

Historians assert that migration is not a new phenomenon in Africa, but has occurred on a substantial scale in many instances (Aina 1995; O'Connor 1983). There are different factors that compel people to change their residences. Economic factors can be one motive that creates the need to migrate. The genesis of a migrant labour system that required large supplies of cheap labour through various techniques such as taxation, labour coercion and land alienation forced several men to move (Brown 1980). The perception of a link between migration and masculinity has its roots in the labour system (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). Perhaps these men who were forced to move owing to the economic system turned this obligation into one of the elements that defined manhood (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). The reason for this is mainly because of its connection to two elements: a) earning money that is used to provide family needs and b) the harsh conditions that these men were facing in those jobs (das Neves 1998; Covane 1996). *'Only men who were able to go into mine or spend several hours in the field (plantations) could support that suffering. Suffering is destined to men. Only men can afford such suffering in the mines. Only men have the*

*superior physique*' (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). This assumption has been rejected by Wright. In her analysis Wright (1995: 781) calls attention to the fact of the need to be cautious of the argument that mining is inherently male work owing to its physical demands, because women and children had gone down the mines. Empirical evidence in Mozambican history also shows that during the pre-colonial period in the Zambeze valley children and women were employed in mining (Cadernos de História de Moçambique 1980). Wright also argues that it was in the interests of African men to confine African women to the rural areas in order to benefit from their agricultural and domestic labour. This was of paramount importance for male chieftaincies struggling to manage rapid change to their best advantage. In this context women's mobility was controlled. This control was woman to woman, in the sense that women had the task of safeguarding the reputation of women who were left behind (Wright 1995); in other words they had a police-like function.

The emerging participation of African countries in the international economy, as raw material providers, led to an increase in the sexual division of labour (Todaro 2000; Chant 1998). Many men were obliged to leave their homeland in order to find paid jobs. '*Employed man is a real man*' (Maputo, Women's Focus Group discussion, 23 July 2005). Initially, women were absent in this process of migration (Wright 1995), but later in a worsening economic situation were involved in the process (see the example of Botswana). At this point a question arises: how does migration and masculinity interact? The primary focus of migration studies undertaken in Mozambique in the post-independence period is on labour migration.<sup>6</sup> This kind of migration was primarily connected with masculinity, especially that migration which was related to economic reasons. The focus group discussion and life histories can attest to the extent of the relationship between manhood and migration. '*My son, go to Joni<sup>7</sup> to be a man.*' The desire to go to '*Joni*' went beyond the colonial exigency of paying taxes because of the issue of manhood (Covane 1998). Young men were forced by society to challenge harsh mine conditions in order to gain their manhood status. Young men and adults were also attracted by friends and relatives who had returned well-dressed and carrying goods such as bicycles, motorbike, dresses, shoes, etc. However, because of long stays in '*Joni*' some of these men left behind young lonely wives and added to the wife's responsibilities. They became 'men' since they had to perform the traditional duties of men such as contracting workers to the fields and fixing houses. These men who stayed away for long periods were generally portrayed as conventional 'villains' because they left their families for long periods, and once away they married other wives, so forgetting their duties as breadwinners (see gender studies undertaken in Mozambique).

It is clear that, historically, migration in Africa has focused largely on the movement of men. In the past, in South and Southeast Asia, migrant flows have

also tended to be male-dominated (Brydon 1995: 125). Nevertheless, since the 1970s, as a consequence of changes in the global economy, it has been noted that migration is no longer a male feature (Brydon 1995; Wright 1995). Patterns of migration involve those related to the changes of people from the north (Europe and America) to Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as from Asia, Africa and Latin America to northern countries, thus sharing no clear distinction of who moves in terms of social and economic stratus. However, this new economy, known as globalization, has created a shift from male migration to female migration, making migration more and more feminized (see UNDP reports of 2001, 2000). Although the data in Mozambique is not reliable, this trend is no different from what has been seen around the world (see Table 2).

**Table 2:** Population Distribution in the City of Maputo according to Place of Origin

Province of Origin	1980 Census			1997 Census	
	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
Zambezia	668	501	167	4,255	1,433
Tete	432	354	78	609	415
Manica	251	197	54	552	402
Sofala	773	587	186	2,639	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: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1999; Direcção Nacional de Estatística, 1981.

The census of 1980 demonstrates that the Gaza and Inhambane provinces in Southern Mozambique represent the majority of migrants within the city. The data reveals the trend of rural–urban migration that started during the colonial period and gained more impetus with the increase of political instability in the late 1980s and the beginning of 1990s (Raimundo 2002; Araújo 1999; Muanamoha

1999). To a lesser extent, Northern provinces such as Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambezia 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 Zambezia provinces is still unclear. People had to flee to secure areas, which are mainly urban, although some literature (Araújo 1999; Muanamoha 1999) points out the intensification of the armed attacks in these provinces during the civil war as the main factor of the rural–urban move. However, Knauder (2000) argues against using civil war as a factor to explain the rural–urban shift, referring instead to countries like Zambia, which experienced a rapid population growth in their cities, but not during the colonial period or in a civil war.

Brydon (1989) emphasizes the fact that the literature on women's migration has shown that most women have moved on their own initiative, without husbands. In many of the provinces where such women's migration is increasing, this change is associated with occupational roles for women in the urban economy, such as being house-workers. What makes the difference between women and men in this context of migration? Smith (1994) says that women are forced to flee poverty and patriarchal custom, and some migrate to accumulate the capital needed to set up independent households. In the meantime, Brydon (1995:128) shows that recent empirical studies on African women migrants indicate that women move for the same reason as men, namely to look for work. To my mind, however, it is necessary to know the differences between a young, unmarried or married woman deciding to go by herself to a city. To ordinary people such migration is linked to misbehaviour (prostitution and an easy life). Nevertheless, it is not clear how this movement of women has changed the relationship with men as traditional migrants. Also, it is not clear to what extent it has affected men's perception of their masculinity.

Even though there is a paucity of data, there are some observable impacts of feminization of migration on masculinity. Firstly, men interviewed said that *'because of the policy of woman's emancipation introduced by FRELIMO in Mozambique after independence many things have changed. It is not surprising to have women migrating. What do we feel is not the feminization of migration per se, but the fact of women taking our traditional household duty such as feeding the family'* (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). Beyond this affirmation there is a sense of inferiority showed by men. Secondly, *'What is important is not feminization of migration, but who can earn some money to feed the family. The cost of living has increased. Who can actually afford to pay school fees and guarantee food at home? In rural areas where we came from agriculture is no longer profitable and there is lack of rain and there are no jobs there'* (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). Although it was not clear during the interviews, the

assumption is that this 'new man' (who has been 'overthrown' in his traditional duties) in a subtle way uses strategies to hide the fact of being fed by a woman. This new man had two 'houses' or possessed two wives at home: one for traditional duties, classified as a 'normal' (as they classify) woman and the other to search for subsistence such as crossing borders as a cross-border trader.

The remarkable increases in the proportion of young single women in certain migrant streams were slow to be detected, and even now the dimensions and implications of these changes are poorly understood. Patterns of female migration are both a reflection and cause of some of the major social and economic transformations taking place in developing countries, particularly in Asia. Fawcett *et al.* (1984: 6), quoting Thadani and Todaro (1984), underline marriage as a factor of migration. They argue that marriage is a major avenue of upward social mobility for women, which may imply moving to an urban area in search of a higher-status husband. Large-scale migration of women to urban areas is not entirely a recent phenomenon, nor is it equally common in all parts of the world (Smith *et al.* 1984:16; see also data from the INE 1999). Smith *et al.* (1984) suggest that women in a European society were primarily short-distance migrants moving within the same province or country, usually because of marriage or in response to the demand for domestic servants in the cities. Men, by contrast, travelled longer distances, usually in search of better labour markets. Although most African migrants are male, there has been a shift in the gender composition of migration in recent years (Dodson 2001 and 2000; Ulick and Crush 2000). It is suggested that in Africa migration from village to city offers women an escape (Dodson 2001; Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995). There is an escape from a traditionally prescribed status, obedience to male kinsmen and exceedingly hard work; the customary sanctions against unmarried mothers; and divorced women running away from unhappy conditions of life, and broken or barren marriages of young girls, usually from poor families. These women come to the city as live-in maids or babysitters (Chant 1998; Chant and Radcliff 1992).

Mozambique, like many other developing countries, has been impacted negatively by global economic changes. The rate of unemployment has increased (see UNDP reports of 2001, 2000, 1998). The situation deteriorated during the late 1970s when after independence the then government closed the borders with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa decreed sanctions against Mozambique (Hanlon 1986). The consequence was a reduction of the recruitment of workers to the mines of Southern Mozambique with the consequent increase of unemployment (see UNDP 1998; Hanlon 1986).

It is a fact that civil war, besides displacing people and creating refugees, impacted negatively on the economy because the target was the family field and the total social and economic infrastructure, of schools, bridges, hospitals, railways, etc. (Hanlon 1986). Indeed, millions of people in Mozambique were driven from



their homes in the political instability (Raimundo 2002; Lubkemann 2000; Hanlon 1986). The failure of the rural economy, mostly engaged in large-scale agriculture, to create sufficient employment opportunities in the rural areas as well as the failure of the villagization programmes,<sup>9</sup> contributed largely to a lack of jobs and unemployment (UNDP, 2001, 2000; Raimundo 2002; Hanlon 1986). Dialmy and Mouiche (2005)<sup>10</sup> argue that these transformations on the economy have produced a 'new man', who is male, but unemployed and fails to fulfil his traditional household obligations. According to people interviewed, the 'new man' is not a conventional male, but a female who now wears her husband's trousers: '*Due to her better ability to feed the family she becomes a man*' (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). This new migrant, called 'woman-masculinized' in the common assertion that she feeds the family, is seen in the cities working as a house-maid or civil servants, or is involved in different spheres of the economy in an entrepreneurial form. As entrepreneurs they succeed in delivering products such as groceries, meat, vegetables, furniture, fruit, alcohol, etc. to the city of Maputo. They control the biggest informal markets of alcohol, vegetables, fruit and clothing alongside the markets of Malanga, Estrela Vermelha, Xipamanine, Xiquelene, Museu and Vulcano (Maputo, Women's Focus Group discussion, 23 July 2005). They are commonly known in Southern Mozambique as '*Mukberistas*'.<sup>11</sup> This situation provides important pointers for studies that include a gender perspective in order to help understand the structure of gendered relationship differences in the migration context.

Analyses of migration have been based almost entirely on information gathered from male migrants (Chant 1992; Chant and Radcliff 1992; Thadani and Todaro 1984). However, women represent a growing proportion of internal migrants in Africa, many of whom crossed borders and fled from socio-economic and political persecution (Lubkemann 2000; Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995; Thadani and Todaro 1984). In addition, when women migrate with their families as either parent or spouse they are assumed to be merely accompanying the primary migrant. However, most explanations of this increased momentum of female migration are related to family migration – the associational migration of wives or daughters accompanying the primary male migrant – or, in the case of unattached female migration, the existence of economic and employment opportunities in the urban areas (Thadani and Todaro 1984:38). When women reach the cities they are primarily engaged in domestic activities (Chant 1998; Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995; Thadani and Todaro 1984; Brown 1980).

The present contribution seeks to open up new ways of thinking about migration issues in Mozambique in terms of the interaction of gender and migration and the impact on changes in masculinity, based on migration as being a rite of passage to manhood. The reasons, motives and aims of migration need to be taken into account in order to understand how migrants are able to accept the often-severe

conditions in the host area and how the phenomenon has impacted on masculine and feminine status in both sending and receiving areas.

Gendered approaches are pertinent to migration studies since women as well as men have been migrating to the cities in Mozambique and even to neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Swaziland. It is important that these studies focus on understanding the dynamic related to the changes that migration creates within the economy, the household structure and the variables of certain concepts in the light of new trends.

### **Migration in Mozambique: A Path to Manhood? Who Should Follow Whom?**

As discussed earlier, masculinity in Africa is socially constructed and is fluid over time and different settings. To attain manhood in Africa is to achieve some level of financial independence, employment or a certain income in order to fulfil household needs. Relevant research (Kimmel 2004; Byron 2002; Gill 2001) and the author's fieldwork undertaken in the city of Maputo show that to become a man one has to have the following characteristics: be married with children, have a family to care for, be able to fulfil household needs, have enough money to get married, acquire employment, have access to land and support an extended family. *'Men's recognition and their sense of manhood suffer when they lack work or fail to feed the family'* (Maputo, Women's Focus Group discussion, 23 July 2005). I will discuss this topic through the following question: how is the creation of masculinity linked with migration? If migration is seen as the rite of passage, as a means of earning a living for a man who does not migrate, does it mean that his masculinity is useless? Women interviewed affirm that *'a man who is not a migrant is because his mother put him in a bottle because she is not interested to have her beloved away from her'* (Maputo, Women's Focus Group discussion, Maputo, 22 July 2005). One conclusion to be inferred from this is that women are not comfortable in these changes of role in the migration process. Beyond this there is a woman, his mother, who does 'not allow' the son to be away from her. To this extent it is not a matter of the change in the economy, but the fictitious prohibition from the mother.

Migration has been found to respond to rural–urban differences of expected income rather than actual earnings (Amin 1995). Migration, as Todaro (2000), Amin (1995) and Ricca (1989) point out, exacerbates the 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, which itself is at an historically unprecedented high level because of the high proportion of young people who dominate the migrant stream. Second, on the demand side, urban job creation is more difficult and costly to accomplish than rural employment creation. The reason is because of the need for substantial complementary resource input in most modern industrial jobs.

Todaro (2000) asserts that the effect of the migration process is more pervasive than its obvious accentuation of urban unemployment and underemployment. Lubkemann (2000) points out that migration in the case of Mozambique has resulted in a change in definition of the rights and obligations of social relations and in the distribution of power within social networks.

Migration, according to geographers, implies a change of residence. Thus, traditionally a woman migrates when she follows the husband, and thus marriage becomes a factor of migration (Thadani and Todaro 1984). Although I do not have substantial empirical data I would like to draw attention to the political situation of ministers in Mozambique. If we look at the women who constituted the new government of 2005, it is clear that the issue of not having a husband following a wife was taken into account. Except for the Minister of Labour, who came from Northern Mozambique, the remaining women ministers have been living in the city of Maputo for years. The media do not consider women, but the 'Guebuza's<sup>12</sup> men' (*Savana*<sup>13</sup> February 2005). There is still a sense that ministers' positions belong to men. There are 26 ministers including the Prime Minister (a woman) and 15 deputy ministers; 11 of these (27%) are women (seven ministers and four deputy ministers). In terms of governors among the 11 provinces two are women. These are the governors of Maputo city and Maputo province, meaning that these women did not have a need to move with their husbands because they lived in the capital or close to it. In contrast, some of these new governors have wives who used to hold higher political and economic positions and lived in the city of Maputo. Perhaps this fact attests to something akin to the sense of masculinity emerging during the constitution of the government. Also, it is still unthinkable to have a husband following a wife who is politically empowered without also giving him some power (as in the case of the Mozambican ambassadors of France and European Union). It seems that only a woman should follow or be attached to a man.

### **From Men's Migration As Rite of Passage to Women's Migration as a Survival Strategy**

Historically, migration in Africa has been largely a matter of men moving in order to fulfil household's needs, as a result of the impact of colonization and capitalism that created migration and spatial differences in employment opportunities. A man is expected to take care of the family as the breadwinner. The gains from his current place of work are used to build houses, buy food, pay school fees, buy land, cattle, etc. The man who does not migrate or has never experienced migration is not a man (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005). People interviewed asserted that migration for a man is a rite of passage for male adulthood. It is through migration that man matures quickly. A man's migration serves to show his masculinity because he is able to provide

food and fulfil his household needs and is able to face harsh conditions. Migration has impacted on women since she has become forced to become head of the household and has to carry out all household duties, but with limited decision-making and long periods of loneliness owing to the absences of her husband. Some examples can be found on the following life history:

Clementina Muchanga was born in 1959 in Chibuto, Gaza province. Her household is made up of seven people. The head of the household is her husband who is a mineworker in South Africa. He has been away for twelve years. Clementina's family settled in Maputo city in 1982 because of RENAMO's<sup>14</sup> armed attacks. Although her husband has been away for a long time Clementina still waits for his instructions concerning the day-to-day running of family affairs. This has made Clementina's life somewhat difficult in terms of being able to go out and pursue an economic livelihood for her family back home. Because of cultural beliefs that do not permit her to make any decision without her husband's consent, she cannot go anywhere. In the city of Maputo she is involved in small business (Maputo, 20 July 2005).

For the people interviewed (both men and women) a long migration was linked with masculinity.

Abílio was born in 1943 in Inhambane province (Southern Mozambique). He is a former mine labourer in South Africa and is now involved in carpentry to support his family of ten people. Two of his unmarried daughters have lived in Johannesburg since 1995 and they left their children with him. However, Abílio has three sons who still live with him and are not able to get a decent job. Abílio feels ashamed of these sons because instead of them going to Johannesburg as the sisters did they only know how to get young girls pregnant and leave the children in his care. *'My sons still children because they are not migrating to the mines as the sisters did. What kind of men do I have?'* Abílio asked (Maputo, 21 July 2005).

The empirical evidence to attest this assumption is insufficient to reach precise conclusions on the issue. However, it is still of some significance to have a boy or a young adult who goes to the mines either on a temporary or a permanent basis to prove his masculinity. It is a shame if some males do not leave their place of origin, as Abílio said. Some women's life histories will clarify to what extent they had to 'overthrow' their male counterparts in the process of migration. Women who migrate can tell how difficult life is in rural areas and why they decide to move independently. Surely this freedom of movement constitutes a new feature, which to some extent has impacted on men's masculinity since they stay at home and no longer 'obey'; the saying 'here you are not a man unless you travel to the

city'. Nowadays, although it is against the social norms (Maputo, Men's and Women's Focus Group discussions, July 2005), women can decide to move in response to specific pressures and can leave their place of origin without needing the consent of the man's family. This situation seems to be new in Mozambique although it has been common in Latin America and Asia for years (Chant 1998).

Clara Matsimbe, born in 1960 in Maqueze, Gaza province (Southern Mozambique), is a mother of two children (she had eight children, but six of them died). She decided to move to the city of Maputo because she was abandoned by her former husband. The reason for that was a belief among the husband's relatives that she is bewitched because she 'ate' her own children. As an unskilled woman Clara decided to run some businesses. Initially she worked for a former neighbour in Maqueze. For about three years Clara was dependent on a friend of hers. From 2001 she started to settle up her business, which was selling second-hand clothing. Even though it is not a profitable business, she says she can afford to feed the two living children (now seventeen and fifteen years) and the parents who she left at home (Maputo, 20 July 2005).

Another example came from Alegria (year of birth unknown), a peanut vendor in the streets of Maputo.

Alegria fled from her homeland (Inhambane province) and from her family because her husband went to South Africa for five years and she had not received news from him. She does not feel sorry for leaving her son because she had to feed the family and look for more opportunities in the big city. Alegria knows that in her community of origin her name is connected with misbehaviour (an easy life) and prostitution but she does not care because she now has her own life (Maputo, 20 July 2005).

The literature has emphasized the issue of men's migration as being a particular rite of passage. However, with the impact of the global economy, the independence of Mozambique and the subsequent policy of women's emancipation, it seems that women's migration is no longer a social crime, and neither can migration be a rite of passage. Migration is a survival strategy for women (Raimundo 2002) as shown through the involvement of women in the informal economy and their success as entrepreneurs. Migration used to be a man's road to masculinity, and the man who failed to fit into this framework was not considered macho.

### **Feminization of Migration and Impact on Family and Men's Masculinity**

This section discusses the impact of the feminization of migration on men's masculinity and on the family. In the absence of giving women their identity in the family and their traditional role as family caregivers this new form of migration tends to affect the family children as well as the men's domain (Maputo, Men's

Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005) and to a lesser extent men's masculinity (Maputo life history, 20 July 2005). The migration of women, especially mothers, has impacted negatively on the school performance of their children. Their husbands do not perform well in their duties as mothers because *'the task after the family belongs to women. Allowing a wife or married woman to migrate is the same as being a widower'* (Maputo, Men's Focus Group discussion, 22 July 2005), and it is unthinkable to have a man following his wife because they are not 'baskets'. However, in the women's focus group discussion it was argued that although it was recognised that a feature of the man's identity was feeding the family, the women had to do so because of economic constraints. Women do not feel that they are taking a man's characteristics or are wearing the trousers, as men say.

Nowadays what is important is to have someone who can feed the family. Being women we have duties toward our children. Men do not care if they abandon their family, especially children. We women are really concerned for our children. We have to move in order to find something to feed them. We work hard for the money. For that we have to move because in the rural area there is no way of getting money (Maputo, Women's Focus Group discussion, 23 July 2005).

One married man had to follow his wife from the city of Beira (Sofala province) because he had a precarious contract job in his place of origin. Because the wife got a well-paid job in the city of Maputo he had no choice but to follow her. He did not feel 'naked' in his masculinity.

It was not the case since the decision came from within ourselves. The decision for migration depends on the contractual situation of each one of us. It is good to migrate when you have the guarantee of job or a long contract. It does not matter who gets a job, a woman or a man. It all depends on the opportunities. I feel that masculinity is not defined according to the tasks given by societies for men or women. This definition must change once we are facing changes in the economy that forces everybody to be involved in a paid job' (Maputo, individual interview with a male, 20 July 2005).

However, this interviewee (who did not want his name quoted) emphasized the fact that it depends on economic situation of the husband. If he gets a secure job it is quite hard to follow the wife.

In terms of an unmarried or abandoned women there is no way of preventing them to migrate since they become "men" once they become breadwinners. I do not think that society can condemn them because of this, although in the recent past migrant women were linked with things such as prostitution and mental illness (Maputo, individual interview with a male, 20 July 2005).

## Conclusion

This study has attempted to show that men's migration can be used as a feature of masculinity. However, that migration in Mozambique as well as in other African countries has impacted on women at home (in her place of origin) by adding to her roles traditional duties that were previously performed by men, such as managing household finances and supervising labour in the family field. For years migration was considered and reserved for men since it was the way to gain money to cope with household duties. Colonialism and capitalism exacerbated the imbalances between rural and urban areas, impelling people to move. The colonial system created a need for a cheaper labour force. It was under colonization and capitalism that the issue of manhood gained a certain importance. There was the sense in Southern Mozambique that the only one able to migrate was a man, and only the male had the duty of feeding the family. However, led by changes in the global economy by the late 1970s trends of migration have changed over subsequent decades. Recent empirical evidence from a variety of settings tends to show an increase in the independent migration of rural women to urban areas. Mozambique, as a country in Southern Africa, is no exception. Urban growth in Mozambique, fuelled by rural–urban migration, has been one of the fastest in the region. However, very little systematic research has been conducted on rural–urban migration in Mozambique, and specifically on the gender patterns of that migration. The literature on migration that exists emphasizes the role of men as breadwinners, and little research has been done in terms of the growing number of females who have 'overcome' men as traditional migrants and on how this relates to men being macho within the household. By focusing on a rural and urban area, this study has attempted to discuss how women's migration affects men's masculinity, and concludes that nowadays migration cannot be used as a rite of passage because of the increase of females in the process, either as having manhood features because of the high rates of unemployment, or having no need to differentiate between who should or not migrate. Only specific opportunities can determine who should or should not migrate.

## Notes

1. Address for correspondence: Eduardo Mondlane University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Geography, P.O. Box 257, Maputo, Mozambique. E-mail: inesmacamo@yahoo.co.uk
2. 'De la Masculinite en Afrique du Nord' and 'The Masculine Representation of Masculinity in Morocco'. Unpublished papers presented at 2005 CODESRIA Gender Institute on Contemporary Masculinity in Africa, Dakar, June–July 2005 (the translation from French into English it is my own).
3. Sending or departure is the area where migrants are from.
4. Receiving or arrival is the area where migrants go or the destination.
5. Recent census population results undertaken in the Republic of Mozambique after independence.

6. Mozambique attained independence on 25 June 1975.
7. The nickname that people of Southern Mozambique call the city of Johannesburg, South Africa.
8. Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambican Front Liberation). The government party that has been ruling the country since 1975.
9. Communal villages.
10. 'L'Etat Moderne Africain et le Patriarcat Public'. Unpublished paper presented at 2005 CODESRIA Gender Institute on Contemporary Masculinity in Africa, Dakar, June–July 2005.
11. Mukhero woman or woman. This name came from a corrupted English phrase, 'May you carry me this bag?' which in the Shangana and Ronga national languages spoken in Maputo and Gaza provinces, Southern Mozambique sounds like 'Mukherro' (Sadaca Novela, President of Mukhero Association, 2 August 2005).
12. The elected president of Mozambique (December 2004).
13. A weekly Mozambican newspaper.
14. Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (Mozambican National Resistance). A guerrilla movement that for sixteen years (1976–1992) fought against the FRELIMO government.

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