

Centro de Estudos Africanos

The Mozambican Miner: A study in the export of labour

Part III: The peasant base: Inhambane Province

First published by the CEA in 1977

Republished in 2012 by the Ruth First Papers Project

www.ruthfirstpapers.org.uk



UNIVERSIDADE
EDUARDO MONDLANE
CENTRO DE
ESTUDOS
AFRICANOS

REGIONAL PATTERNS OF LABOUR MOVEMENT

PART III

THE PEASANT BASE : INHAMBANE PROVINCE

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REGIONAL PATTERNS OF MINE LABOUR RECRUITMENT

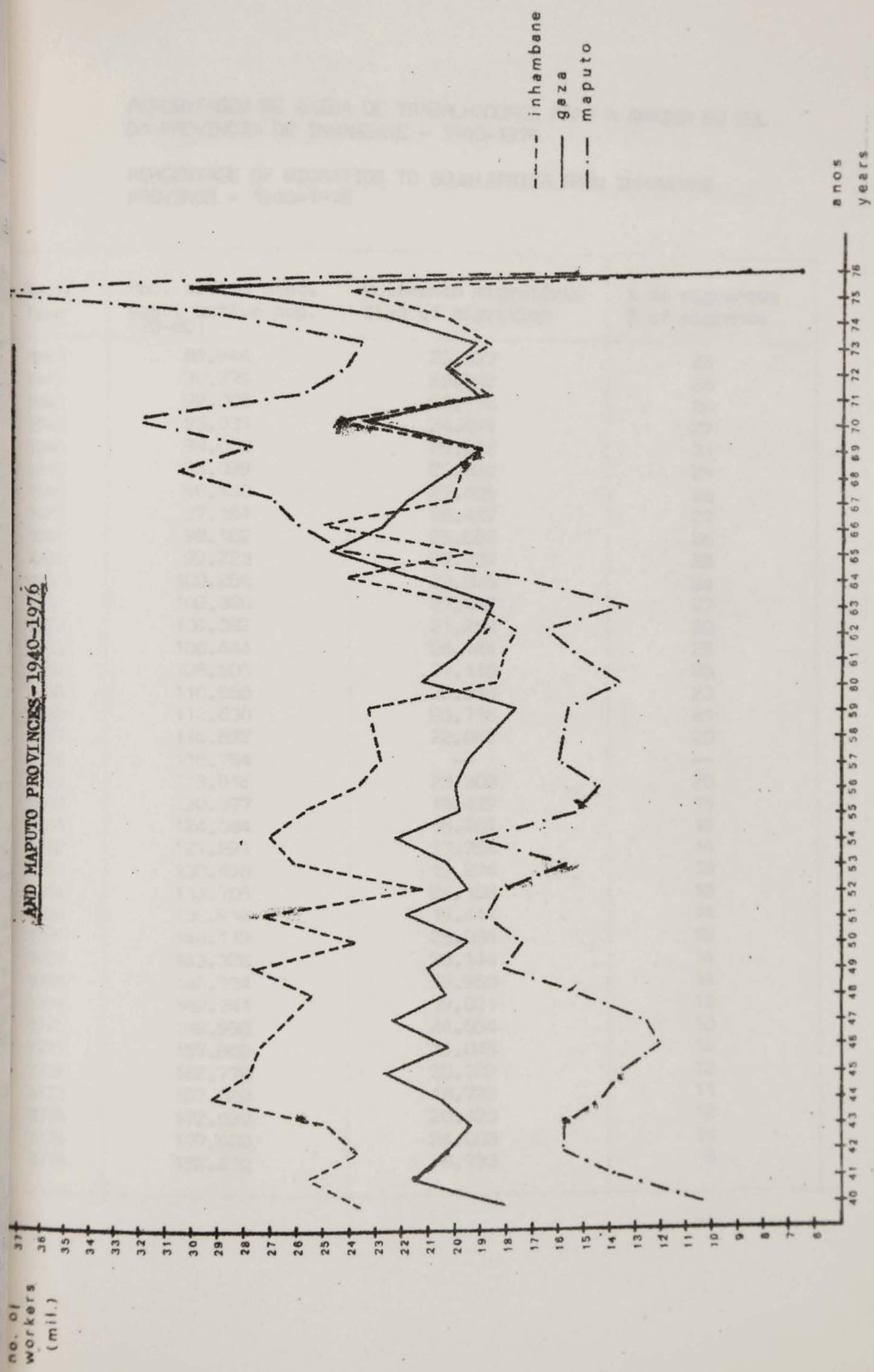
Provincial and District Patterns of Recruitment

An investigation into the size and character of the mine labour force involved an examination of labour flows over a period of time in order to establish (1) the size and (2) the regional/district/locality origins of this labour force. Labour flows from Mozambique as a whole for the period 1902-1977 are seen in our GRAPH, and have already been discussed in Chapter 1.

The provincial and district origins of this labour can be traced from the recruiting figures of WENELA as seen in their monthly statements of Progressive Comparative Output. A sample of one such monthly return is attached as an Appendix in order to demonstrate the method of recording labour recruiting results. Our GRAPHS show the recruiting statistics of the three labour exporting provinces, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo. It will be seen that the volume and the rate of recruitment in the three provinces has not been uniform. Inhambane Province declined in relative importance during the 1960s, while in the 1940s and the 1950s it was the major source. Gaza Province has been the most constant source of the three, with a noticeable rise during the 1960s and the 1970s. Lourenço Marques/Maputo Province, on the other hand, increased in importance in the more recent period. It has not been possible for us to analyse the processes at work which led to these different patterns of labour supply. This would involve an investigation of the economic history of each province, changes in land distribution and use, different impacts of colonialism at different times, and such issues, which could fall within the scope of a larger project only. To give an example, on the question of the labour supply for the mines from Gaza Province it would probably be necessary to investigate the process of the colonisation of the Limpopo Valley, which must have had a noticeable impact in altering patterns of land distribution.

Footnote: The recruiting totals are an index of the ebb and flow of labour in different periods and from different recruiting areas. But they are not an accurate index to the home origins of recruited labour. This is because the recruitment figures are recorded according to the WENELA station at which the men attested. In most instances men probably sign contracts at the station nearest their homes, but this is not invariably the case, and men coming from north of Latitude 22° south have to sign up at a station out of their home areas.

AND MAPUTO PROVINCES - 1940-1976



PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
DA PROVÍNCIA DE INHAMBANE - 1940-1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM INHAMBANE
PROVINCE - 1940-1976

Anos/ Year	Pop. activa masc. Masc. active pop. (20-60)	Movimento migratório Size of migration	% de migrantes % of migrants
1940	89.944	23.597	26
1941	90.975	25.522	28
1942	92.006	23.776	26
1943	93.037	24.874	27
1944	94.068	29.272	31
1945	95.099	27.824	29
1946	96.130	27.405	28
1947	97.161	26.447	27
1948	98.162	25.582	26
1949	99.223	27.789	28
1950	100.258	23.876	24
1951	102.320	27.449	27
1952	104.382	21.260	20
1953	106.444	26.144	25
1954	108.506	27.115	25
1955	110.568	25.814	23
1956	112.630	23.716	21
1957	114.692	22.899	20
1958	116.754	--	--
1959	118.816	23.308	20
1960	120.877	18.499	15
1961	124.084	18.269	15
1962	127.291	17.754	14
1963	130.498	19.274	15
1964	133.705	24.108	18
1965	136.912	19.444	14
1966	140.119	25.054	18
1967	143.326	20.144	14
1968	146.534	19.950	14
1969	149.741	19.021	13
1970	152.950	24.664	16
1971	157.860	19.045	12
1972	162.770	20.309	12
1973	167.680	18.722	11
1974	172.590	20.420	12
1975	177.500	24.003	14
1976	182.410	8.733	5

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
DA PROVÍNCIA DE GAZA - 1940 - 1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM GAZA PROVINCE
- 1940-1976

Anos/ Years	Pop. activa masc. Masc. active pop. (20-60)	Movimento migratório Size of Migration	% de migrantes % of migrants
1940	95.498	18.192	19
1941	96.447	21.579	22
1942	97.396	20.271	21
1943	98.345	19.495	20
1944	99.294	20.617	21
1945	100.243	22.703	23
1946	101.192	20.337	20
1947	102.141	22.402	22
1948	103.090	20.215	20
1949	104.039	21.090	20
1950	104.988	19.631	19
1951	106.886	21.924	21
1952	108.785	19.674	18
1953	110.683	20.304	18
1954	112.582	22.391	20
1955	114.480	19.976	17
1956	116.379	20.086	17
1958	120.176	--	--
1959	122.073	17.732	15
1960	123.977	21.209	17
1961	125.855	20.010	16
1962	127.733	19.004	15
1963	129.611	18.733	14
1964	131.489	21.700	17
1965	133.367	24.807	19
1966	135.245	22.914	17
1967	137.123	21.958	16
1968	139.001	20.431	15
1969	140.879	19.248	14
1970	142.760	23.643	17
1971	145.607	18.727	13
1972	148.454	20.239	14
1973	151.301	19.204	13
1974	154.148	22.841	15
1975	156.995	30.198	19
1976	150.842	6.681	4

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
DA PROVÍNCIA DO MAPUTO 1940-1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM MAPUTO PROVINCE
- 1940-1976

Anos/ Years	Pop. activa masc. Masc. active pop. (20-60)	Movimento migratório Size of Migration	% de migrantes % of migrants
1940	62.077	10.401	17
1941	63.300	13.764	22
1942	64.523	15.815	24
1943	65.746	15.775	24
1944	66.969	14.228	21
1945	68.192	13.464	20
1946	69.415	12.037	17
1947	70.638	12.657	17
1948	71.861	15.195	21
1949	73.084	18.117	25
1950	74.307	17.415	23
1951	76.753	18.786	24
1952	79.199	18.308	23
1953	81.645	15.789	19
1954	84.091	19.208	23
1955	86.537	15.424	18
1956	88.983	14.561	16
1957	91.429	16.025	18
1958	93.875	--	--
1959	96.321	15.788	16
1960	98.763	13.668	14
1961	102.414	15.206	15
1962	106.061	16.548	16
1963	109.708	13.396	12
1964	113.355	17.369	15
1965	117.002	24.376	21
1966	120.649	26.135	22
1967	124.296	27.037	22
1968	127.943	30.529	24
1969	131.590	27.828	21
1970	135.231	32.537	24
1971	140.087	25.964	19
1972	144.937	24.222	18
1973	149.787	23.618	16
1974	154.637	29.039	19
1975	159.487	38.014	24
1976	164.337	15.485	9

Inhambane Province

As for Inhambane Province, the general trend seems to indicate that mine labour declined relatively in the period since the beginning of the 1960s. Thus, for instance, in the period 1940-1949 the percentage of migrant recruits to active male population was 28 per cent, which implies that the percentage of migrant workers to active male population was still higher because contract periods exceeded 12 months.

Indeed, if we assume an average contract length of 16 months, this percentage of absent men would be approximately 37 per cent, or more than one third of the active male population. For the period 1950-1959 the percentage of recruits to the active male population was 23 per cent, which implies an average percentage of migrants/male population of 31 per cent, slightly less than one-third of the active male population. For the period 1960-1975, the ratio of recruits to active men of working age declined to an average of 14 per cent, which implies an average ratio of migrants to men of working age of 19 per cent, or nearly one-fifth of the active male population. (for the period 1960-1969 the ratios were respectively 15 and 20 per cent; and for the period 1970-1975, it was 13 and 17 per cent respectively).

During our field investigation, certain indications were given in interviews and group discussions which may help to explain why migrant labour fell in importance during the 1960s. It was said that the forced cultivation of cotton as well as of chibalo labour caused men to flee to the mines. The abolition of forced labour and forced cultivation in the early 1960s - due to the rise of the liberation struggle as well as mounting international criticism of Portuguese colonialism - took the pressure off the flux to the mines. However this is not to say that mine recruitment became unimportant; the statistics show that one out of every five men continued to be away working in the mines at any one time.

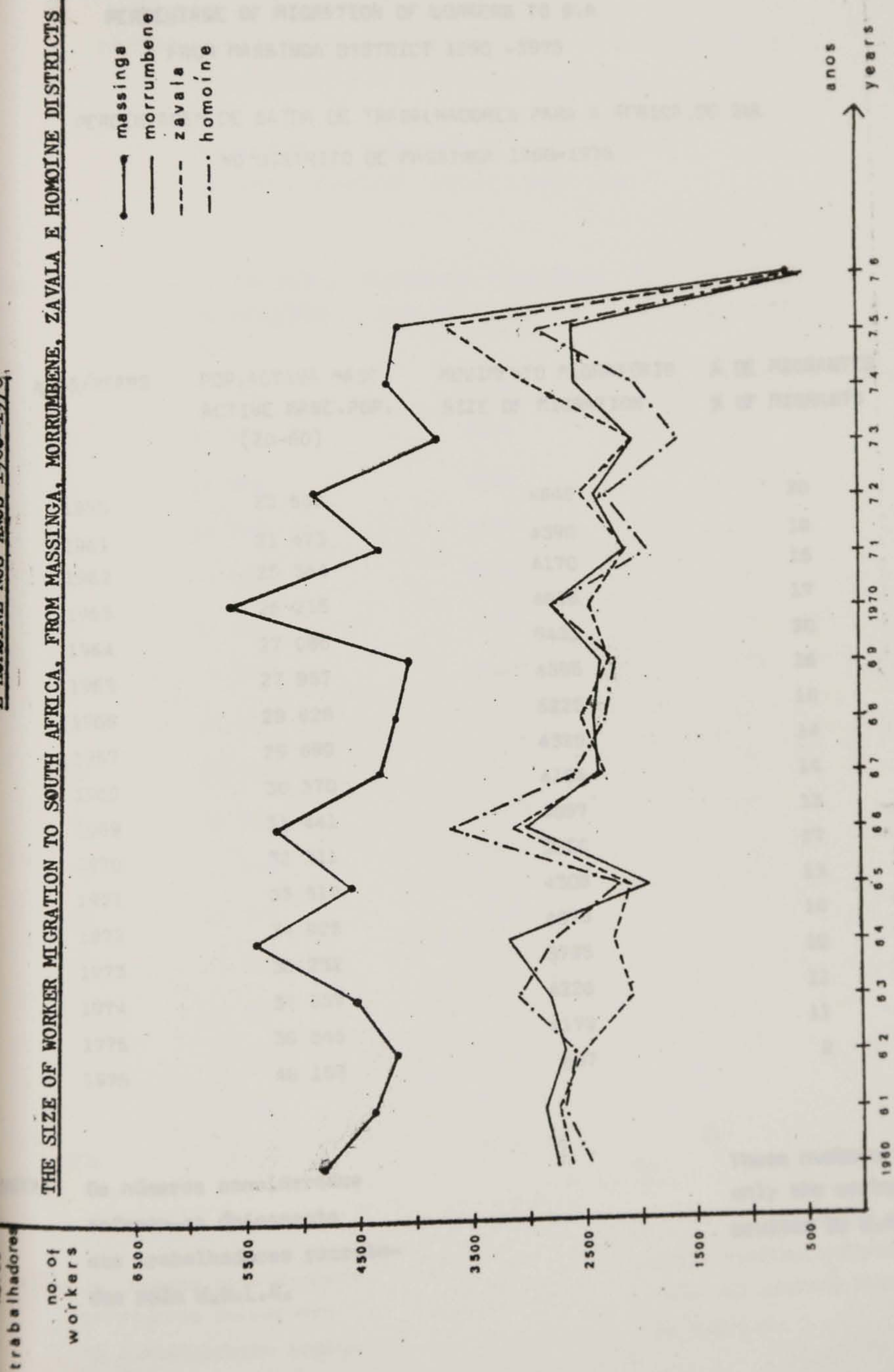
The importance of migrant labour for the districts of Massinga, Morrumbene and Zavala is shown in GRAPH form and the attached tables. It was impossible to get reliable population data for Homoine, so we excluded this area although field research was carried out there. The percentage of recruits to active male population was 15 per cent for Massinga; 17 per cent for Morrumbene and Zavala, although within each district there are large variations.

An attempt was made to check whether recruitment in Inhambane showed seasonal variations. We selected a sample of three distinct years, 1966, 1971 and 1973 (of which 1966 constituted a peak recruitment year, and 1971 and 1973 low years) and we examined the spread of recruitment over the different months of those years. The table below shows the results:

Month	% of recruitment total
January	8.8
February	11.3
March	9.0
April	8.8
May	9.1
June	7.7
July	8.3
August	8.4
September	8.3
October	8.4
November	6.9
December	4.6

An even spread over the months would make each month's percentage of men recruited 8.33 per cent. The table shows, thus, that seasonal variations are not strongly evident, except for a drop at the end of the year, in November and December, which months are the planting season.

THE SIZE OF WORKER MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA, FROM MASSINGA, MORRUMBENE, ZAVALA E HOMOINE DISTRICTS - 1960-1976



PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION OF WORKERS TO S.A

FROM MASSINGA DISTRICT 1960 -1976

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL

NO DISTRITO DE MASSINGA 1960-1976

ANOS/YEARS	POP.ACTIVA MASC. ACTIVE MASC.POP. (20-60)	MOVIMENTO MIGRATÓRIO SIZE OF MIGRATION	% DE MIGRANTES % OF MIGRANTS
1960	23 602	4846	20
1961	21 473	4390	18
1962	25 344	4170	16
1963	26 215	4516	17
1964	27 086	5431	20
1965	27 957	4595	16
1966	28 828	5225	18
1967	29 699	4320	14
1968	30 570	4184	14
1969	31 441	4057	13
1970	32 311	5656	17
1971	33 618	4308	13
1972	34 925	4878	14
1973	36 232	3795	10
1974	37 539	4226	11
1975	38 846	4178	11
1976	40 153	607	2

NOTA: Os números considerados referem-se unicamente aos trabalhadores recrutados pela W.N.L.A.

These numbers refered only the workers recruited By W.N.L.A.

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
NO DISTRITO DE MORRUMBENE 1960 1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION OF WORKERS TO S.A.
FROM MORRUMBENE DISTRICT 1960 1976

ANOS/YEARS	POP.ATIVA MASC. ACTIVE MASC. POP. (20-60)	MOVIMENTO MIGRATÓRIO SIZE OF MIGRATION	% DE MIGRANTES % OF MIGRANTS
1960	14 514	2751	19
1961	14 591	2854	19
1962	14 668	2666	18
1963	14 745	2821	19
1964	14 822	3175	21
1965	14 899	1919	13
1966	14 976	3045	20
1967	15 053	2341	15
1968	15 130	2414	16
1969	15 207	2340	15
1970	15 279	2795	18
1971	15 395	2118	14
1972	15 511	2393	15
1973	15 627	2025	13
1974	15 743	2503	16
1975	15 859	2580	16
1976	15 975	502	3

NOTA: Os números considerados referem-se unicamente os trabalhadores recrutados pela W.N.L.A.

These numbers refered only the workers recruited By W.N.L.A.

PERCENTAGEM DE SAÍDA DE TRABALHADORES PARA A ÁFRICA DO SUL
NO DISTRITO DE ZAVALA - 1960 - 1976

PERCENTAGE OF MIGRATION OF WORKERS TO S.A
FROM ZAVALA DISTRICT 1960 1976

ANOS/YEARS	POP.ATIVA MASC. ACTIVE MASC. POP. (20-60)	MOVIMENTO MIGRATÓRIO SIZE OF MIGRATION	% DE MIGRANTES % OF MIGRANTS
1960	13 787	2660	19
1961	13 941	2765	20
1962	14 095	2549	18
1963	14 249	2086	15
1964	14 403	2285	16
1965	14 557	2095	14
1966	14 711	3120	21
1967	14 865	2329	16
1968	15 019	2502	17
1969	15 173	2280	15
1970	15 326	2454	16
1971	15 557	2126	14
1972	15 788	2512	16
1973	16 019	2035	13
1974	16 250	3008	18
1975	16 481	3701	22
1976	16 712	528	3

TA: Os números considerados referem-se unicamente os trabalhadores recrutados pela W.N.L.A.

Those numbers referred only the workers recruited by W.N.L.A.

MINE LABOUR ORGANISATIONS (WENELA) LTD.

EAST COAST ADMINISTRATION

PROGRESSIVE COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF OUTPUT - 1975/1976

AMPS	NOVEMBER 1976	JANUARY/ 1976	NOVEMBER 1975	INCREASE	DECREASE
MAPUTO DISTRICT:					
Alto Mahé	537	4,154	10,527		6,373
Guijá	-	807	6,508		5,701
Macia	-	1,820	6,154		4,334
Magude	-	578	3,576		2,998
Manhiça	-	863	4,726		3,863
Moamba	1.656	7,293	2,642	4,651	
Xinavane	-	386	2,186		1,800
TOTAL:		2,193	15,901		36,319
MAZALAND DISTRICT:					
Xai-Xai	1,623	2,915	7,498		4,583
Alto Chengane	-	79	1,950		1,871
Chibuto	-	629	5,251		4,622
Inharrime	-	425	2,134		1,709
Manjacaze	-	694	7,962		7,268
Za'ala	-	528	3,453		2,925
TOTAL:	1,623	5,270	28,248		22,978
INHAMBANE DISTRICT:					
Maxixe	2,037	2,658	1,057	1,601	
Funhalouro	-	173	2,472		2,299
Homoine	-	528	2,537		2,009
Jangamo	-	539	2,731		2,192
Massinga	-	607	3,635		3,028
Morrumbene	-	502	2,339		1,837
Panda	-	230	938		708
Vilanculos	-	1,049	5,614		4,565
TOTAL:	2,037	6,286	21,323		15,037
DETENTIONS FORWARDED:					
		846	2,130	6,251	4,121
TOTAL:		6,699	29,587	92,141	62,554
Rejects		12	89	363	274
Detained		932	2,230	6,432	4,202
Deserted		-	21	90	69
TOTAL REJ., DET. & DES.		944	2,340	6,885	4,545
GOLD, ETC.		5,428	23,959	76,064	52,105
COAL		327	3,288	9,192	5,904
TOTAL Via R. Garcia		5,755	27,247	85,256	58,009
Pafuri		-	1,212	21,551	20,339
GRAND TOTAL:		5,755	28,459	106,807	78,348
NOVICES	{	2	684	18,486	17,802
	{	-	1	263	262

MAPUTO, 30th November, 1976

AGRICULTURE IN INHAMBANE PROVINCE

The main objective of this chapter is to provide background information on agricultural developments in Inhambane province. The information, which we derived from the agricultural censuses of 1965, 1970 and 1973, as well as from the field reports of our study group, is still far from complete for the purpose of analysing the political economy of the province. However, it does give us basic data and certain trends of agricultural development. Aspects of the political economy of the area, and more specifically, the relation between its agricultural development and its function as a reserve for migrant labour, will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

Rainfall pattern and distribution

Conditions of agriculture in Inhambane province, and specifically as far as the peasant economy is concerned, are extremely dependent on rainfall. Lack of adequate water resources (such as big rivers or lakes) as well as the low level of technology in use, does not overcome this basic dependency, but only allows for the best possible adaptations within this major limitation through selection of crops and cultivation techniques.

The map overleaf shows the pattern of rainfall in the province.¹ The rainy season varies from 4 to 8 months depending on the geographical location of the area. It is most favourable along the coastal strip (and more so in the southern part) and much less so further inland. There is least rain in the districts of Massinga, Panda and Vilanculos.

Soil Types

In the province of Inhambane, 4 main soil types can be distinguished. They have the following general characteristics and applications:

1) Sandy-clay soil or 'red' earth:

This is relatively poor soil which produces maize, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes, citrus fruits, cashew and coconut.

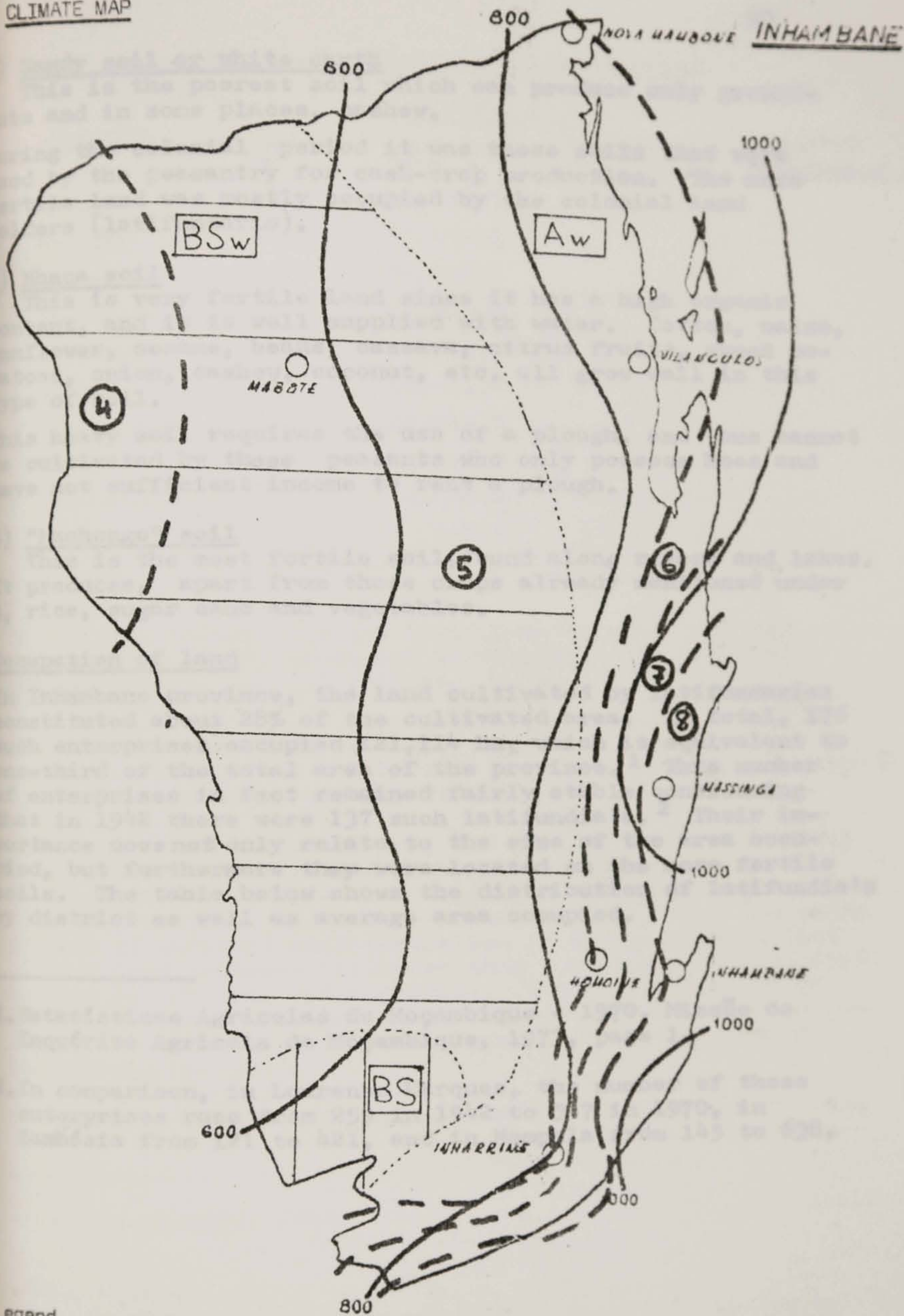
1. The map distinguishes three types of climate:

Aw : wet tropical savannah with sufficient moisture for the growth of forests

Baw: dry steppe climate with dry winter

Bs : dry steppe climate

CLIMATE MAP



Legend

- 800 — Average Rainfall (mm)
- 6 - - - Length of Rainfall Period (no. of months)
- BSw Climatic Areas (International classification)

2) Sandy soil or white earth

This is the poorest soil which can produce only ground-nuts and in some places, cashew.

During the colonial period it was these soils that were used by the peasantry for cash-crop production. The more fertile land was mostly occupied by the colonial land holders (latifundario).

3) Nhaca soil

This is very fertile land since it has a high organic content, and it is well supplied with water. Cotton, maize, sunflower, sesame, beans, cassava, citrus fruits, sweet potatoes, onion, cashew, coconut, etc. all grow well in this type of soil.

This heavy soil requires the use of a plough, and thus cannot be cultivated by those peasants who only possess hoes and have not sufficient income to rent a plough.

4) "Machongo" soil

This is the most fertile soil, found along rivers and lakes. It produces, apart from those crops already mentioned under 3, rice, sugar cane and vegetables.

Occupation of land

In Inhambane province, the land cultivated by latifundarios constituted about 28% of the cultivated area. In total, 176 such enterprises occupied 121,11⁴ ha, which is equivalent to one-third of the total area of the province.¹ This number of enterprises in fact remained fairly stable considering that in 1942 there were 137 such latifundia's.² Their importance does not only relate to the size of the area occupied, but furthermore they were located on the more fertile soils. The table below shows the distribution of latifundia's by district as well as average area occupied.

1. Estatísticas Agrícolas de Moçambique - 1970, Missão de Inquérito Agrícola de Moçambique, 1973, page 1.

2. In comparison, in Lourenço Marques, the number of these enterprises rose from 259 in 1942 to 547 in 1970, in Zambésia from 121 to 421, and in Nampula from 145 to 638.

Distribution by district of Latifundias

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>LATIFUNDIAS</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Area (ha)</u>	<u>Average area occupied by each such enterprise</u>
Govuro	3	10,209.7	3,403
Homoine	21	15,261.6	727
Inhambane	55	34,459.9	627
Inharrime	20	11,544.9	577
Massinga	19	12,906.5	679
Maxixe	15	10,914.2	728
Morrumbene	44	20,023.5	455
Panda	3	649.6	217
Vilanculos	2	4,600.0	2,300
Zavala	3	894.5	298

Of the area occupied by the latifundia's, only 1.5% was cultivated with annual crops and horticulture, 8% had trees, 24% was pasture and 63% remained unused.¹

The report of the Homoine brigade mentions land shortage in colonial times. This was because the fertile land (machongo and nhaca) was occupied by settlers.

With respect to the peasantry, the average land holding was 2 hectares. Only Gaza and Niassa have higher averages (2.2 ha/holding). These are some very small holdings with less than 0.1 ha. It is interesting to note, from the point of view of internal differentiation of the peasantry, that 4% have land holdings with more than 5 hectares (the national average in 1970 was 2.7 hectares). These holdings occupy 16% of the total area (national average 13.4%). This represents more than the total area occupied by holdings with less than 1 ha (12%).

The table below illustrates in more detail this description.

1. E.A.M., op.cit., 1965

Percentage of Cultivators and Land Holding
by size of holding¹

<u>SIZE OF LAND HOLDING</u>	<u>% OF CULTIVATORS</u>	<u>% OF AREA OCCUPIED</u>
< 0.1 ha	0.2	
0.1 ha < 0.5 ha	11.8	12
0.5 ha < 1 ha	22.8	
1 ha < 2 ha	36.3	30
2 ha - 5 ha	24.3	42
> 5 ha	4.0	16

We verified, using 14 samples of the agricultural enquiry of 1965, that there exists a positive correlation between the size of holding and ownership or hire of ploughs. However it is not possible to say which one of these factors causes the other.

The information relating to the system of land distribution is incomplete. In the colonial period the most common method was through inheritance. This provided the possibility for the development of a system of private property, but it did not lead to the buying and selling of land as a widespread practice.

In Canda there was a relative shortage of land due to the extensive cultivation of coconuts. These used almost all the available land, with the result that new-comers could not cultivate this principal product.

Ownership of land meant ownership of trees. Those without trees had to request the tree owners for the use of their land for subsistence production. This did not give them any right to the produce from the trees on that land.

In that region latifundia did not exist because the area had been considered a native reserve since 1911. In the 1950s an increase in agricultural co-operatives was initiated by the colonial authorities. Entrance to these co-operatives was restricted to those peasants who already possessed relatively large tracts of land (more than 3 ha). The members of the co-operatives were almost exclusively composed of the traditional colonial authorities - regulos (chiefs); cabos (their assistants) and their families. The majority of the peasants had small plots of land, with little or no access to coconut production, and often with insufficient production

1. Recenseamento agrícola de Moçambique, 1965.

production to satisfy the barest essentials of life.

During the transition period the 'machongo' and 'nhaca' which was previously occupied by settlers, became free. In some places (e.g. Homoine) this land was occupied spontaneously. In others (e.g. Cambine) its redistribution was carried out under the guidance of the base level political organization (the Grupo Dinamizador).

The case of Muchava cell in Homoine, shows that the redistribution of the 'machongo' in the transitional period was unequal, so that it is the intention of the Grupo Dinamizador to redistribute this land again (see Table overleaf).

Distribution of 'nhaca' is made basically a function of the ownership or ability to hire ploughs (in that, as we have discussed earlier, the heaviness of the soil is such that it is impossible to cultivate without ploughs).

Agricultural Production

According to the agricultural censuses of 1965 and 1973, the major food crops are groundnuts, maize, beans and cassava. These constitute the basic diet of the local peasantry. Of secondary and subsidiary importance for subsistence requirements are rice, millet, sweet potatoes and sorghum.

It appears that cassava was introduced on a large scale only in the 1930 as a result of colonial policy. This was because in comparison with the existing food crops at that time, cassava requires a smaller labour input because of its easier conditions of cultivation, and furthermore requires less rain. Recently, the shortage of labour on the land and the lack of rainfall has tended to increase the land given over to the cultivation of cassava.

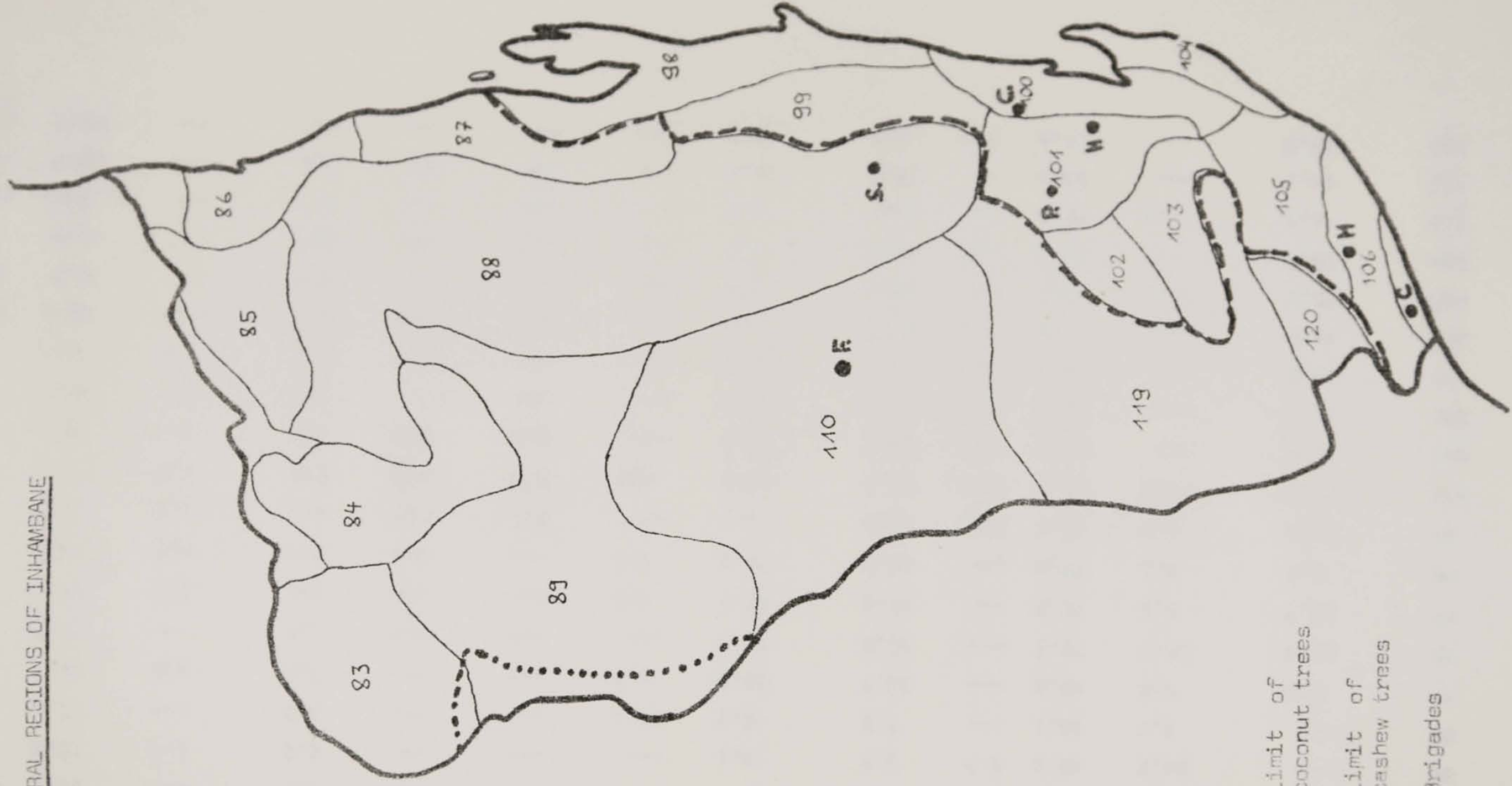
Over the recent period groundnut production has fallen considerably (for reasons explained below), which has led to the increased use of cashew in the local diet.

The map overleaf shows the distribution of the principal crops in the province.¹ From the agricultural statistics of 1970 four aspects are important:

1. Although the 'latifundia's' occupied 28% of the area cultivated, their contribution in terms of annual crops is extremely limited. This can be seen from the fact that the

1. CARVALHO, Mário de, Agricultura tradicional de Moçambique, Lourenço Marques, 1969, Appendice III.

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF INHAMBANE



Legend

- - - Limit of coconut trees
- Limit of cashew trees
- F. Brigades

No. of Region	Cassava %	Sorghum %	Maize %	Rice %	Groundnuts %	Beans %	Millet %	Sweet Potatoes %	Tobacco %	Average area (ha)	Cotton % of area cultivated	No. of trees per agricultural unit	cashew	coconut
83	---	43.3	21.0	11.1	---	6.3	29.4	---	---	1.6	---	17.0	---	---
84	---	16.3	3.7	---	2.2	25.1	52.7	---	---	1.5	---	27.0	---	---
85	---	44.9	45.0	0.3	5.5	4.4	---	---	---	2.0	1.9	15.0	---	---
86	---	5.7	56.1	---	7.8	6.3	24.1	---	---	1.3	---	27.0	---	---
87	5.9	5.0	48.2	---	11.7	28.9	0.3	---	---	2.0	0.6	36.4	---	---
88	15.4	10.7	32.1	---	16.8	24.9	---	---	---	1.6	---	37.0	---	---
89	15.7	0.9	42.2	---	14.3	14.9	7.9	---	---	1.7	5.5	24.0	3.0	---
98	3.5	0.3	47.8	---	18.3	27.3	2.7	---	---	2.1	0.2	58.5	4.2	---
99	23.6	9.9	32.2	13.3	19.8	1.1	---	0.1	0.0	1.7	1.9	41.0	3.3	---
100	29.9	0.3	31.1	0.0	26.7	11.3	0.0	0.3	0.2	2.2	5.0	50.3	66.5	---
101	11.4	---	36.6	0.0	35.1	16.9	---	0.0	0.0	3.0	---	78.0	22.3	---
102	16.3	---	39.8	1.6	27.2	15.2	---	---	---	3.2	---	90.0	5.0	---
103	31.6	---	26.8	0.1	27.1	14.3	---	---	---	1.6	7.4	19.3	2.3	---
104	48.0	---	0.8	0.3	48.9	2.0	---	0.0	---	0.9	---	58.0	67.0	---
105	30.7	---	43.6	---	20.0	5.7	---	---	---	2.9	9.3	28.8	21.2	---
106	21.5	---	36.1	0.0	40.2	2.2	---	0.0	---	2.5	0.7	41.6	5.6	---
110	6.5	11.7	66.8	---	11.0	4.0	---	---	---	2.7	---	3.0	---	---
119	14.1	---	43.0	---	10.4	32.5	---	---	---	1.8	---	23.0	---	---
120	22.3	---	15.6	2.5	56.1	3.5	---	---	---	1.9	---	26.5	---	---

peasant sector produced 98% of maize, 99% of groundnuts, 100% of cassava, 99% of beans, 100% of millet, 94% of rice, 100% of sorghum as well as 96% of cotton. In actual fact, latifundia's specialised in coconut, sugar and meat production.

2. In the colonial period, the productivity of both the latifundia and peasant sectors was less than the national average.

For example, in the peasant sector, we have the following comparison

<u>Products</u>	<u>National Average (metric tons/ha)</u>	<u>Inhambane (metric tons/ha)</u>
Cotton	0.30	0.11
Groundnuts	0.22	0.11
Rice	0.91	0.43
Beans	0.35	0.10
Cassava	5.68	2.77
Millet	0.29	0.01
Maize	0.42	0.13

This low productivity could be for various reasons, poor or infertile soils, lack of water and lack of manpower. It is not possible to say which single factor is the most important.

The peasant sector is characterised by lack of modern technology, such as selected seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, etc.

It is interesting that Inhambane has low productivity even though it has a relatively high quantity of instruments of production compared with the national average.

3. In perennial cultivation, however, Inhambane is the leading province in production:

56.1% of coffee trees	(leading province)
21.7% of caju trees	(second leading province)
36.6% of coconut trees	(" " ")
51.7% of pineapples	(leading province)
56.5% of guavas	(" ")
34.0% of orange trees	(" ")
82.4% of tangerines	(" ")
65.0% of mafurra	(" ")

The introduction of trees (a permanent crop) reinforces the tendency for private ownership of land.

4. With the abolition of forced cultivation in 1962, there was a break in the pattern of land use, especially with respect to cotton. This can be seen from the following table.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Production</u> (metric tons)
1959	9,300
1960	11,700
1961	5,100
1962	3,000
1963	1,000
1964	1,500
1973	678

As a general observation, there have been gradual changes in the pattern of agricultural production leading to an increase over time of production of cash crops and a consequent decrease of production for home consumption. It also seems that crops which need larger quantities of labour time have been gradually abandoned. The reason for this appears to be that surplus labour for the mines was extracted from the peasant economy, thereby creating a relative shortage of manpower in agriculture. Such relative shortage seems to have been overcome through changing the pattern of cultivation in favour of labour saving crops.

Means of Production: Ploughs and cattle

The analysis of social differentiation of the peasantry shows that the utilisation of ploughs and cattle is concentrated within the middle peasants.

The great majority of ploughs and cattle in Mozambique are found in the southern provinces (see GRAPHS overleaf). One of the reasons for this may be that most of the area of the northern provinces is affected by tsetse fly. The only northern province with cattle is the coastal strip of Zambézia province. Another possible explanation is that this large concentration of cattle in the southern provinces could be the result of money entering from migrant labour in the South African mines.

The Homoine Brigade analysed, in some detail, the system of organisation and reproduction of cattle. Three ways of acquiring cattle exist. Cattle may be bought or they may be borrowed. When calves are born as a result of the loan, the first head goes to the owner of the cow, the next to the person to whom it was loaned. Occasionally cattle are also inherited.

In Homoine it was found that only 60% of the families who had cattle in 1965 still have them nine years later, in 1974. Thus 40% of families were not able to reproduce the cattle stock over time. Moreover, the major source for the reproduction of cattle stocks is from mine salaries. If these salaries are not available it will lead in the medium term to a lowering of cattle numbers.

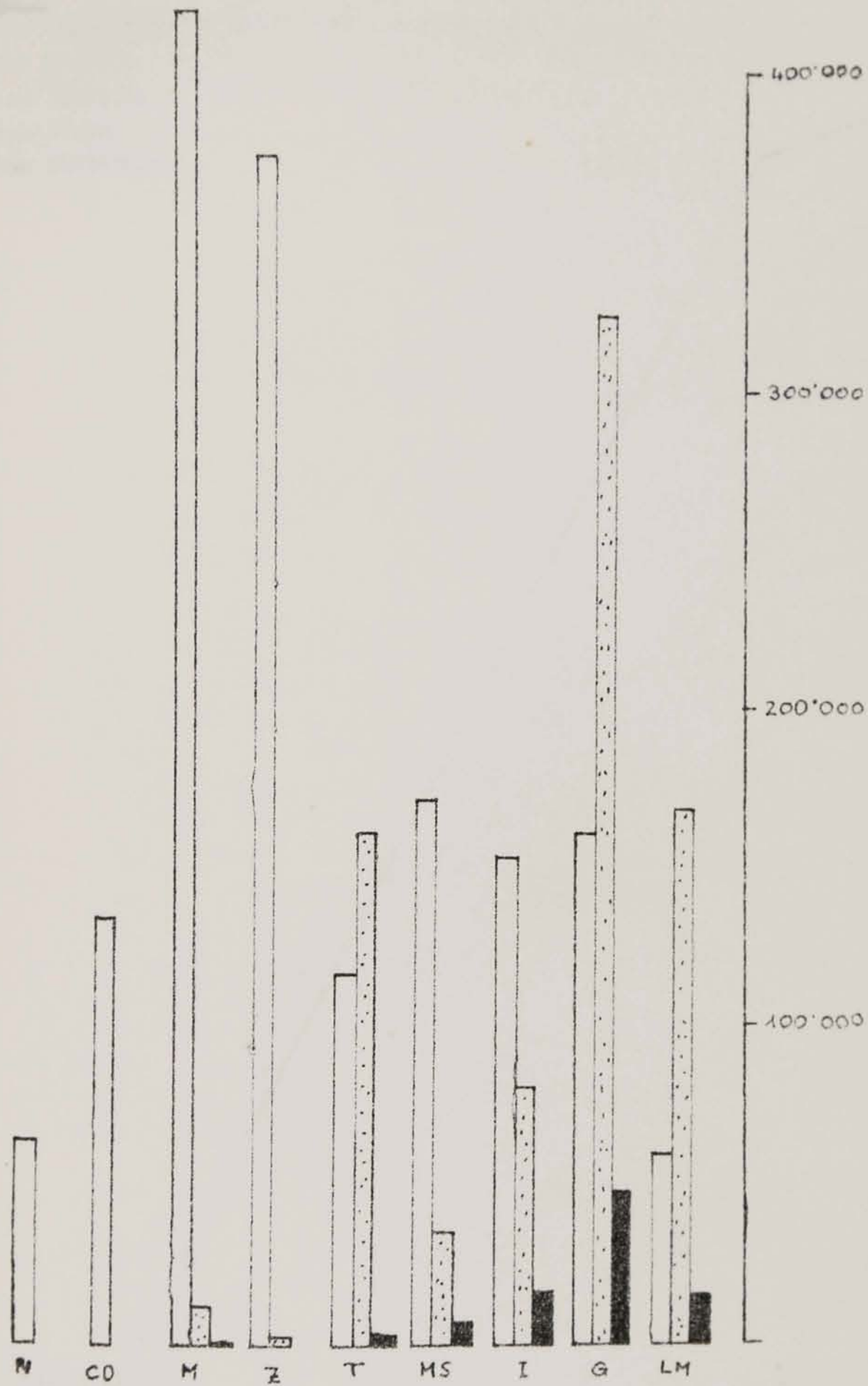
In Pembe, in 1975 and 1976, there was a large number of deaths of cattle because of drought. In Quissico, there are often cattle losses because of lack of chemicals for the anti-tick cattle dips. Many ploughs cannot be used, or are used with donkeys, because of the shortage of cattle. Cattle buying depends heavily on mine wages, it is therefore difficult to know how these shortages will be overcome in the next few years, given the reduced access to mine labour and the increase in the price of cattle.

The GRAPH overleaf shows the growth in number of ploughs and cattle, as well as in donkeys, pigs and goats, in the period 1944-1973. The Pembe, Quissico and Homoine brigades all suggest that plough acquisition, on a relatively large scale, began in the 1950s.

The following GRAPH, using 14 samples from the 1965 agricultural census, shows the relationship between ownership or hire of ploughs and area of land.

Plough use begins when land holding is only 0.5 - 0.99 ha usually through hiring, and increases with the amount of land held. Normally only people who own more than 5 hectares of land own ploughs.

GRAPH - Distribution of cattle and ploughs and no. of peasant families in each province (1970)



Legend

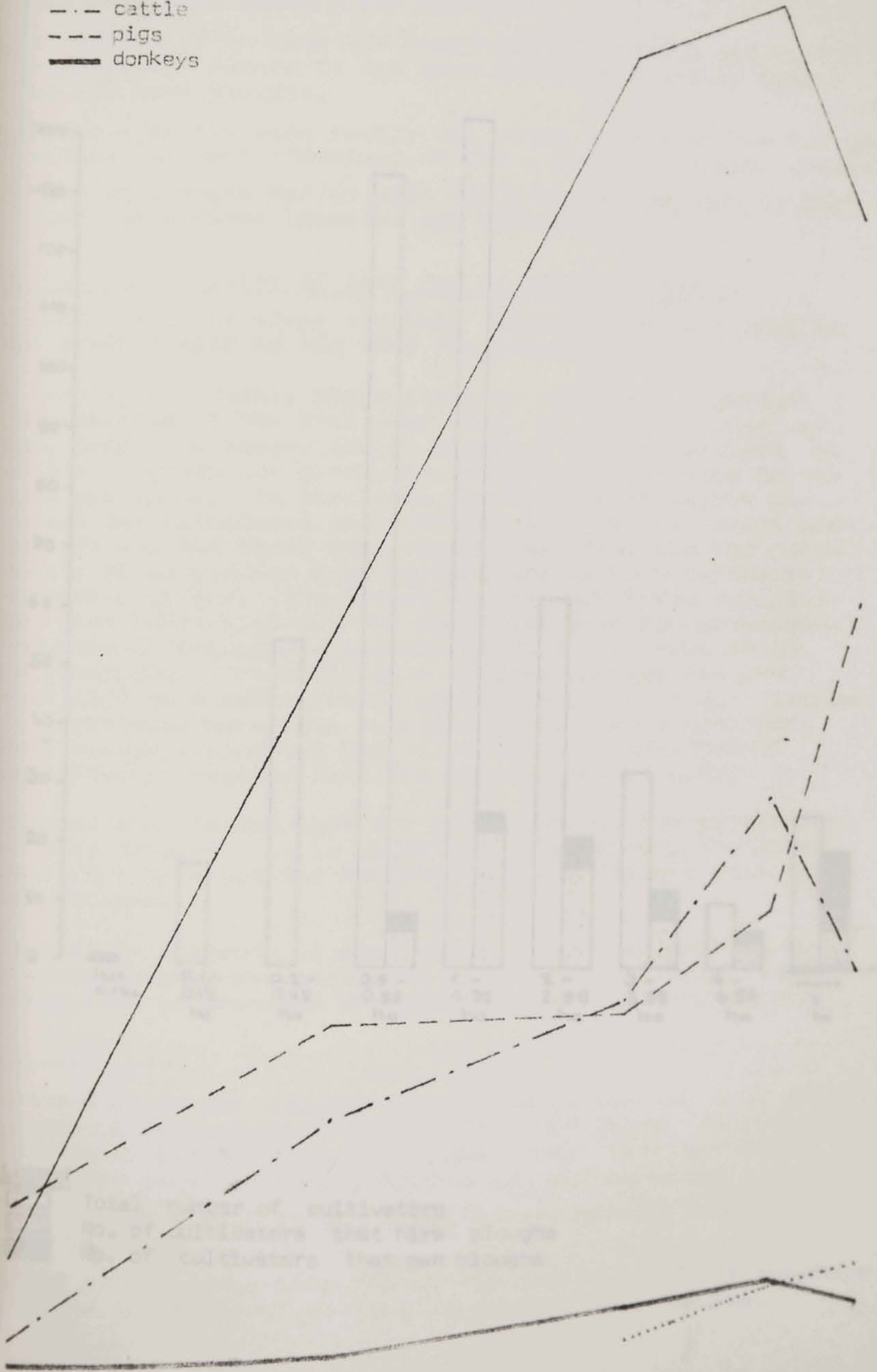
- No. of peasant families
- No. of cattle
- No. of peasant families with ploughs

- N - Niassa
- MS - Manhica and Sofala
- CD - Cabo Delegado
- I - Inhambane
- M - Moçambique (Nampula)
- G - Gaza
- Z - Zambezia
- LM - Lourenço Marques
- T - Tete

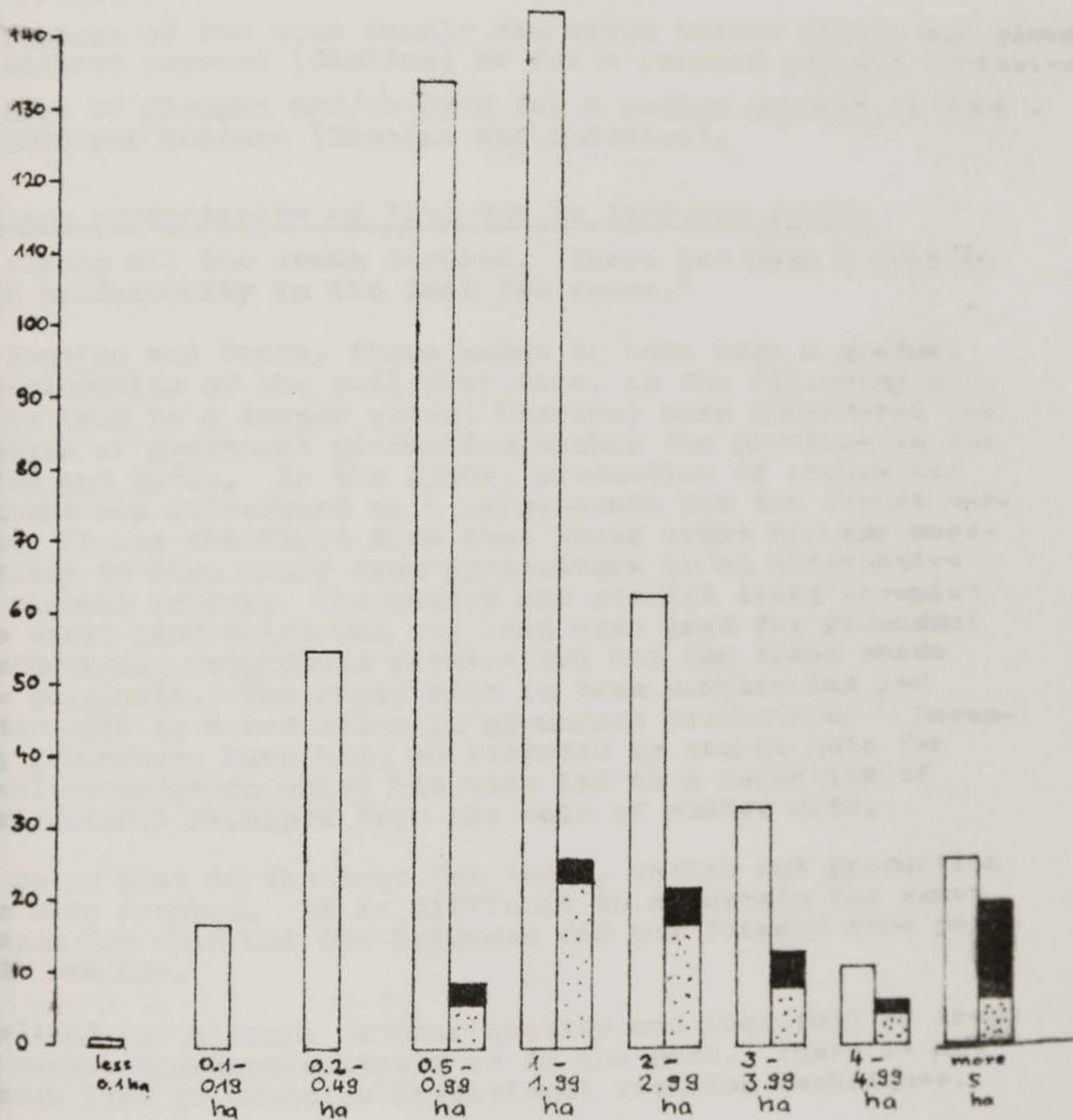
GRAPH - Numerical growth of ploughs and of cattle, pigs, goats, and donkeys, between 1944 and 1973.

Legend

- ploughs
- goats
- - - cattle
- · - pigs
- donkeys



GRAPH - Distribution of ploughs by size of land holding (1965)



Legend

- Total number of cultivators
- No. of cultivators that hire ploughs
- No. of cultivators that own ploughs

The Agricultural College is Imphal, Manipal.

There are 4 types of social relationships between owners of ploughs and cattle, and the rest of the peasantry.

1. There is a form of mutual aid called 'tsima' between the owners of ploughs and cattle.¹
2. A system of lending and borrowing of ploughs and cattle when plough owners do not have cattle and cattle owners do not have ploughs.
3. Members of the same family can often borrow cattle and ploughs without payment (Cambine) or for a reduced payment (Quissico).
4. Hire of ploughs and/or oxen for a medium payment of 200\$ - 300\$ per hectare (Homoine and Quissico).

Falling productivity of land due to land-use system

In almost all the areas studied, there has been a drop in land productivity in the last few years.²

In Homoine and Pembe, there seems to have been a gradual deterioration of the soil over time, in the following way. Pembe (and to a lesser extent Homoine) were considered the "centre of groundnut production, within the province in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1950s, production of cashew and coconut was introduced on a large-scale for the export market. It was the first time that these areas had any possibility to earn money from agriculture as an alternative to migrant labour. The cashew and coconut trees occupied the worst land which was the land also used for groundnut production. Groundnuts require sun and the trees shade the groundnuts. The rapid rise in tree numbers has led after 1970 to a reduction in groundnut production.³ Recently groundnuts have been substituted by cashew nuts for local consumption which has also led to a reduction of agricultural receipts from the sale of cashew nuts.

It seems that in the last few years, cashew nut production has also dropped. It is difficult to ascertain the exact reason for this but the brigades did put forward some possible reasons.

The land is already of poor quality and when full of trees it cannot regenerate itself as in the past. There is not enough land to practice traditional rotation techniques.

-
1. According to the Homoine report the plough and oxen owners formed a "work group" system after the Party reorganised the system of matsima in a more equal way. They now refuse to plough the land of other peasants without payment.
 2. Leading to a rise in the price of groundnuts from 10\$ to 30\$ in 1977.
 3. This part derives from a long discussion with the teachers of the Agricultural College in Inhamussua, Homoine.

In Pembe, at least, the cashew trees are planted very close together which leads to lower productivity when the trees grow large and need more space between them. In Pembe the traditional system of rotation is not widely practised, "people change their land from time to time". In Homoine rotation is still practised. Only those peasants with small holdings say they do not use rotation, but there are large differences in the ratio of cultivated to fallow land. The medium peasants on average use a ratio 1:1. Others use from 5:1 to 3:1.

There has recently been an increase in plant diseases (for example, roseta). It is possible that these diseases are related to the reduction of the fallow period in more recent years.

In Pembe, plough ownership increased after 1955 and this led to an increase in cultivated land and tree planting, thereby diminishing forests and pastures.

In summary it seems that the increase in market production has had an adverse effect on food crop production, cattle raising, and the fertility of the soil.

Conclusions

As migrant labour to South Africa decreases, the agricultural population of Inhambane will probably increase. There will be an increased number of producers dependent on market production, presumably with cashew and coconut trees predominating. This will lead to a greater pressure on the land, and in the absence of any other changes, to further deterioration of its fertility.

More research will have to be done on the possibility of introducing new crops and new methods of cultivation which would allow for production of both subsistence and cash crops without depleting the fertility of the soil.

However, regional specialisation within the province with respect to crop production will remain restricted by agriculture's heavy dependence on rainfall. Peasants will almost certainly never agree to change their pattern of crop production, if due to the vagaries of the weather, any new pattern threatens their livelihood.

Apart from this, there are severe problems of commercialisation of agricultural production at the moment which will need to be overcome. For example, the shopkeepers do not buy groundnuts at the moment because they say that the profit margin is too small to transport small quantities of groundnuts over large distances when the local population is substituting cashew nuts for groundnuts in the local diet.

Note:Distribution of workers and average salary in manufacturing industry in Inhambane (1972).

	No. of Workers	Average salary /month
Food industries	761	737
Textiles	25	1,130
Wood and furniture	1,735	454
Paper	16	1,406
Electricity & water	51	2,107
Total *	2,588	

(* The total for Mozambique equals 94,847 which implies a share of 2.7% for Inhambane province.)

The number of industrial establishments begun in three periods for Inhambane, compared with Maputo.

	Inhambane	Maputo
Before 1965	38	380
From 1965 - 1970	34	271
From 1970 - 1973	10	189
Total	82	840

THE PENETRATION OF THE MONEY ECONOMY

Our attempt to periodise the process of integration of the peasantry of Inhambane province into the money economy is not, as yet, the outcome of a systematic collection of information. Therefore, only major tendencies within the development of the money economy will be outlined, and even these remain hypotheses which need further study.

One thing, however, is certain : cash income has been an important factor in the life of the peasantry during the whole of this century. However, the period 1935-40 appears to have constituted an important turning point with regard to the penetration of money into the peasant economy in terms of both the form it took and its intensity. Therefore, as a first attempt at periodisation, we shall distinguish between the periods before and after this turning point. As regards to the former period, we shall only attempt to outline some general tendencies, while for the second period, a more detailed study will be made of its major developments in integration of the peasantry into the money economy.

First Period : until 1935/40

Already in the last century, money became introduced into the peasant economy; - at first until about 1870, through hunting and trading of ivory, and subsequently hunting for skins until 1880. As a result, certain commodities such as imported iron hoes and blankets were introduced within the society as "normal" family possessions. Moreover, and more importantly, men were already to a certain extent withdrawn from participation in subsistence production.¹

Towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, the penetration on a larger scale of Portuguese colonialism accelerated the peasant's dependence on money income. Four major mechanisms induced by or resulting from colonial policy can be distinguished:

1. The introduction of hut tax

With the consolidation of the colonial presence, the financial necessities of the colonial administration increased greatly; taxing the peasantry was an obvious source of income as can

¹ S. Young, "Changes in diet and production in Southern Moçambique, 1855-1960", Mimeo 1976.

be seen from the following table:

Budget of Inhambane District for 1913-14 ¹		
Total Receipts	1,072,550\$00	100%
Source of Receipts:		
Hut tax	650,000\$00	60.6%
Migration Tax (paid by miners)	200,000\$00	18.6%

2. The occupation of the better land by settlers (above all the 'machongos' - the browner, fertile land), the evacuation of cattle in 1908 (result of East Coast fever) and the gradual restriction of access to hunting, considerably diminished the possibility of surviving only on the base of agriculture and hunting. This increased the need to obtain money outside agricultural activity.²

3. With the arrival of settlers around 1910 the search for cheap labour for use in the district began. This was achieved through the imposition of forced labour. To escape this, the family could either settle further inland, which meant accepting more difficult agricultural conditions, or, in the case of the men, go to the mines, which implied slightly better payment.

The labour force available for subsistence production was thus doubly diminished, firstly by the loss of those who went to the mines thus avoiding forced labour, and secondly, for a short period around 1920, by the practice of forcing women to participate in road building.

4. From about 1920 onwards, the bride-price was generally paid in money, which itself is a reflection of the degree to which money had entered the peasant economy. The chronic need for money on the part of the peasant led to a continuous rise in the bride-price as well as premature marrying of daughters, because of the precarious financial position of the family. Furthermore, in most cases, fathers no longer gave the bride-price obtained from the marriage of their daughters to their sons for their marriages, as was traditionally the custom. Thus, the young men were forced to become migrant labourers in order to earn the necessary money for payment of the bride-price. As such, the payment of the bride-price became a major factor in turning young men into migrant labourers. The Note entitled Lobolo - Bride-price gives the changing price and form of lobolo from 1916 to the present.

1. Governor's Report 1911-12, Inhambane District, Lourenço Marques, 1912, p.70.

2. S.J. Young, op.cit.

Given the virtual non-existence at that time of reasonably well paid work, these four mechanisms can be seen as a direct catalyst for movement of migrant labour to South African mines, as the only realistically accessible way to open to peasantry to obtain money. It is interesting to observe that initially the colonial authorities accepted tax payments in pounds. In fact, this foreign exchange constituted the principal currency in Moçambique in the first decades of this century. As the budget for 1913/14 shows, almost eighty per cent of Inhambane's colonial administrative expenses were paid with money from the mines, since the hut tax was also paid out of wages.

A short study published by the Lisbon Geographical Society¹ referring to the Homoine district described the following situation for 1924 : that out of a sum total of £22,000 earned by mining labour, £15,000 was surrendered through tax and the remaining £7,000 used for other expenses - mainly lobolo (brideprice). The same study indicates that the lobolo price at this time was fifteen times higher than the annual tax.²

The essential feature of this period was therefore that the penetration of money into the peasant economy did not take place through the introduction of cash-crop production, but simply that peasants were forced to sell their labour to South African mines. In other words, agriculture never supplied surplus which could be appropriated by the colonial state. This is not to say that the peasantry did not exchange part of their production for other consumer products, i.e. cloth, hoes, crockery, etc., but that the extent of production was insufficient and so limited exchange to certain products (rubber and wax till 1920-30; groundnuts, maize, beans and some cashew nuts later).

The introduction of lobolo to be paid in money and above all the "coming of age tax" (substituting the 'hut tax' levied on every adult of 18, introduced in 1920) had the effect of forcing nearly all the young men to labour in the mines. These conditions and the resulting necessity to do migrant work have given rise to various sayings in the area, such as: "Only a man who has been to the mine is a real (adult) man" or "a teenager has got to eat a lot to be able to work in South Africa". These sayings have clear economic roots.

1. Joaquin Nunes, "Apontamentos para o estudo da questão da mão de obra do Distrito de Inhambane sob a influencia de emigração para o Transvaal com especial referència a Circumscrição Civil de Homoine". Bolotim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, série N^o 46 (1928), N^o 5-6, maio - junho, p.110-147.

2. The Annual tax was £1 and lobolo \$15.

The period 1935 up to Independence

At the beginning of this period the colonial state apparatus managed to broaden and intensify its grip over the peasantries through the spreading and consolidation of its repressive administrative machinery. Through these channels, colonial policy became an active instrument in accelerating the penetration of the money economy. Whilst before, the peasantry was principally linked with the market economy through the selling of their labour power, in this period cash crop production was gradually established under the heavy handed policy of the colonial state.

a. The Period 1935-40 up to 1962-64.

Forced cultivation of crops, as well as more systematic enforcement of tax collection and forced labour, were the principal instruments of the colonial state to foster the further integration of the peasantry in the money economy.

The forced cultivation of cotton, and to a lesser extent of rice, constituted the principal instrument to turn the peasant producer into an agricultural petty commodity producer. As a result more labour time of the peasant family had to be spent on these crops, which given the level of technology, implied reduced production for own consumption. So, for example, under the system of forced cultivation of rice, the colonial policy prohibited consumption of the crop by the peasant family, and forced selling was imposed, which implied that often the peasant family had to buy part of its own food requirements. The system of forced cultivation and sale of cash crops was further compounded by the fact that prices offered for crops were set at the lowest possible level, thus allowing for the extraction of surplus through unequal exchange.

Furthermore, both tax collection and forced labour were more systematically enforced through the increased presence of the colonial state and its infrastructures.

The combined effect of this intensification of colonial oppression and exploitation of the peasantry led to a rise in migrant labour to the South African mines where conditions for obtaining cash income were at least marginally better.

At the end of the forties and beginning of the fifties, the introduction of cashew as a cash crop reinforced the monetisation process. Planting of cashew trees was done on the same soils as were used for subsistence production, thus limiting further subsistence crop cultivation. Cash income from the sale of cashew was used to buy necessary food items.

b. The period 1962-64 until 1974

The initiation of the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies as well as mounting international action against Portuguese colonialism, necessitated the colonial state to alter its policy. These conditions led to the abolition of forced labour and of obligatory cultivation of crops. To

counteract the fall in production resulting from the loss of directly coercive measures to enforced cash crop production, the colonial system had to adopt a policy of improved buying prices for crops as well as improved wage levels. Furthermore, in the latter half of the sixties, there was a significant development of credit facilities to traders through the banking system (see Note entitled Bank of Mozambique : Credit to Traders).

Commercialisation of crops increased over the period although a change in the pattern of crop production took place. On the one hand, coconut production was introduced and spread at a fast rate, and cashew production increased further over this period, while on the other hand, cotton production became much less popular. One reason for this was that the former crops did not require much labour time, while cotton is a very labour-intensive crop. Cashew and coconut also had the further advantage that in a period of rain shortage, they could be used for family consumption as well as for sale.

Migrant labour remained an integral and important part of the peasant's activity. Although it dropped in relative importance in comparison with the previous period, the wage increases at the mines starting from 1964/65 made it possible for the peasantry to improve somewhat their material standard of living. Cement floors began to appear in the houses, and even some brick houses were built. Access to consumer items such as tea, parafin, simple furniture and crockery, as well as more durable ones like radios, bicycles, etc., began to increase through income from mine labour. Furthermore, mine wages also constituted a source for buying ploughs and oxen, and in fact, our field research indicated that this was the principal source for buying these instruments of labour.

As a result of this greater cash inflow into the peasant economy, artisan production began to flourish. Builders, carpenters, tailors as well as traditional crafts such as mat-weaving began to commercialise their products, and for significant numbers of them, this constituted the principal source of income.

In many cases, such craft skills (especially carpentry and tailors) derived from experience gathered during the contracts on the mines and the necessary instruments were bought out of mine wages. Some of these craftsmen managed to earn sufficient income from their activities, and hence, did not need to continue working on the mines. However, the crucial point is that income from mine labour indirectly made possible the establishment of such petty commodity producers, since it supplied the funds on which the trades flourished.

In other words, crafts developed principally because the mine worker no longer engaged in activities such as construction of the family's dwelling, water pits, storage facilities, etc., which were traditionally the men's tasks because his wages allowed him to pay craftsmen for these and other services.

The Period After Independence

This period from the establishment of the transitional government up to now, was characterised by sudden changes which increased the peasantries dependence on income from mine labour.

Indeed, as for agricultural production, the lack and/or excess of rain led to a sharp drop in production of maize and groundnuts after 1975. This was furthermore compounded by the breakdown of the commercialisation and transport network due to the exodus of settlers who controlled both wholesale and retail trade. Credit facilities as well were considerably reduced, which added to the overall impact (see Note entitled Bank of Mozambique - Credit to Traders). Finally, cashew and coconuts were increasingly used for family consumption, which reduced the marketable surplus and combined with government imposed buying and selling prices (to protect the peasant against exploitation by the traders), traders no longer found it profitable to market reduced quantities with higher transportation costs.

The rise in wages on the mines following the strikes of 1973, led to an increased recruitment to the mines. Especially in 1975 (when Malawi withdrew its labour from South African mines) many peasants went to work on the mines. Thus, income from migrant labour increased considerably both in absolute terms and as a percentage of family income. Building of houses, cisterns, etc., as well as buying of cattle and ploughs flourished during the initial years.

The abrupt reduction in recruitment due to the changed policy of the Chamber of Mines as from 1976, combined with the crises in agricultural production, caused a heavy drop in the standard of living of the peasantry. This can be seen, for example, from the statement of a trader in Sitila who in 1975 used to have a turnover per day of 15,000\$00, whereas at present it has dropped to 4,000\$00 only. Whereas in 1975 this trader sold mainly ploughs, mills, water cisterns, blankets and cement as well as food products, presently sales are almost exclusively food products.

The Conclusions section of this Report discusses the possible consequences of further drops in migrant labour as well as discussing possibilities for amelioration of these problems.

	<u>Version 1</u> ¹		<u>Version 2</u> ²		<u>Version 3</u> ³
year					
1930	500 - 800\$00 max. 1,000\$00		1930	1,500-1,200\$00 besides a cloth and tunic for the mother-in-law	1916 ± 1,000\$00 in gold 1934/35 1,600\$00 without any thing else (he paid this to his wife)
1940	1,500-2,000\$00 depending on the man's family		1940-1950	± 2,500\$00	1950 ± 2,000\$00
1950- 1960	began to rise 3,000-4,000\$00 depending on the district		1964	increased greatly 3,500/4,000 - 8,000\$00 "everyone doing what they want"	1968 ± 3,000 - 6,000\$00
At present	7,000-8,000\$00 plus clothes for the mother-in-law, cloth & cotton, iron cooking pots, for mother, varying greatly from person to person - also depending on years of schooling of the daughter.		1974/75	No fixed price 5,000-6,000\$00 but sometimes a cow, clothes for mother, father of daughter, sack of rice, maize, etc., "many things"	1974-77 Vary variable 2,000 - 6,000\$00 "to gratify" plus clothes for mother- and father-in-law, and daughter, and paying for feast celebration
Total					

1. J.J.
2. Venácio
3. Jacinto

According to the Homoine and Pembe reports, bride-price being paid in money began as from about 1915

	1968		1970		1972		1974		1975		1976		1977*	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
General trading	1,360	16	5,942	41	3,455	29	5,365	44	1,955	12	790	4	1,880	48
Agriculture					90	2	145	2						
Copra	400	1			1,900	6	6,885	17	1,800	10	215	3	300	3
Cashew	1,410	10	2,920	12	9,015	34	12,771	63	5,025	24	1,375	5	1,750	11
Groundnut	135	3	210	4	706	8	1,158	8	1,106	6	1,110	8		
Rice	200	1											110	1
Maize	50	1	980	17	1,995	23	1,110	6			150	1		
Beans					245	6	100	1						
Mafurra					35	1	300	1						
Mussels					35	1								
Livestock	50	1	240	2	1,017.5	4	825	6						
Fishing							500	3	150	1				
Forrestry	500	1			500	1			3,790	4	14,850	19	4,388	6
Transporte	2,000	1							87.5	2				
Others					779.7	7	380	5	63	2	100	1	285	4
Total	6,080	35	10,192	76	19,864.2	122	34,511	155	13,975.5	61	18,590	42	8,103	36

* until 28:7:77

Others signifies: Hardware, Building, Hotel Industry, Agua Dente Industry, Social Services, Carpentry, Milling, Glass

..... more than 25% of the total

!!!!!!! more than 50% of the total

Note :

Bank of Mozambique

Credit to traders for buying of cashew nuts

District	1973/4	1974/5	1975/6	1976/7
Gavuro	10,000			
Homofne	4,700,00	1,100,000	150,000	350,000
Inhambane	300,000	75,000		
Inharrime	200,000	230,000	200,000	100,000
Massinga	2,725,000	400,000	250,000	
Maxixe	16,859,000	2,190,000	975,000	200,000
Morrumbene	1,125,000	100,000	150,000	
Panda	685,000	300,000	300,000	100,000
Vilanculos	600,000	200,000		
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	<u><u>27,294,000</u></u>	<u><u>4,595,000</u></u>	<u><u>2,025,000</u></u>	<u><u>750,000</u></u>

Note - BANK OF MOZAMBIQUE : Credit to traders in 100000 (1) and in numbers (2) according to district or locality.

	1968		1970		1972		1974		1975		1976		1977 *	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Massinga	740	7	1,220	12	1,250	10	1,625	10	1,200	6				
Maxixe	4,575	18	7,292	51	14,750.7	75	22,566	79	9,975.5	30	17,340	36	7,333	30
Homoine	125	2	675	5	1,750	13	5,045	32	750	6	400	1	450	3
Panda	150	2	705	5	595	8	1,135	6	30	1	300	1	100	1
Inharrime	30	1	100	1	100	1	330	5	330	3	200	1	100	1
Morrumbene	300	2	300	2	517.5	5	1,905	13	500	4	350	3	120	1
Zavala	50	1												
Iangamo	110	2					225	3	50	1				
Vilanculos					550	4	450	3	200	1				
Mambone					260	6	550	3	940	1				
Mavanza							700	1						
Total	6,080	35	10,192	76	19,864.2	112	34,511	155	13,975.5	61	18,590	42	8,103	36

* up to 28.7.77

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The purpose of our investigation of the peasant base was to examine the influence of migrant labour on the peasant economy. It is clear that not all peasant households rely on and are affected by mine wages in the same way. But in order to discover the differential effects on different households, it was first necessary to examine the social structure of the Inhambane countryside. Two of the Brigade reports we present - (for Pembe, Homoine; and for Maimela, Morrumbene) - produce findings that show that different strata of peasants are differently involved in wage labour. But in order to look at these differential involvements, we had first to produce a scheme for the study of the social differentiation within the countryside.

Within the Province of Inhambane there are at least three different systems of land use which lead to different relations on the land. They are as follows:

Areas of former colonised agriculture and labour tenancy: the former latifundia. (Maimela and Buvane in Cambine)

Areas of relatively open land frontier but relatively severe water shortage. (Pembe; Sitila and other areas in Morrembene)

Coastal strips where tree proprietorship places limitations on the use of land. (Quissico-Canda; areas along the Massinga coastal strip)

Many areas do not fall sharply into any one of these three types, but are combination types (such as Homoine).

The settler-owned latifundia operated on the base of a complex system of exploitation. It can neither be described as purely capitalist exploitation nor was it simply a feudal type system. Rather it represented a complex intermingling of elements of both, determined by the productive forces available and the relative backwardness of these. The essential system, with various variations on the theme, sprang from the appropriation of the better land, part of which was turned into plantations and part of which was reserved for peasant tenancy. The labour force for the plantations was obtained only in part (and usually a minor part) through wage labour, and the major component sprang from forced labour-rent from the peasant tenant of latifundia land. Furthermore, the peasant-tenant was forced to pay a rent in kind (or in some cases in money) of part of the produce he obtained from his plot on latifundia land. Thus this system combined elements of feudal and capitalised form of exploitation designed to give all the latifundiario the maximum return possible with the state of productive forces available.

In the other two types of areas there were no landlords as such, and no large estates. Land distribution was ostensibly controlled by the 'traditional' system of inheritance and land allocation, but this had been penetrated by the colonial imposition of the cabo de terra (land-chiefs) who could use their powers of land distribution for political and social purposes. In the areas of relatively open land frontiers land acquisition also took the form of opening up new land through clearing the bush. In these cases the ownership of instruments of production and the size of the work-force in the family obviously were important determinants of land acquisition. In the coastal areas, where coconut trees provided the principal source of income, opportunities were much more restricted to obtain land in this way. Here, inheritance and the politics of "regulos" and "cabos de terra" played a much more dominant role in acquisition of trees. Also, in this case, the private ownership of trees meant that they would be bought from the owners. People with trees could cultivate the land of other owners (paying rent in kind), but had no access to the produce of the trees.

Unlike the Chinese countryside then, the essence of the revolution among the peasantry was not a struggle against feudal landlords. Correspondingly a class analysis of the Inhambane countryside will not produce, especially since the break-up of the latifundia, large landlords to whom the peasants were subjugated and to whom they were also in monetary debt. Some residual features of the latifundia system remain, but not many. (See in the report on Maimela the fact that ~~even~~ after the GD re-distribution of the land, the two richest peasants are members of the family of the latifundario.)

But if there is not exploitation in the classic feudal or capitalist sense, there are differences between the peasants which much be located. These are the differences one would expect within a peasant economy where essentially the peasant household's production is based on petty commodity production. That is, the family is not separated from the land, its means of production, and the unit of the peasant household is the unit of production and of consumption. But since the peasant economy has been drawn, by colonialism and by capitalism, into the national and the international market, and has been penetrated by the money economy, certain significant differences have arisen within that society.

We located the following strata within the rural society of Inhambane:

1. Rich peasants.

The essential characteristic of this group is that they use hired labour, though this is on an extremely limited and sometimes on a part-time basis. This is a tiny group and we located only two such peasants within our sample of peasant households.

2. Middle Peasants.
Our working definition of the Middle or Medium Peasant Household consisted of the following:
- i. Ownership and use of the instruments of production, especially ploughs and oxen and often mills.
 - ii. A relatively sound agricultural base with production for the market, to varying degrees, as well as for home consumption.
 - iii. A relatively larger family household, i.e. household labour force.
 - iv. Relatively larger land holdings.
 - v. The ownership of relatively large numbers of trees i.e. permanent crops.
 - vi. Sources of income from off-farm activity i.e. crafts and skills (See the material on Petty Commodity Craftsmen.
3. Poor peasants on the other hand, occasionally but not generally owned instruments of production; but had essentially an unreliable and unstable agricultural production base. Accordingly they produced little for the market and often too little to feed themselves. They, too, had sources of income from crafts, but they appeared to practice the simpler and less profitable crafts and to earn relatively little from them. They worked less land, and often inferior land; they owned fewer trees; they had smaller household labour forces.
4. Agricultural labourers.
These are extremely few, but could grow in number as the sources of wage labour from mine work are reduced. In most instances the agricultural workers were part-time workers, that is, they could not produce enough on their own land and tried to work on the land of others for part of the year. This group is clearly drawn from the Poor Peasants.
5. Petty commodity producers.
Since many peasants households rely on crafts for sources of extra income, we classed as Craftsmen or Artisans only those whose major source of income came from such petty commodity production.
6. Shopkeepers, traders and Transporters
In other words, an incipient commercial petit-bourgeoisie, though in the majority of instances this is an unstable class. For instance, some of the transporters are providing indispensable transport services in their areas but they are operating without licences.

Using this working definition of Middle and Poor Peasants, the Peasant Households we interviewed were classified as follows. It will be clear that the division according to the above criteria is maintained between the two strata:

	MORRUMBENE						ZAVALA				HOMDINE						PEMBE					
	BUVANE Med. Poor		MAIMELA Med. Poor		SITILA Med. Poor		MINDU Med. Poor		CANDA Med. Poor		MUCHAVA Med. Poor		MEU Med. Poor		ZACANHE Med. Poor		COMO Med. Poor		VAVATE Med. Poor		SEFANE Med. Poor	
No. of Questionnaires	(10)	12	10	13	13	12	4	63	10	24	10	25	17	8	15	7	11	11	5	12	11	10
% with ploughs	50	8	60	15	58	8	50	11	60	0	60	0	52	0	73	0	100	9	80	6	54	10
% with mills	20	0	40	8	31	0	0	4	20	0	40	3	18	0	40	14	66	18	40	8	9	0
No. of cashew trees	277	143	290	90	150	35	90	70	420	180	250	64	190	61	500	100	2500	200	250	100	300	110
No. of coconut trees	133	27	270	55	not sig.	44	13	290	18	330	36	252	33 not significant.....								
Average work force	4,5	2,5	5,4	2,5	4,0	2,8	3,6	2,0	4,8	3,4	3,1	2,2	3,6	2,0	4,9	2,0	6,9	2,8	4,5	1,8	4	2,3
Ave. land holding	N / A	N / A	N / A	N / A	N / A	N / A	N / A	N / A	8,6	1,4	6,5	2,5	4	5	12	4,5	12,0	6,0	8,6	6,6		
No. of miners away	N / A	1	4	6	4	1	7	3	6	0	9	0	7	N / A	N / A	1	1	3	3			
Other wage work (no. away)	0	3	4	4	N / A	6	2	0	1	0	2	5	0	N / A	3	1	1	0	1	2		

In many instances the divide between the Middle and the Poor Peasants, who together constitute the huge majority, is shaky. Some Middle peasants, as they grow old and less able to work, sink into the Poor Peasant group. In the Poor Peasant group thus are to be found old peasants, but also young families at the beginning of their productive life. (See the Maimela Report). Within the Poor Peasant group are also widows and women living alone; and the disabled and the physically sick. In determining the dividing line between middle and poor peasants, the relative importance of the factors mentioned will be different according to the system of land use. The means of production necessary for the principal cash crop of the area obviously carry most weight in drawing the boundary. So, for example, in the coastal strip a coconut tree ownership plays a more important role, while in areas with relatively open land frontier the ownership of oxen and plough as well as family size may be more determining. Furthermore, in previously colonised areas, the system of land re-distribution and the criteria used for this will to a large extent determine its outcome. But, as can be seen from the table above, middle peasants are generally better endowed on all counts than the poorer ones.

From our field research it appears as if there exist relatively clear correlations between these groupings of peasants and their reliance on mine labour. The table below shows for the areas investigated (apart from Sitila for which the data did not allow us to make the correlation), the average number of contracts, the average age of the worker-peasant and the sample size for middle and poor peasants. The average age is listed because the average number of contracts would obviously depend on the age of the worker-peasant.

AREA	MIDDLE PEASANT			POOR PEASANT		
	Average No. of Contracts	Average Age	Sample Size	Average No. of Contracts	Average Age	Sample Size
ZACANHE	4.8	49	14	20.6	59	3
MUCHAVA	6.5	49	9	13.2	52	19
MEU	5.7	53	12	5.2	42	13
SEFANE	6.7	55	9	10.3	63	6
VAVATE	4.8	56	5	8.6	60	8
COMO	6.2	57	8	8.2	43	6
BUVANE	7.6	46	8	11.2	47	10
MAIMELA	10	55	9	10	45	10
MINDU	2.7	29	4	7.7	46	49
CANDA	2.4	62	5	8	46	19

As we can see from the table, on the whole middle peasants tend to work a lesser number of contracts than poorer peasants from the same area. The middle peasant thus appears to be less reliant on migrant labour in financing recurring consumer expenditures of the family, and tends rather to use income from mine labour for the acquisition of instruments of labour so as to render his base in agriculture and crafts more independent. The poor peasant, due to misfortune in the family (such as illness), less access to land, etc. remains compelled to return to the mines to supplement his subsistence means.

Obviously, such division does not manifest itself in any absolutely clear-cut manner. But we would argue, tentatively, that at the one end of the scale, the reasonably well-established middle peasant is a farmer who due to his better access to land (resulting from his better relation to colonial-traditional activities or greater family size) or due to the fact that he was in a better paid position on the mines, manages to establish himself with sufficient instruments of production for either craft or agricultural activities, or more commonly both. At the other end of the scale is the poor peasant who either through illness or incapability could not go to the mines (these men are not included in the table), or those whose income from mine labour was consistently needed for maintaining the necessary consumption of the family, and this over and over again reproduced the need to return to the mines.

Small p.c. Agriculture production	and small trade etc.	Trade: ports etc.	etc.

This group consists of peasants who are older (the family is larger) and engage in small artisan activity in one or two services. Of such families were interviewed (the first group). Interestingly only five of these families had less than 5 mine contracts. It thus appears to be a conservative, or mine work, though a much less conservative group. The vast majority of these families are engaged in masonry, wood-working (carpentry, tool-making, etc.) and other trades. This group has also instruments of

This group (II) families, is headed by younger men who are more actively engaged in agriculture when they are at home. This activity is the same as that of the middle peasant group. This group has also instruments of

Petty commodity Production and Commerce in the Countryside

Of the 372 families interviewed in depth, at least 110 had some form of petty commodity production or commercial activity based on their house. We say 'at least' 110 families because it is clear that some families were not willing to tell us of their activities. For example, those making alcoholic drinks for sale, those engaged as small shopkeepers, those who were involved in the buying of donkeys in Rhodesia for sale in the province, those who are traditional healers almost always did not directly tell us of their activities. That information came from others in the district. But it is clear that one in three of the families interviewed are dependent to some extent on a third source of income, after agriculture and minework or other salaried work.

The Table below gives a breakdown of the major kinds of activity:

PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Old Peasants over 50 : more than 6 mine contracts; small p.c. production	Old Peasants with less than 6 mine contracts	Mine work plus p.c. production Tailors	P.C. produc- tion as princi- pal income: Bricklayers, Carpenters
44	5	15	20
Small artisans and agriculture	Women : small p.c. production mat-making etc.	Agriculture and small trade	Agriculture plus Trans- port, plus shopkeeping
6	6	4	8
		8	2

One large group consists of peasants who are older (the family heads over 50) who engage in small artisan activity in order to survive. 49 such families were interviewed (the first two groups). Interestingly only five of these families had heads with less than 6 mine contracts. It thus appears to be an alternative, to mine work, though a much less remunerative one in old age. The vast majority of these families were engaged in mat-making, wood-carving (spoons, bowls, etc.) and basket-making. This group has cheap instruments of production.

One other group (15 families) is headed by younger men who engage in petty commodity production when they are at home from the mines. This activity in the large majority of cases consists of tailoring, and depends on a sewing machine,

always bought with mine wages. The proceeds are rather small.

A relatively small group (6 families) is engaged mainly in agricultural production (with surplus for sale), but has artisanal activities in addition - usually tailoring with sewing machines from South Africa, or in two cases, fishing with nets bought from mine wages.

Only six families appear to have women engaged in petty commodity activity, (dressmaking, matmaking and cake-baking) but it is clear that many women are engaged in making drinks (alcoholic or not) and in the selling of cakes and food production. At every meeting in the cells a group of women appeared to be selling their own goods. Our interviews did not bring out this activity.

All these families are engaged in small activities which bring in small sums of money. Very few earn more than 1 or 2 contos a year from these activities, and some earn much less.

The other families (34 in all) have more lucrative activities. 20 of these are considered to have their occupation principally in petty commodity production (most are carpenters, bricklayers or builders of concrete houses, and traditional healers). Most of these have worked fewer than 3 contracts. Many of these also have a considerable agricultural base and produce for the market, usually using ploughs, mills and having a large extended family.

The other 14 families are engaged in commercial activity. 4 are small traders taking advantage of the fact that the registered shop is often up to 30 km from the peasant family's home. 8 own jeeps or tractors and are engaged in transport activities of people and goods. Most have bought their tractors since Independence with money earned in South Africa and from agriculture. 2 other families are engaged in both these activities. The great majority of these families also have good agricultural production.

In summary, one large group of poor families have spent many years in the mines and have to make small goods for sale to buy the basic necessities of life - the most extreme case is the one old man who has to pay people to bring him water - others combine mine work with tailoring, though on a small scale; another group earns relatively large sums of money (relative to the earnings in the Inhambane countryside) but also have important agricultural activities. The original investment in cars and instruments of production is often with mine wages and also with money from agriculture. Those with really important investments have made them recently and cannot be said to have established themselves as commer-
ciantes after only 2 or 3 years.

THE EXTENT OF LABOUR EXPORT

Pembe, Homoine (+)

The area of Pembe is considered to be an area of high labour migration. Its soil is poor, it is situated on the margin of the litoral, and rainfall is not regular.

The Brigade that worked in Pembe made an attempt to confirm the extent of migration. No accurate and complete data of migration is available and information had to be pieced together from various sources. The results give only an approximate view of the extent and importance of labour migration in the area.

The History of Migration

The Brigade completed 22 Miners' Questionnaires. Of the miners interviewed all had fathers who had worked on the mines. Of these, ten were over 55 years old and three were over 75 years old, including one who was working his third contract at the beginning of World War I and whose father had worked in the South African diamond mines.

Percentage migration from Pembe Circle

The Brigade obtained incomplete recruitment data for the period 1954-1960 from WINELA, and incomplete population data for the period 1960-1975 from the Homoine administration. We accordingly estimated the percentage migration for 1958-1960 by using 1960 or other population date interpolated to 1960. The figures for mine recruitment include men enlisted at the central recruitment station but also at five of the twelve sub-stations. An estimated 25 per cent of labour recruitment comes from the other seven sub-stations. We estimated the labour recruitment figures to be as follows:

1958	800
1959	800
1960	600

The population in Pembe in 1960 was between 10,000 and 12,000 and included between 2,500 and 3,000 men over the age of 18. The percentage migration from this male population can thus be estimated at

1958	27 to 32 per cent
1959	27 to 32 per cent
1960	20 to 24 per cent

These should be regarded as minimum figures since some men would certainly have gone to Homoine to be recruited and this would not be registered on the Pembe statistics. Compared with the migration figure for Homoine as a whole, which was 14 per cent in 1960, this shows that Pembe was one of the regions of Homoine with the largest labour export.

(*) An extract from the report of the Brigade stationed at Pembe.

Migration differences in agriculturally rich and poor cells of Pembe.

The census data for 1975 is unreliable but it does include not only population figures but also a figure for the heads of families absent in South Africa at the time of the count. Since only heads of families were registered as absent, the migration figures are the lowest possible, but they do help us to obtain an idea of the extent of migrant labour over the cells of the circle. The figures are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Men (Heads of Families) absent in South Africa.
1975 by Cabados

Cabado	Men Absent	Men Total 18 years	%	Agriculture
Como	68	429	15.8	Rich
Chirrengeti	23	120	19.2	Medium
Catine 1	23	204	11.3	Rich
Catine 2	21	146	14.6	Rich
Dole	18	189	9.5	Medium
P.R.de Pembe Quemanhane	42	337	12.5	Medium
P.R.de Pembe Zacanha	66	378	17.5	Rich
Benhane 1	29	210	13.8	Rich
Benhane 2	27	272	13.4	Rich
Benhane 3	44	199	22.1	Rich
Malate	29	212	13.7	Rich
Binguane	17	200	8.5	Poor
Sefane	21	131	16.2	Poor
Dorote	13	118	11.0	Poor
Dindane	10	95	10.5	Poor
Tavate	21	172	12.2	Poor
Tuca	13	115	11.3	Poor
Total	485	3596	13.5	

The cells were divided into poor, medium and rich according to the quality of the soil, and conditions for agriculture. It appears that the richest cells furnish on average more migrant labour as follows:

Cells rich	15.9 per cent
medium	12.7 per cent
poor	11.7 per cent

But there are variations within these groups of cells. In the poor cells, for example, as in the case of Sefane, there is as high a rate of absence of men as the average for the cells with higher scores.

From random surveys conducted at political meetings we obtained further information. In the three cells of Como, Zacanha and Sefane

* See the note in the Introduction on administrative and political divisions.

the average number of contracts worked by miners was 6.02, and the median length of stay on each contract was 17 months, giving a total length of work time in the mines as 102 months, or 8 and a half years. In the cell of Zacanhe the average number of contracts was less, but the average stay was longer, giving a total work time in the mines almost equal to the other cells, one of which was considered very poor and two of which were considered richer. Such data was not corrected for age and another measure which we have called INDEX I, and which is explained earlier in the chapter on the Mine Labour Force, was used to partially correct this omission. The averages obtained for Index I were as follows:

Como	0.43
Zacanhe	0.38
Sefane	0.30

These figures show a wide variation, with Sefane, the poorest cell having a much lower index, this signifying a lower average of working life spent in the mines.

Social differentiation among Migrant Workers

It thus appears that the poorest cells in Pembe have a lower migration incidence to the mines. In order to check if this signifies that poorer families work fewer mine contracts a calculation was made of the number of contracts worked by poor and middle peasants. (See the Project's working definition in the chapter on the Peasant Base). The results were as follows:

Cell	Av. no. <u>contracts</u>	<u>Middle Peasants</u>	
		Total yrs. <u>on mines</u>	Age
Como	6.3	9.1	57
Zacanhe	7.6	8.9	46
Sefane	6.7	9.5	55
Vavate	4.8	5.5	56
Average	6.5	8.2	53

Cell	Av. no. <u>contracts</u>	<u>Poor Peasants</u>	
		Total yrs. <u>on mines</u>	Age
Como	8.2	11.2	43
Zacanhe	11.2	14.2	47
Sefane	10.3	12.7	63
Vavate	8.6	10.6	60
Average	9.7	12.2	53

This calculation shows a clear tendency in all cells for poorer peasants not only to work more mine contracts, but also longer contracts. (The averages in this table are higher than those given on the previous page because all men physically unfit for wage work have been excluded.)

It was said in the circle and in the Province that there are two sorts of mineworkers. The first is the peasant miner who works a few contracts, buys his domestic goods and agricultural instruments and then does not return to work mine contracts except in crisis circumstances. The second is the man who goes to the mines many times throughout his lifetime. We have already shown for cells in Pembe that the poor peasants have on average more contracts and spend more time on the mines than the middle peasant. We can also show that for one out of three of these cells (the poorest, that is) fewer men return from the mines before the age of 35. In Sefane only one-third of the men return from their last contracts before this age as opposed to about one half in the richer cells of Como and Zacanhe, even when these figures are corrected for the fact that non-bonus holders cannot return now even if they want to.

Percentage of miners returned from their last contract before age 35

	Como	Zacanhe	Sefane
All Questionnaires	71	47	33
Men that returned before 1973*	47	50	36

Tables 2 and 3 also give some idea of the spread of contracts.

Table 2 is a histogram of INDEX I (the percentage of working life spent in the mines) and shows that the great majority of men work up to half their lives in the mines and only a small proportion work for periods longer than that. Table 3 shows the percentage of time spent in South Africa between the first and last contracts and shows that as the number of contracts goes up, the time spent at home goes down. The vast majority of those who work seven or more contracts spend more than half their working lives in South Africa.

Quantity of migration at the present time (July - August 1977)

An estimate was made of the number of men absent at the time of the Brigade investigation. This was done by asking women who attended mass meetings if their husbands were away in the mines. In all 42 out of 320 women said that their husbands were then in South Africa. Thus about 13 per cent of family heads with wives were absent at the time. This total does not, of course, include all absent miners, since some miners are not married. In our enquiries at WENELA depots the percentage of unmarried miners was only 8.9.

Taking this into account would mean that 46 men of more than 18 years of age were away from their homes in Pembe. This is a considerable number, which shows the dependence of Pembe peasant

* That is, men who almost certainly would not have returned to the mines even if they could.

TABLE 2

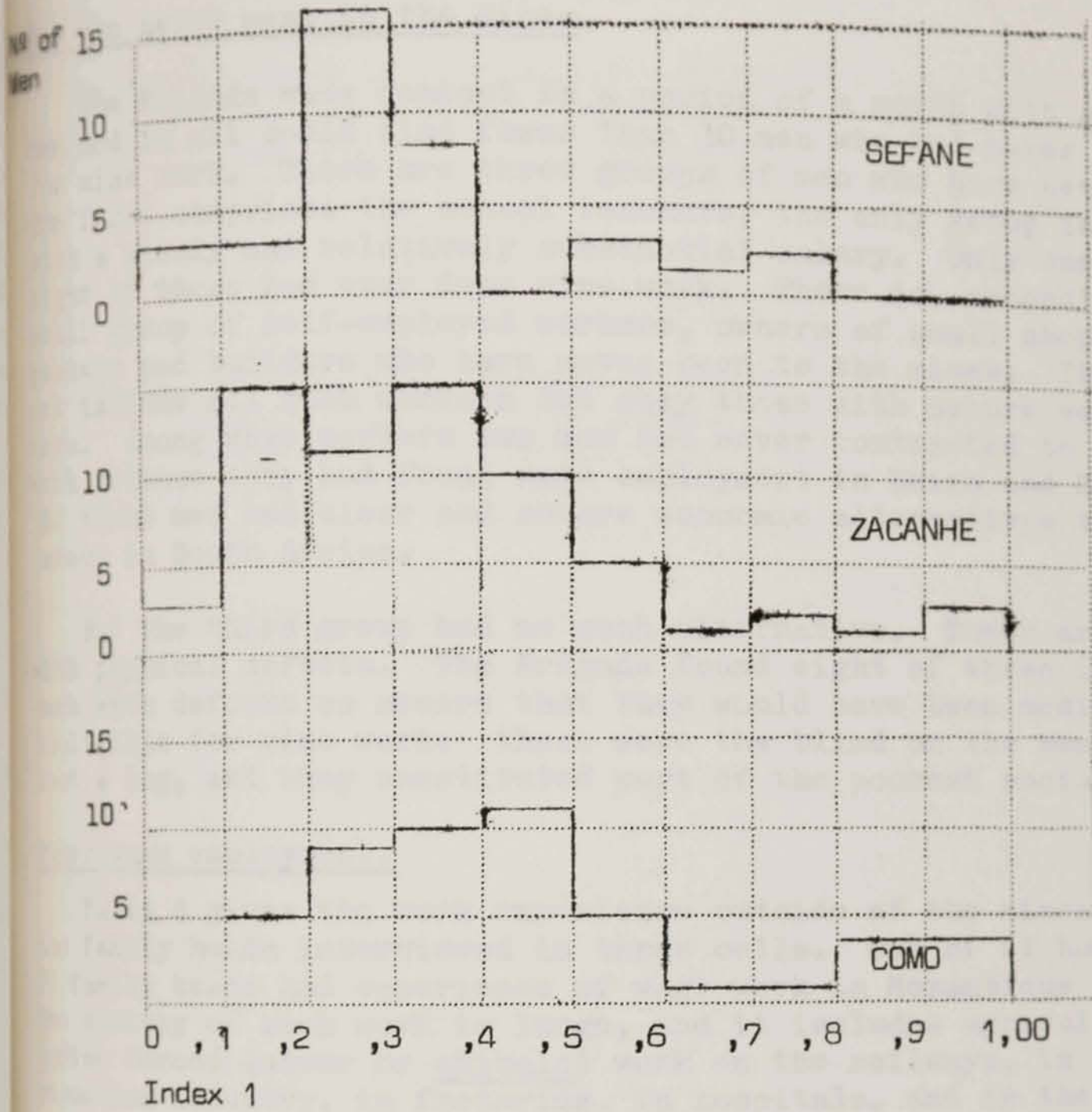


TABLE 3: Spread of contracts in Pembe (4 cells)

No. of Contracts	Percentage of time between the first and last contract spent in the mines				
	More than 75%	67-74%	50-66%	33-49%	0-32%
3 - 4	6	5	11	5	8
5 - 6	7	3	8	9	6
7 - 8	2	1	6	5	
9 - 10	3	0	2	2	
11 - 15	4	0	3	2	
> 16	4				

households on mine labour, especially at a time of reduced opportunity for mine work.

Men who never went to the Mines.

The Brigade made contact in a period of a month with about 500 men and in all could find fewer than 30 men who had never contracted for mine work. There are three groups of men who have never been. The first comprises the school teachers, the only group in the area with a steady and relatively substantial salary. Only one out of eight of these had ever done mine work. There is, secondly, also a small group of self-employed workers, owners of small shops, carpenters and builders who have never been to the mines. This does not include all such workers but only those with secure work in the area. Among wage workers two men had never contracted to do mine work because they had found wage employment in Beira and Maputo. All these men had clear and secure economic alternatives to migrant labour in South Africa.

But the third group had no such alternative. These are the men with physical defects. The Brigade found eight of these in Pembe, each with defects so severe that they would have been medically ineligible for mine work: these were the blind or the men who had lost a leg, and they constituted part of the poorest social stratum.

Other wage employment.

Table 4 gives the work experience outside of the mines for all the family heads interviewed in three cells. Out of 61 households, 27 family heads had experience of wage work in Mozambique or outside. The variety of such work is large, and it includes agricultural work (often forced labour or chibalo) work on the railways, in the construction industry, in factories, in hospitals, and in the Portuguese army during the colonial period. Although the scale of this migrant work - for once again the men have to migrate from their homes in order to find and hold down these jobs - does not approach that of mine work, it does allow some men who cannot go to the mines for reasons of health or other reasons to earn money. Calculating this extent of wage work also raised the average life time spent in wage work to 11.2 years for all men physically able to work. Thus in terms of work time, other migrant work absorbs about ten per cent of the proportion of men at work away from the rural economy, though the 1975 census figures cites the figure of 14 per cent for all four cells.

Table 4 - Salaried Work Experience (No. of Years) or in Chibalo (No. of Times) outside of South African Mines of Family heads interviewed in Zacanhe, Vavate and Sefane Cells (PEMBE).

ZACANHE

Construction worker Cahora Bassa (1): Taylor Pembe (4): Chibalo Inhambane (1): Chibalo Maputo (1): Fisherman Maputo (1): Servant in Hospital Beira (1): Chibalo Inhambane (1).

Types of Workers' Labour on the Fozzard Property.

VAVATE

Chibalo Inhambane (5): Woodcutter Beira (1): washer-boy
Honoine (5): Army (2) + Chibalo Inhambane (2): Chibalo Inhambane +
Beira (4): Factory Beira (1): Chibalo Inhambane (1): Tailor Pembe
(1).

BEFANE

Chibalo Inhambane (2): Chibalo Inhambane (9): Chibalo Inham-
bane (8): Collection of coconuts Maxixe: Chibalo (2): Chibalo (1):
Chibalo (1): Chibalo (1): Chibalo (1): + Army (3): Maputo (3):
Sugar plantation South Africa (8).

The middle peasants are not only in a bad way. They have other sources like...
the beginning of the family's life when they are often...
out of the house (out of 2) did not find any savings...
of the middle peasants in the country of the middle peasants in...

The poor peasants on the other hand are much more dependent on...
the work of the middle peasants family head would work in the mine,
the only source of the family income is in...
the other cases among poor families.

The poor families who work in South Africa work more and...
spend more time on contracts. But their money...
particular agricultural and animal...
Differentiation of the Peasantry].
with 10, 20, 20, 10, 10 and 15 contracts...
dominated by the work and at the...
The very poorest of the group...
with physical defects. The old and worked...
labour...
the family. She, at the end of the...
the neighbourhood to work and...

In the past the men and women had...
lack of money. A majority said that...
the level of life but...
most old...
had worked...
enough to live on at the...
had...
In short, the very poorest are poor...
they could not go to the mine.

...the reports of the Peace Brigade.

The Influence of Migrant Labour on the Peasant Economy.

One aspect became clear in all the interviews conducted in Pembe. The wages of miners before the 1970s were not sufficient in themselves to permit the purchase of expensive consumer goods (like sewing machines) or to pay for cement-brick houses, or to finance the beginning of a process of accumulation, through the acquisition of small shops or through transport. Only with good agricultural production, with regular surpluses for sale, and through other commercial or artisan activities, or through rights and privileges acquired through the traditional political system could these goods be bought.

The peasant household questionnaire demonstrates the importance of mine earnings for the purchase of goods. The majority of families are dependent on mine money to buy the goods necessary for the family (beds, other furniture, pots) and to buy agricultural means of production (ploughs, cattle, mills). The middle peasants are not dependent only on mine earnings. They have other sources: like agricultural receipts, carpentry, transport, services like herbalism. Although at the beginning of the family's life mine money is often important, only in five cases (out of 29) did we find mine earnings to be of large importance in the economy of the middle peasants in the recent past.

The poor peasants on the other hand are much more dependent on mine work. Of 29 families whose family head could work in the mines, the mine earnings were the only source of the family income in 10 cases and were very dominant in 13 other cases among poor families.

The poor families who can work in South Africa work more mine contracts and spend more time on contracts. But with their money they can buy fewer goods, particularly agricultural and artisanal means of production. (see section - Differentiation of the Peasantry). In our interviews we met men with 30, 26, 20, 18, 16 and 15 contracts worked. That is, a life basically dominated by mine work and at the same time the family remained poor. The very poorest of the group are the old men and those with physical defects. One old man worked 9 contracts and did forced labour (chibalo) eight times. Mine labour was 'simply because of hunger in the family'. Now, at the end of his life, he must make baskets to give to the neighbours to fetch him water since he cannot carry any more.

A very few of these old men and women had ploughs in the past but had to sell them because of lack of money. A majority said that the mine money helped to raise a little the level of life but certainly not sufficiently to sustain them in old age. Most old widows said the same, that their husbands had worked considerable numbers of contracts but there had been only enough to live on at the time. Others could never work because they were blind, had amputated legs or other physical defects. In short, the very poorest are poor because they could not go to the mines.

EXTRACT from the Report of the Pembe Brigade.

MINE LABOUR AND THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

Maimela

Has mine labour helped, or obstructed, the development of peasant agriculture? Is the peasant economy so structured that mine labour is a necessity for a large part of the male population? In order to find answers to these questions we did a detailed analysis of the Peasant Household Questionnaires for Maimela, a cell in the circle of Mucambi, district of Morrembene, Inhambane Province.

Before Independence the circle was dominated by Portuguese landlords (colons). Two latifundarios owned most of the good land in Maimela.

The Peasants from Maimela and other cells in the circle were expected to do forced labour at nominal wages on the plantations. In addition they were expected to pay tribute to the sub-chief for the land they cultivated and for every harvest. Owners of livestock also had to plough plantation land to pay for the grass their cattle ate. In addition to that there was a campaign to force peasants to cultivate cotton. In the neighbouring cell of Euvane the pressure became so unbearable that part of the population fled from the area regularly to the mines in South Africa rather than be conscripted for badly-paid agricultural work. In Maimela the situation was similar although quarrels between Rocha's heirs before 1950 and the fact that the land the latifundario owned in the cell was smaller, eased the pressure at least to the extent that peasants stayed.¹ Mine labour was nevertheless also the main occupation of the men in this cell.

In group discussions in the area one opinion voiced by some of the people present was that mine labour had been involuntary and mainly a way of avoiding forced labour and that those who had gone to the mines had not gained much, particularly since they had been encouraged to waste much of what they had earned on drink. On the other hand most men in the area have continued to go to the mines even after forced labour was officially abolished in 1962 and even after Independence. Many of these who have not been able to go since last year, consider themselves to be unemployed, rather than having the opportunity to settle down.

¹Analysis of the Report of the Brigade that worked in Maimela.

Whereas on the one hand it was stated that mine labour had been a response to pressure, it is on the other hand clear that many of the men consider it a necessity. Only a detailed analysis of the local peasant economy can show why there is this need.

The case of Maimela

Maimela was chosen by the Cambine Brigade because it was reportedly the agriculturally poorest area in the circle. About half of the land in the area is sandy and not very fertile and there is only one small river valley with very good soil. To make matters worse, an insect (mafekefoké) has infested the sandier part of the area since 1963 and is destroying maize, groundnuts and beans. The last two years have been years of drought and thus of particular hardship.

All the land in Maimela is 'owned' by someone though some of it is sometimes unused. Accordingly a peasant farmer wishing to establish himself will first have to acquire sufficient land. The problem of the insect pest 'mafekefoké' has prompted farmers to look for some land outside the cell, in areas that are not infected. More than half the farmers appear to have succeeded in finding a machambe outside Maimela.

The main wealth of the farmers in Maimela consists of permanent crops, coconut trees and cashew nut trees in particular. Neither of these is attacked by the insect that destroys the annual crops, and they are somewhat more immune to drought. A farmer will need a fair number of such trees (usually more than 100 coconut trees and at least the same number of cashew nut trees) to have some reliable income. Livestock does not seem to play a prominent role in Maimela agriculture, perhaps because there is insufficient land for grazing many animals. The minority of people who keep cattle do so mainly in order to use them for ploughing. 7 out of the 24 people interviewed in Maimela owned ploughs. Since the sample is not representative it is difficult to say how many of the peasants do actually own ploughs, but it may still be a minority. Almost all peasants do, however, use ploughs for preparing the land.

Building up a farm in Maimela

Getting a wife

A man who wants to marry has to pay a dowry. Most young men are expected to find the money themselves and the usual way of getting the amount was to go to the mines. In response to the present campaign against "lobolo", the name has been changed and it is now called "gratification" but payments still continue.

On getting land

Young men may stay with their parents for some time after their marriage, but since no household in the questionnaire had sons above 24 years of age staying with the parents, it seems that at this age most young men will have started some

independent economic existence. There were two ways in which the older farmers acquired their first plots. Either the fathers decided to give them a small piece of their own farm, or they were allocated a plot by the sub-chief. The majority of younger farmers today who need more land than their father gave them, will ask friends or relatives for land which they may be allowed to cultivate either temporarily or permanently. A few have also received some land from the Grupo Dinamizador when the land of some of the colons was redistributed. Buying land is rare. Officially it is permanent crops rather than land that is being sold. Five people were reported to have acquired land (with permanent crops) by purchase. Farmers who have particularly good or large pieces of land have usually inherited it. Inheritance is more likely to happen to older people than to younger people. Most of the farmers that were older than 30 reported that they had inherited the best part of their land, whereas the younger farmers got most of their land as gifts. Such gifts may not consist of particularly fertile plots, even if they are sufficient in size. The eight farmers in Maimela (out of 24) who did not mention drought and insects as major production problems were all above 40 years of age. On the other hand the five farmers below this age all had difficulties with land that was dry and insect-infested.

Although, since few people buy land, there is no direct relationship between mine labour and land allocation, there are indirect connections. Firstly, the generosity of those who have more land may be related to the fact that the men go out and therefore leave land that belongs to them uncultivated. If all people return to the village for good, the pressure on the land would increase. Secondly there is the fact that young people expect to get the best land by inheritance and may thus find it advantageous to remain in paid employment until they inherit suitable land.

Since independence, the Grupo Dinamizador in Maimela has distributed land that belonged to Rocha. The two descendants of Rocha were left with very good land of 23 ha and more than 10 ha respectively. The land that was distributed seems to have been allocated in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, at a meeting. Of the six poorest people interviewed, only one had received land from the local GD. Of the six richest people in the village, one had also received a plot from the GD, reportedly because the plots were allocated according to the number of wives. Of the other six people who said they had received land from the local GD, one held the ninth place in terms of wealth in the sample, one the eleventh and the other four were ranked 14th to 17th. Young farmers had been taken into consideration more often than older farmers, provided they were in the area at the time of distribution. Two people complained that they had been left out because they were working outside during the critical time. One of them later managed to get a bigger piece outside the cell from another GD.

People who had rented land from Rocha before, were allowed to keep the land. This is a measure that tended to favour the more established farmers. On the whole, the GD was not seen as an effective institution of the re-allocation of land. Asked how one could get more land in Maimela most people replied that the way to get more land was to ask someone who had more than he needed. A few added that it would be necessary to get the approval of the GD after agreement had been reached with someone on the transfer of the land. Very few people thought that one might get land by approaching the GD only.

Getting permanent crops

A farmer can get permanent crops by buying a plot with trees, through inheritance or through growing trees on his plot. Since buying is still rare and since the plots that are bought seem to be quite small, inheritance and cultivation are the two main methods of acquiring tree plantations. Older people are more likely to have inherited something than younger people. Establishing a plot of tree crops also takes time. Coconut palms take seven years to mature. In the first three years the seedlings are very susceptible to adverse weather and trees may have to be replanted several times. It may therefore take about ten years before a farmer can have a lucrative plot. Cashew nut trees take about five years to mature and they too are delicate in the first few years. Because of this, there is a clear relationship between the age of a farmer and the size of his plantation of permanent crops. Of the five farmers in the sample who were below 40 years of age none had more than 70 coconut trees and none had more than eighty cashew nut trees, and many of these may not yet have been mature. A sixth man who claimed to be only 33 and who had more than 160 trees of each kind turned out to be much older since he had started to work about 22 years ago. His real age must therefore be about forty. Of the 19 farmers above 40 years of age, only four said they had less than 100 coconut trees and only one said he had less than 100 cashew nut trees. Four people did not give any figures.

The relationship to mine labour is again an indirect one. One does not have to go to the mines to acquire a plot of permanent crops but it takes time to acquire such a plot and the younger people may find it too difficult to live without a regular income from permanent crops and might therefore try to earn money on the mines in the meanwhile.

Getting a plough

Seven farmers in the sample had their own ploughs. Two seem to have bought the ploughs from the returns of mine labour, one from farm proceeds. For the others there is no information on how they got their plough. Almost all of these who have no plough make use of the ploughs of other people. There are a number of ways in which ploughs are shared. Some people can borrow a plough from family members free of charge. Others practice mutual aid with plough owners. The person

who has a plough and one or several families who have no plough work together on all the fields belonging to the participants in the group. In some cases such sharing may be equal benefit to all the participants, and one would expect that this is particularly true where one person contributes the oxen and the other the plough. There might also be genuine sharing where wives of absent miners get together to assist each other in the heavy work. In other cases the mutual aid might be a hidden form of exploitation when the farm of the plough-owner is bigger than the farms of other people in the group or when his farm is ploughed at a much more appropriate time than the farms of the others. Of those in the sample who had used the plough free of charge, one was classified as the second richest man among the people who had been questioned, but the plough belonged to a member of his family, and four were among the seven poorest farmers. The majority of those who had no ploughs had hired a plough for a fee. These included in almost equal proportions rich, middle and poor farmers.

The practice of hiring a plough may be related to mine labour in two ways. Firstly, payments from the mines may put the poorer farmers in the position to hire ploughs. Secondly, the absence of the husband in the family may make it necessary even for people who have quite small plots to hire a plough in order to get the preparation of the land done in time. At least one man indicated that his wife had hired a plough when he had been away but that since his return he was not using a plough.

The need for wage labour

The above considerations might suggest that younger people have in general a more urgent need to earn money outside of Maimela than the older people. Short of a proper population census for the area this assumption can not be tested. Most of those who have been included in the sample are people who only stopped going to the mines in 1976 when they were no longer eligible to go. Of the five heads of households included in the sample who were below 40 years of age, two had worked up to 1976, two up to 1977 and one was still outside working. Of the five Heads of household between 40 and 50 two had had their last contract in '76, and one in '77, one was still working, and one had stopped working in 1962. Of the 11 heads of household aged 50 to 60 years, two were widows, three had finished their last contract in 1976, one in 1977 and five had retired before 1976: 1947, 1966, 1969, 1973, 1974. The three heads of household who were older than 60 had all retired, one in 1950, one in 1959 and one in 1961. If this pattern does give an indication of general tendencies one can conclude that men do not start retiring from wage labour before the age of 50 if there is wage employment.

Of the nine people who have not been engaged in wage labour since 1974, two have been classified as rich farmers. Both of them retired from wage work a long time ago (1950, 1947).

One is the heir of the colon. He never went to the mines but worked as a carpenter and inherited 43 ha of land. The other also inherited a fair piece of land early on and went only for a short time to the mines, presumably to avoid forced labour. Neither of these two farmers had a particular need for wages.

Four of the retired farmers were classified as fairly prosperous and occupied the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th places in the economic ranking of the sample. Of these one had only worked for wages for a very short time because he was able to earn more in the village as a "curandeiro" (healer). The reason why the three others retired is less clear. Only one of them is the classical case of a man who used his wages from the mines to build up a well functioning enterprise by acquiring first land and then a plough and cattle and then more land. The others appear to have acquired their wealth more through a mixture of inheritance and achievements.

Three of the farmers who retired are poor or very poor. They have retired involuntarily. One has a crippled leg, the other "chest troubles", the third one left South Africa in a hurry with bad memories which he did not care to explain.

The conclusions one can draw from this is that only some older farmers retire from wage work because they have realised their objective through wage work, whereas others retire either because wage work was never very necessary to them or, more often, because they are physically no longer capable of continuing with wage work without having built up an enterprise that would satisfy their aspirations.

Those who are still anxious to go on with wage work also fall into different groups. There are firstly some rich farmers who have particularly well-paid work, such as the two rich farmers in our sample who worked as bossboy and busdriver. These farmers do not "need" wage employment but pursue it because it really pays well. There is, secondly, the group of middle peasants who continue with wage work and build up their farm until they feel ready to retire. In our sample there was only one middle peasant who was still working (or had been working in the last two years) and he was quite young. There is thirdly, the group of poor farmers, some of them young and some of them old, who continue with wage work because they cannot think of an alternative.

Any policy directed towards easing the problems of mine workers who can no longer go to South Africa would have to be focused on the poor farmers first and particularly on the poor farmers who are young. Measures that could be required would have to include the allocation of sufficient good land either within the area they come from or elsewhere (individually or collectively) and assistance which allows them to get a livelihood from the beginning either by integrating them into already established communal enterprises, or by providing credits for new communal enterprises, or by at least encouraging the older generation to contribute more to the establishment of their children on the land. In the longer-run the expansion of rural and urban industries may help to ease the problems which are quite severe now.

MIGRANT LABOUR AND THE PEASANT ECONOMY

Extract from the Homoine report

This extract of the Homoine brigade report attempts to arrive at an explanation of the fact that, although there are significant differences in the number of contracts worked on the mines for different strata within the peasantry, practically every able-bodied man goes at least four times to the mines. To explain this, it is necessary to investigate why almost every young man is compelled by economic necessity to go to the mines.

It appears as if the explanation for this has to be sought in the way in which traditional society has been in part disintegrated, through the penetration of the money economy as a result of colonisation.

Within the traditional set-up young men grew up and established themselves within the family hamlets in which the father and uncles lived as neighbours. The bride-price paid to the father for his daughter provided the means for his sons to arrange their marriage.

The penetration of the colonial economy appears to have created, over time, a gradual evolution towards the formation of more nuclear families - i.e. the sons began to live separately from the fathers and responsibility for the survival of the family became more individualised. By the 1940's this process already appeared to have become very pronounced.

A number of factors may account for this evolution within Homoine district. Firstly, the introduction of taxation for each adult man (above the age of 18 years) and at a later stage of forced labour (again for each adult man) and forced cultivation of crops for every husband and wife (the latter since 1942 up to 1962) greatly increased the individual responsibility of each nuclear family to cope with its own survival. Furthermore, the need for cash income increased in order to buy commodities on which they became increasingly dependent. Finally, the appropriation of the better quality land by the settlers, created a relative shortage of land which broke up the system of the extended family living together. The settler estates created the peasant-tenants whose responsibility in terms of paying tribute was also individualised.

The bride-price had become a money payment and because of the chronic need for money of most peasant families, fathers were increasingly reluctant to pass the brideprice obtained from their daughters on to their sons. The responsibility

to set up a family and to establish himself as a peasant producer was thus put squarely on the shoulders of the young man himself. This, in itself, may also have been a further reason for the break-up of the system of the extended family living and cultivating together. The son who paid his own bride-price felt less of a moral obligation towards the father. The necessity to earn his own income made the young man experience independence from the family hierarchy. As one informant said: "The conflicts between father and son, elder brother and younger brother, etc., began when people went to Jo'burg".

To establish himself as a peasant producer the young man first and foremost needed a wife. No man on his own cultivates his own plot of land. Either he works on the land of the father when he is not married, or else he acquired his own plot after marriage. As has already been explained in our discussion on the penetration of the money economy, the division of labour within the family left the main burden for agricultural work on the wife, the man being engaged in such activities as hunting to obtain cash at an earlier stage, and mine labour at a later phase. This may in part account for the fact that single men are looked upon with great suspicion - "he is a robber of wives, a thief, etc.". Thus the young man who wants to set up a family is compelled to go and earn the money for the brideprice outside agriculture, - that is, in the majority of cases, to go to the mines.

Once he has assured himself of a wife through earning the bride-price, the problem still continues because the man must establish himself as a peasant producer. His family needs a minimum of household utensils and furniture, a house and instruments.

Considerable difficulty is encountered by the newly married couple in acquiring the means to create a basic domestic establishment by agricultural work alone. The past three years have seen the innovation of cement block houses, and already between twenty and thirty per cent of the families present are in the process of, or have completed, construction of this type of dwelling. Many more families aspire to this same end and since 1975 there has been a number of cases of farmers returning to South Africa after a considerable number of years absence to obtain the money to build such a house. There are only two known cases of families who were able to build a cement block house with money earned from their agricultural production. One obtained the money at the beginning of the 1960s by groundnuts and the other has been building his house for twenty years.

Cases in which ploughs and oxen were not bought with money from South Africa are very rare. To become a farmer subsisting on agriculture alone, an essential condition is the possession of oxen and plough. Mills, tools, and sewing machines are also acquired with money from the mines. All of these means of production begin to make their appearance from the

1940s and 1950s and become important from the 1960s. The current generation will be the first to inherit already existing means of production.

Of 25 peasants from Meu and Muchava classified as "middle" peasants, that is to say, as peasants that perhaps can live potentially from agriculture, they acquired the following:-

Goods they possess	With Money from South Africa		
	All	In Part	Little or not at all
- ploughs &/or oxen and cement block house &/or house constructed in part from cement	5	8	-
- only cement block house or durable goods	3	-	-
- only plough &/or oxen	-	4	1 (he was working in Beira)
- other durable goods (furniture, crockery, clothes)	2	1	2 (artisans)
	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 3

Of the peasants classified as poor (31) all worked in South Africa, apart from four, and the little that they acquired was paid for predominantly with money provided from South Africa.

A STUDY IN WATER SHORTAGE

Sitila

Although the position of migrant labour is extremely important in the reproduction of the peasantry in all the areas studied, we can say that Sitila is especially dependent on mine earnings.

Agricultural production in Sitila is extremely low. Only 6 of the 25 peasant interviews conducted showed that food production was sufficient to provide the barest essentials of life. In two cases agricultural production was never sufficient to sustain the family and in all the rest was only sufficient in good agricultural years, of which there are relatively few.

One aspect of the inability of agricultural production to sustain the area is the high cost of living, for a rural family, determined for several districts and localities of the Province in 1973. For Massinga, Inharrime and Homoine, the cost of living was determined at between 800 and 1,000 escudos monthly. By comparison that for Sitila was 2,700 escudos, 1,500 escudos of which was for food alone.

The problem is not that of quantity of land. There is enough land. For example, of 15 families investigated, 8 had more than five hectares of land.

The fundamental problem in Sitila is lack of water. Every interview of the work brigade, not only with officials, but with all sections of the population, emphasised this problem. The water shortage affects not only agricultural crops, but also household water needs. When there are no rains, the population of Ngomani must travel 30 km to fetch water (a journey of 2 days), the population of Manhaussele 20 km, and the population of Mangorro 12 km.

In the dry season water becomes very expensive. One oil drum (20 litres) of drinking water, between October and December last year, cost 100 escudos, allowing the car owners to make large profits since they alone can carry water easily over large distances.

Considering these climatic difficulties, it is not by chance that practically all the men seek work in South Africa or elsewhere (e.g. The Railway or Cabora Bassa). Of the 25 interviews 21 had been to the mines and 3 had employment within Mozambique (a railway worker, a tailor, a housebuilder). In 9 families someone was actually working in the mines at the time of our study. Three men were working in Mozambique outside the district and six more had cash incomes close to home (driver, housebuilder, carpenters, repairer of bicycles).

To sum up, we can say that the male population of Sitila is highly dependent on wage-work. One trader said, "There is quite a lot of money in the area, but agricultural production is very low. The money comes from the mines". There is a clear connection between shortage of water, low agricultural production and the necessity to obtain cash wages.

There is a clear order of priority for use of this money. The first priority is lobolo (at this moment the bride-price is between 10 and 20 contos). After this, money is spent on water tanks and wells. 18 of the 25 families had either a tank, a well, or both.

Only after water is available are other goods such as cattle (1975 prices : 5 contos per head; 1977 : 10 contos per head), ploughs (2,600\$00), grinding mills (6 contos) bought. Some of these acquisitions are used for hire; for example ploughs and oxen can be rented. To plough one hectare of land this year (1977) cost 500 escudos.

It becomes apparent in Sitila when compared to the other areas, that there is a closer relationship between social differentiation and the earning of salaries in South Africa. Thus the heads of the richest families were 'boss-boys' or 'indunas' on the mines.

A part of miners' earnings is utilised productively; that is to say, for the construction of wells, water tanks and houses, and for the purchase of durable consumer goods (furniture, cars, trucks, etc.). Some of these purchases provide local employment for masons, carpenters, drivers, etc. One mason, for example, told us that he earned 1,200\$00 escudos for the construction of a small well. The income of petty commodity producers like him is more or less totally dependent on the presence of money earned outside the locality, usually in the mines. Any noticeable curtailment of these external earnings will decrease the possibility of earning a little money inside the locality.

The area of Sitila is more dependent on mine labour than any of the other areas we studied, and if the opportunities to go to South Africa are restricted still further, it will cause grave problems.

In the concluding section of this Report, we make some general recommendations about the changes which could be made to integrate miners into the agricultural economy. In the case of Sitila dependence on mine work could be lessened if the water problem was solved, after which cotton production would seem to be possible.

SIXTEEN PEASANT HOUSEHOLDS

Middle Peasant Households

Ex-Miner/Middle Peasant

Household: 52 year old head, two wives, a grown son, two sons at school and three children under 10.

Timoteo worked as a labour tenant until 1974 for landowner Antonio Ribeiro. He was allowed to live on this land in return for free labour, recorded through a ticket system. In return, he was to be given protection against chibalo. Timoteo was required to pay tribute in cash and in kind after every harvest. For instance, he had to pay 40 escudos after he had harvested his cotton, regardless of the size of the crop harvested, and, for the use of a piece of machongo land 80 metres square, for rice growing, he had to give the landowner two tins of rice. In 1954 Timoteo was taken away for chibalo for failing to fulfil the conditions of his tenure. He was returned home after 2 months when the cabo intervened on his behalf. He also worked as a miner, and did five contracts between the years 1944 and 1969. Timoteo's impression was that going to the mines was contrary to the terms of his tenure on the land of the latifundio but that the landowner had taken no action because he had paid for the use of the land in cash. He commented that the labour tenant system had been very corrupt. From wages earned on the mines, Timoteo bought oxen, a plough and a sewing machine. He hopes that proceeds from the sale of crops in the future will enable him to build a brick house. Landholding : 9.5 hectares of nhaca soil on which is grown cotton, potatoes and garlic for sale, and maize, beans, cassava and groundnuts for home consumption. There is also 2.5 hectares of machongo on which rice, sweet potatoes and vegetables are produced. There does not seem to be a shortage of nhaca land.

Miner/Middle Peasant

Household: 42 years old head of the family, wife and three young children, one from a second wife who had deserted him.

Antonio is 42 years old and has worked four contracts on the mines between 1953 and 1976. Inbetween he worked in Maxixe for five years on road construction works and as a tailor in a Homoine shop for four years. He first went to the mines in 1953 when he was 18. He claims that he was never taken

for chibalo labour because he is a footballer. During his mine contracts his football came to his rescue again : he played goalkeeper for a mine team, and worked only a four day week, the rest of the week was set aside for football against teams as far away as Johannesburg. He worked on the Sheba gold mine in the Eastern Transvaal for which he was recruited by ATAS, as this was a mine not affiliated to the Chamber of Mines. Antonio claimed to be equally interested in mine work and farming though he thought mine work had not really brought him any real material benefit: 'I have nothing to show for the years I have spent on the mines'. He works a rather large area of land : four hectares of red soil and four of nhaca. He had also had access to a hectare of machongo but he claimed that he had been dispossessed of this land during an absence on the mines. Antonio, who is a member of the GD is taking this land complaint to the 'people's court' for deliberation and judgement : he was sure he could get the machongo land back 'because everybody knows that this land has always been mine'. He owns 500 cashew trees and some 30 coconut trees, but claims that he does not know how much cashew his wife sold during his absence on his last contract which was in 1976. From that contract he brought back 3 1/2 contos in cash and 50 contos in deferred pay. His bonus certificate had expired because of family problems - the desertion of his second wife - which had prevented his return to the mines within the required period of eight months. If there was a chance of working another contract he would definitely take it, he said.

Middle Peasant Household

Household: Man and wife in their sixties, two teenage sons attending school, three children under ten, one of whom looks after the animals.

Away : Two sons working in Maputo, one for the Veterinary Department and one on a citrus estate; the old mother of the head of the family.

Alfeu worked six mine contracts, the last in 1959. During this period of his life he also worked one period of chibalo on the railways. He paid lobolo from his mine wages and then settled down to farm three machambas, for which he had paid 10 escudos to the cabo and the usual annual tribute, and on which he cultivated maize, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and pumpkin. In 1976 he acquired two additional machambas, both machongo, one allocated by the GD in a neighbouring cell and which is two hours' walking distance. He owns 100 cashew trees and less than a dozen coconut trees, and some citrus. His principal sales are of cashew nuts. From the last harvest he sold only three sacks in three different cells (total proceeds were 870 escudos), but in the past, from better harvests, he bought his first oxen, in 1962, and a plough, in 1965. He now owns two oxen, five cows, two donkeys and ten chickens. He has bred most of his cattle. Agricultural production has been declining in recent times, due both to poor rains and the mafekefeke beetle. He still has cashew nuts to market, but no surplus from the machongo.

He hires out his oxen and plough. He paid taxes regularly and has never been short of food. The two grown sons are working in Maputo Province. The eldest lost his eye in an accident and from the compensation, his father arranged his marriage. This son has worked away from home for three years. The younger son worked a mine contract during 1974, and then found work on a citrus farm in Maputo Province.

Absent Miner/Middla Peasant

Household of 3:

At home: Wife and a nephew aged 10

Away working on
the mines: family head aged 58

Ernesto is 58 years old, and is away working his 18th contract on the mines. He first contracted for mine work in 1930 when he was 21 years old. He is presently working as a 'Boss-boy'. His wife is 14 years younger than him, and works their land during his absences in South Africa. They have no children but are caring for a nephew of ten years old who goes to school. The family began to work this land in 1964; previously they had lived on mission land. They have good machongo land, and enough to leave some to lie fallow for periods of several years at a time. They grow maize, groundnuts, cassava, and produce enough to eat and a surplus of cassava and citrus fruit to sell. They have 150 coconut trees and 160 cashew trees and sold cashew nuts from their last harvest to the amount of 1,300\$00. They own no means of production, but hire plough and oxen for several weeks a year, for which they paid 600 escudos on the last occasion. Neighbours help with the working of the land when Ernesto is absent. Though he does not tell his wife how much he earns, Ernesto makes a point of sending money home to his wife. The round cement house with a thatched roof in which the family lives was built with money from previous contracts. The house has a sleeping and eating area and is plainly furnished with chairs, table and cupboard. During this present contract Ernesto has sent his wife two amounts of 3,000\$00 each. From this sum she has bought cement and hired a man to make the blocks for the new house now under construction. They plan to buy cattle next. Her husband sent 24,000\$00 with a friend returning home, but his wife has not yet received this sum. Her husband plans to end his mine work, but has continued in the hope of being granted a Long Service Award.

Long-term Miner/Middle Peasant

Household : wife of 41
 child of 10
 'future wife'

Alexandre has worked 14 contracts in the mines - the majority for 16 months or more - hence he has been absent almost continually since his first contract in 1964. He also did 3 terms of forced labour earning 100\$00 a month in Maputo. He has 2 cement houses and a very large grain store. With money from the mines he has bought a radio, a sewing machine and a watch. During his last contract he sent home 14,000\$00 and received 18,000\$00 in deferred pay. He learnt to be a tailor in South Africa, but as yet he has not set himself up in this business. This family has 4 machambas in which they use a rotative crop system. This year has been so bad that they have not produced sufficient food to eat and some money has been spent on basic foodstuffs. Normally they could hope to sell 2 sacks of maize and 20 sacks of groundnuts. They also have 500 cashew trees and 150 coconut trees. The family also owns a donkey, 5 goats, 1 pig and 8 chickens. They paid 800\$00 last year to have their land ploughed.

Shopkeeper/Medium Peasant

Household : wife and 7 dependents
 (children and cousins)

Alemão is a shopkeeper in this cell. This shop was originally opened by the latifundário on his estate. Alemão took over the shop in 1975. It has since been nationalised, and he pays a rent of 2000\$00 a month. For 10 years he worked for the latifundario in his maxixe business, and before that spent 3 years each in the army and the police. He was the first African to be left solely in charge of a business in maxixe. He married in 1966 and acquired the land which now surrounds his house for a nominal sum (10\$00) : land at this time was easy to get because many people had fled from the 'labour obligation' area. He considers that his land is insufficient for his family's needs, although he has 200 cashew trees, 150 coconut trees, some citrus, papaya, banana and mango trees. This year he also produced 10 sacks of maize, 7 of mandioc, 17 of groundnuts and a few other vegetables. Drought and disease have reduced the crop and the majority of the produce has been reserved for home consumption. He earned 2700\$00 from the sale of maize and mandioc. He owns chickens, 3 goats, ducks and a pig. He has a car in which he had a serious accident and is now liable to pay 2000\$00 in compensation each month, or else his car will be confiscated to pay the sum. His wife and 2 salaried workers help in his shop. At present, profits from sales just cover wages, rent and the cost of new stock. However, he has just received his licence which means he can sell a wider range of products, e.g. sugar and rice, and profits from these alone will bring in an extra 3500\$00 a month. He built his 5-room alvineria house by having monthly deductions made from his wages for the cost of cement, wood and other materials. His house has a separate

dining room and bathroon, and a barraca (a roofed simple construction) for cooking and storage. Alemão was secretary to the GD of the cell. According to members of the GD circle, he did a good job and mobilisation has been weaker since he left. He is clearly one of the better-off peasants in the area. His future depends on his shop which the administration may convert into a consumer's co-operative.

Artisan/Middle Peasant

Household : 2 wives
1.5-year-old child

Hilario has worked eight mine contracts but has been absent from home for the greater part of the last 25 years. His first mine contract was in 1951, and he completed 8 contracts in the subsequent 12 years. However, after returning from South Africa with a sewing machine, bought with his mine wages, he started work as a tailor in a shop in Morrumbene district. He worked at this for 11 years and has returned home permanently only this year. He is in the process of constructing an alvanaria house. At present he has a cement house, 2 huts and 2 grain storers. He has also bought materials to build a water tank. Money from South Africa has also been used to buy a radio, a record player, 2 watches, a mill and a plough. The latter is rented out for 100\$00 a time. Whilst in South Africa he sent back 7000\$00, as well as clothes and food for the family. He charges approximately 100\$00 for each item of clothing he makes. The family has a donkey, ducks, chickens and seven pigs which are looked after by the women. Hilario inherited his machamba from his father 20 years ago and it is worked by his 2 wives. Last harvest they were able to sell 2 sacks of mandioc flour for 600\$00, and 3 latas of mafurra in exchange for 9 kilos of salt. In good years they would expect to earn 4500\$ from the sale of groundnuts, but this year production is low and only enough for home consumption. He has also 150 cashew trees which gave 9 tins of nuts, all for home consumption. 40 coconut trees were also used to feed the family. 8 young citrus trees have not started producing yet.

Ex-Carpenter/Middle Peasant

Household : 72 year old Head of Household, his 67 year old wife, a married daughter and her three small children.

Ernesto worked six mine contracts in South Africa between 1928 and 1936. From his mine wages he bought three head of cattle and carpentry tools, and after his final contract he concentrated on working his land and on carpentry. He bought a plough and built his first brick house from the proceeds of this combination work. He works 3 ha of land, a ha each of red soil, sandy soil and machongo. He owns 400 cashew

trees, 500 coconut trees and some 40 tangerine trees. In 1974 he sold 12 sacks of cashew and eight sacks of rice; the 1976 harvest yielded eleven sacks of cotton and twelve sacks of coconuts. Earlier harvests were even better as in 1964 when he grew and sold 60 sacks of groundnuts. He owns a plough and uses it to plough the fields of others; also three oxen, three cows, two donkeys, rabbits, turkeys and ducks. The donkeys are used to draw water from the river and to carry the harvest. Ernesto abandoned his carpentry some years ago because his hands became shaky. He prides himself on his success as an agriculturist, and continues to take a great interest in the agriculture of the district. He does not favour the ways in which labour is being reorganised in Homoine. He considers it a mistake to prevent or discourage people from using the practice of matsima because he finds it a better form of labour organisation than the one presently being introduced. He is of the opinion that without the use of matsima food production will drop. This is because those who "really know about agriculture" had depended on matsima in the past. He claimed that these 'agricultores' were being singled out for attack as people who had been favoured by the colonial administrators: "We are described as people with a colonial mentality who had accepted capitalistic methods of production", he said. "People are being told to reject our methods and ideas. It is said that people did not produce enough food in the past because they were exploited and because they worked on an individual basis and that only group work concentrated on collective machambas will ensure sufficient food production for the future. We work in groups now, but many people do not turn up. Today we are forbidden to hire tractors as some of us did in the past. Only communal villages and co-operatives are allowed to hire tractors." Ernesto clearly expresses ideas shared by some of the peasants in the same socio-economic position as himself. He would like not only to be able to hire a tractor, but even to buy one, though he subsequently claimed he did not have sufficient money to make such a purchase. He probably under-estimated the extent of his land holdings. He was nervous during the interview and asked what decisions could be expected to issue from Maputo.

Family of a Builder

Household : Husband, aged 26, two wives, aunt of 60, three children under 10.

The family of Edmundo works three pieces of land, two handed down by an uncle who had previously paid regular annual tribute to the latifundio owner, and the third previously worked by the old aunt. His father had been a capotage of cotton but died when Edmundo was a child. They had begun to work the land when Edmundo returned from Beira where he had worked for four years as a builder and had then returned home to practice this trade. This is his principal source of income, and during the first seven months of 1977 he made about 25 contos from his trade, though the cost of materials

has to be deducted from this amount. The tools of his trade include a metal trowel, a plumb line and a ball of string, which he bought when he worked in Beira. The family's agricultural production is slight: a few bags of manioc and groundnuts, some coconuts, and 4 producing orange trees. During the year 4 pigs were sold to the value of 1400\$00. Using his cash income from his building work, Edmundo bought 5 sacks of maize meal, 3 cans of rice, and 2 sacks of groundnuts, journeying to Vilanculos especially to make these purchases because prices there are lower, though transport for himself and his sacks on the bus ate up a large part of the saving he had made by buying in a lower-price area. The family lives in several grass huts but two brick houses are under construction. Inside the living quarters there are a table and stools only. Edmundo has never worked a mine contract but would sign one now if the route were open. Their land has not produced enough food to eat, and house-building is tailing off now that the mine route is open to so few.

Artisan Household

Household : wife and 5 children

Eugenio is a stone-mason who has never worked in the mines. To learn this trade he went to Inhambane and paid 3000\$00 to start his apprenticeship. He trained for 7 years, receiving no money at all during this period, and having to pay rent and food from the small amounts of money sent to him by his father. After 3 years in Vilanculos, he returned to his place of birth, Chokwe, to marry. After working for one year at 40\$00 a day, he decided to become self-employed. He moved to Buvane 9 years ago. At present he is working with 4 others as a house builder, charging 25,000\$00 for each house. Work is hard to find at the moment and he has been ill and unable to work during the last 4 months.

Eugenio has 3 machambas, which he and his wife both work, along with the children after school hours. The third machamba is 3 km from the house - Eugenio and his wife both get up before dawn to walk to the machamba. Eugenio works there for several hours and then continues walking to Morrumbene where he usually works. They have no machungo land, and because of this they argue that the land they have is insufficient for their needs. This assessment is brought on by the lack of rain and the insect attacks which have reduced crop production this year. He has 140 cashew trees and 124 coconut trees, as well as small numbers of other fruit trees, papaya, citrus, peach, etc. He also grows peanuts and sweet potatoes, maize and manioc, but this year there was no surplus from any of these crops - all were consumed at home. He also has 4 oxen and 1 cow, a pig and some ducks, none of which he has sold this year. He has a plough and a mill - neither of which he rents out for payment. Eugenio's employment as a stonemason brings in about 18 contos a year,

and this money is used to supplement basic foodstuffs, and buy soap, petrol, sugar, etc. Because of his illness he has already borrowed 4 contos to buy food on which to survive. He has to pay back at least 2 contos by December, and he is worried he will not have the money. He has an unfurnished cement house, 2 thatched huts and a kitchen. At present Eugenio and his family are having a very hard time as a result both of his illness and a bad harvest.

Poor Peasant HouseholdsPoor Young Family

Total members of household : 3

At home : Husband, wife,
child of two years old.

Armando lived with his parents until two years ago when his father gave him a piece of land and he received a second piece, the machongo during the 1977 distribution of this land by the GD. He owns no means of production, only a hoe and a catana (large knife), but borrowed his father's plough for his land. His land and his trees (15 coconut and 30 cashew) have barely started producing. They have grown small quantities of maize, groundnuts and a little cassava, but have to be careful, in the case of the groundnuts, to leave seed for the next year's crop. Of seven papaya plants, six are producing fruit. The family owns two chickens and a pig which was bought when it was young for 300\$00, and which has been fed on papaya for lack of anything better. At the time of the interview the wife was husking rice by hand. The diet of this family consists of cassava, maize porridge and pumpkin leaves which they collect from neighbours now that they have eaten their own. When there is no cassava they eat the leaf of the plant. They eat one meal a day at night-time. They never have meat or fish. The wife's mother gave them 2 tins of milho some months ago, but their parents do not have enough themselves to support their children. The family lives in a hut and have a smaller cooking hut, but no food store; in any case there is rarely any food to store. This is a poor and hungry family. There is no money for fuel for the lamp so they go to sleep in the dark. Armando has worked ~~four~~ mine contracts between 1965 and 1976 and is desperate to return to the mines or to find any work to alleviate his poverty. For his first contract he worked as a labourer on Rand Leases Mine earning 17\$50 per day. The next two contracts were on Durban Deep as a 'pipe-boy' then 'store boy', earning 22\$00 per day. His final contract was at Venterspost in 1975/6. As 'pickanin Boss-boy' he received R1.03 rising to R1.52 a day. After this last contract the mine management refused to give any of his group a bonus card because it was said that the Mozambique government would refuse permission for more miners to return. During this last year he has tried to find work on the land of others but succeeded only in earning 50 escudos for two days' work. He borrowed 500\$00 to buy soap, kerosene and salt.

Poor family of Sick Ex-Miner

Household : wife and 3 young children

Agosto is 30 years old and he is now disabled through illness. His first mine contract was in 1968. Then he worked on the railways in Maputo under forced labour, and saved 2500\$00. He was unable to complete his second mine contract because of illness and received only 150\$00 in compensation from the administration in Morrumbene. He believes the rest of the money was stolen 'in transit'. In 1976 he was hired as an assistant to the driver of the local shop. He saved some money from this work which he used to buy cement. He is in the process of building a brick-block house, but since he has become unemployed he is again short of money. This family has 3 machambas, including 1 ha of machongo. Normally maize, cassava and groundnuts are grown. In this bad year only the latter 2 have produced at all; there is no surplus to sell. Agosto also has 47 cashew and 17 coconut trees, as well as a few citrus, banana and mango trees. The trees are too small to produce and the family has been unable to sell any produce at all this year. The livestock they had, have all died. They paid 350\$00 to hire oxen for 1 week. This family is dependent on help from relatives to buy kerosene, sugar, soap, salt, etc. In bad months the family lives in hunger.

Poor Old Couple - Retired Miner

Finiosse inherited the land he now works from his father. Five years ago he acquired a small piece of machongo land. As a young boy he worked as a cattle herder for his father, and later he was employed on Rocha's latifundio - being paid 25\$00 a month for full-time work. In 1948, he had his first contract on the mines, and after his second contract he was forced to work in Vila Pery in the forestry section of the administration. Forced labour meant that all men between the ages of 15 and 65 were rounded up at night and taken away to work in different areas. Of the conto they earned in the 11 month period, one-third had to be used to pay tax. Returning home, he was then forced to work 3 days a week on Rocha's latifundio, this time earning 50\$00 for 30 days work. Over the equivalent period, women received 50 cm of cloth. After 3 months of this work, Finiosse had still not been paid, so he fled to South Africa to earn money for overdue taxes. He completed 7 more contracts, until 1964 when he was 52, and stopped working in the mines. New laws around this time enforced stricter control over the production of certain crops. This meant Rocha employed fewer people, to produce fewer but higher quality crops. Finiosse was therefore free to remain in the area without being obliged to work for Rocha. The land he owns is sufficient for the needs of himself and his wife in good years. He has between 200 and 300 cashew trees; the surplus produce from these (3 sacks in the last harvest) are sold to buy other foods. He also sells bananas, earning a total of 600\$00 in the last harvest. He has some coconut and citrus trees, and

grows maize, groundnuts and rice. He has no livestock, except one pig, and no tools or machines except a knife and an axe. Last year he paid 100\$00 to have his land ploughed. Fourteen years of mine labour has not provided this couple with security in their old age, in trees or land to ensure sufficient income.

An Old Ex-Miner Living Alone

Notico is 80 years old and has a long history of both mine labour and forced labour. He worked 9 contracts on the mines for a total of 16 years. He has also served 9 terms of forced labour around Maxixe for between 3 and 6 months each time. Payment was minimal (60\$00). Notico lives in a single hut. The money he earned in South Africa was used to pay tax and to lobolo 3 wives, and also to buy basic foodstuffs. He acquired no material goods except a hoe, and used to make a small amount of money as a carpenter making window frames. He has no livestock at all and has 3 small machambas near his house. This year's harvest produced 2 sacks of cassava and 2 of groundnuts which is sufficient for subsistence. He sold one sack of peanuts for 360\$00 and one of cassava for 240\$00, and this is his sole income. In good years he will also hope to sell cashew nuts and greater quantities of groundnuts and cassava. This year his cashew trees were diseased and he collected only 1 sack of nuts. He also has 2 coconut trees. Money from the harvest is used to buy supplementary food. Notico is living on the edge of survival and has no reserves on which to fall back. He has at least 2 sons who never help him in any way.- but are prepared to help consume his crops in good years. The GD was contracted to see if the sons could be made to help their father in some way.

Widow of a Miner

Woman and 3 children

Saulina was married to a miner who died in South Africa in 1974. She received 10,000\$00 in compensation, which has already all been spent. The family has 2 machambas which they acquired 4 years ago. They have 13 cashew, 13 coconut, 11 papaya and 3 tangerines trees. Other trees have not produced yet. This harvest has only provided enough for home consumption and re-seeding. She has only 3 chickens and a hoe. The family live in 2 huts in extremely bad conditions. When her husband was alive they managed on a combined income from mine work and the machamba. Now she must rely on relatives, especially her brother-in-law to help her. Since her husband died machamba production has decreased.

Two Women Living Alone

Salemina is 43 and lives with her aged mother in a single hut. The husbands of both these women worked in South Africa and they are both divorced. The father died 2 years ago. The older woman has been ill recently and this has prevented her daughter from going to work on a large farm in Maxixe. Last year Salemina earned 300\$00 and her board for a month's work; she worked a total of 5 months. She did not want to do this badly paid work but it was her only means of obtaining sufficient money to survive. The large machamba is owned by a Mozambican who divides it into sections for cultivation by individual workers. From this year's harvest the two women sold only one tin of cashew for 45\$00. In a normal year they would hope for five times this quantity from their 20 trees. They could also hope, in a good year, to produce 2 sacks each of maize and groundnuts. This year there was barely enough for subsistence. Their 2 small machambas were both given to them 4 years ago by neighbours, and the majority of land is given over to cassava production for their food. They have no livestock and only a hoe to work the ground. Last year in December they received 1500\$00 from Salemina's work but this was all used to pay off debts. Any cash they have is used to buy food, clothing and blankets. They used to make baskets but now they have no material. They are extremely poor, with very little possibility of changing that situation. Salemina cannot work whilst her mother is sick - this means there is less food than ever and no money for medicine.