

Rural-Urban Migration and Dynamic Change in Migrants' Social Network in the Destination: A Case of Mozambique Island

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I. English Summary

The social relationships of urban migrants from the surrounding areas have been studied in various areas from economics to anthropology. What have been discussed in these studies are what kind of social network people have in the cities, and how they act (e.g. with whom they help each other) within it. For example, in the context of studies on African cities, it has been described that male immigrants who left their family in their village construct and expand a network of countrymen to tackle possible risks collectively as a group, by re-interpreting their relative or clan ties of their origin [Matsuda 1996].

However, as Matsuda points out in his later study, currently the mode of migration has changed [Matsuda 2003], and their urban social relationships are not necessarily based on the structural and normative ties such as those of relatives or clans. This focus on *the normative* and *the structural* can be assumed as works to identify *certainty* in the people's social ties. Das and Randeria discusses that the urban poor "live and act in multiple heterogeneous temporalities, individually and together [Das and Randeria 2015: S11]," and they make a lot of effort in "crafting or holding on to fragile relationships over time [Das and Randeria 2015: S11]." Furthermore, Williams mentions that "(literature) often lacks detailed descriptions of networks' day to day maneuver and movements [Williams 2015: S31]", which is a volatile practice of the people who knit and cutoff their social networks on a daily basis. In other words, their urban social relationships often contain *uncertain* sphere. The author has conducted surveys in a small island called Mozambique Island, focusing on women's food transaction network, and it has been pointed out that their relationships with non-relatives can often be temporal; whom they exchange foods changes with a certain frequency.

Therefore, objectives of this study are, firstly, to describe how people daily experience changes or temporalities of their social relationships in Mozambique Island, which consists of immigrants and their descendants. This will enable us to picture how people live in uncertainties of urban social relationships. Secondly, it will be clarified how the social context, in which the island is embedded, is affecting the uncertainties of peoples' social relationships, such as the current socio-economic situation which derives from its unique history, as well as the volatility of people's living. Thirdly, with the basis of these temporalities/ uncertainties of their relationships in a short term, how their relationships will change in a long term will be examined, as generations pass after migration. This study continues to mainly focus on women's social relationships of food transaction.

The surveys were done targeting *bairro* (neighborhood) A, where the author has implemented her study since 2017. Among the above mentioned three objectives, the first objective will be attained with qualitative data which was/ will be obtained in the previous/ future trip. In this trip funded by GLTP, a quantitative survey was done using a questionnaire, in order to attain a part of the second objective as well as the third objective. Questionnaire interview was done for 169 women, who accepted this survey, among the whole 223 female population of the *bairro* A, who are adult or have married at least once. Data collected are: demographic information of the households, basic attributes of the women, and social network data of women on their neighborhood relations, food transaction, and secret sharing. In addition, interviews with intellectuals and government officials, as well as literature collection were conducted in order to collect narratives and documents on the history of the island, as another partial effort to attain the second objective.

As per the second research objective, it was preliminary supposed that uncertainty of the production of fishery industry and the advanced division of labor, as well as the geographical narrowness of intimate associations with non-relatives, which can be attributed to the historically-constructed spatial patterns of the island, are the part of the causes of the temporality of their food transaction relations. On the third objective, quantitative data analysis is to be proceeded, in order to examine the long-term change in people's food exchange network across the generations.

In relations with the SDGs, this study can contribute to attaining the following goals: Goal 1- No Poverty by clarifying the cause of the daily fluctuations of people's livelihoods and proposing a solution to tackle with it; Goal 5- Gender Equality, by describing the roles and the importance of women in the households in preparing and obtaining foods through their social networks in the time of difficulties; and Goal 11- Sustainable Cities and Communities, by providing detailed information on housings of the people in the island as well as on people's migration behavior to the island.

日本語要約

タイトル：都市への移動と移動先での社会ネットワーク—モザンビーク島を事例に

農村などの周辺地域から経済機会や都市的生活を求めて都市へ移動する人々の都市における社会関係は、経済学や社会学、人類学など様々な分野で研究が行われてきた。これらの研究においては、人々が都市においてどのような社会ネットワークを持ち、その中でどのように行為するのか、あるいは互助を行うのが描かれてきた。たとえばアフリカ都市研究では、農村から単身で出稼ぎをしてきた男性らが、出身地の親族関係やクラン（疑似親族）関係を都市において再解釈することで同郷者の集団を拡大させながら、濃密な互助を行う様子が描かれた[松田 1996]など。

しかし、松田もその後の研究で指摘するとおり人々の都市への移動の形態は変化し[松田 2003]、必ずしも今日のアフリカ都市において人々の社会関係はクランや親族関係などの構造的／規範的なものが大きな基盤となっているとは言い難い。これらの構造的／規範的なものへの着目は、途上国社会の人々が問題に対応する際の処方箋に構造や規範などの「確実性」を見出す営みであったと言える。Das と Randeria は、「都市貧困層」とよばれる人々は個人・集団単位で多重的で不均一な一時性に生き、そこで行為しており、またもろい関係性を創造し維持することに多大な努力をつぎ込んでいるとする[Das and Randeria 2015: S11]。また Williams は、既存研究は、人々のネットワークの日々の戦略の変化の詳細な記述を欠いてきたと述べる[Williams 2015: S31]。すなわち、人々が都市において構築する社会関係は、時に「不確実な」一面を持つのである。これまでの筆者の調査はモザンビーク島という狭小な島の女性間の食の授受の社会関係に着目してきたが、特に近所付き合いと結びついた非親族との食の授受については、その相手が可変的であることが指摘された。

よって、筆者の研究全体の目的は、第一に、移入者とその子孫らで構成されるモザンビーク島において、人々が日々どのように社会関係の変化を経験するのかを記述することである。これにより、人々がいかに都市の社会関係の不確実性を生きているのかを描くことを目指す。第二に、その固有の歴史故の今日の社会経済状況や人々の生計の不安定さなどモザンビーク島という都市が置かれる環境が、彼らの社会関係の不確実性にどのように影響しているのかを明らかにすることである。第三に、上記のような短期的な変化を背景にして、移入からの世代を経て人々の社会関係が長期的にはどのような変化を経るのかを明らかにすることである。本研究ではこれまでに引き続き、同島において女性が行う食の授受の社会関係に着目する。

調査は、筆者が 2017 年より継続的に調査を行っている島内の A 地区を対象として行った。上記の目的のうち第一点目の目的については、以前の渡航で行った質的調査の結果をもとに別途分析を行う。貴プログラムより助成を受けた本渡航では、主に第二点目の一部および三点目の目的達成のため質問票を用いた量的調査を行った。調査では、A 地区内全ての成人女性もしくは婚姻歴のある女性 223 人のうち、調査を受け入れてくれた 169 人を対象に質問票調査を行った。収集したデータは、各女性の世帯およびその構成員に関する基本情報、各女性の基本情報、および各女性の社会関係に関するデータ（誰と①近所付き合い、②食の授受、③秘密の共有をするか）である。データの分析はこれから行う予定だが、第二の目的の達成のために人々の職業や収入頻度、金額の記述統計を示し、また世帯収入金額や頻度が女性の食の授受の社会関係へ与える影響を、重回帰分析を用いて求める。そして第三の目的の達成のため、世代間での社会関係の変化の差をそれぞれの世代の女性の属性を説明変数としてパス解析などで求める。

第二の目的についての予備的な結論としては、漁業生産における不確実性、島内における分業の進行、島の独自の経緯に基づく空間構造に起因する非親族との親密な交際の地理的範囲の狭さが、人々の間の

食の授受の不確実性／一時性の要因の一部であると考えられる。第三の目的については、人々の社会関係の世代を超えた変化を検討するため、今後収集したデータの分析を行う。

SDGs との関連については、本研究は、目標 1「貧困をなくそう」、目標 5「ジェンダー平等を実現しよう」、目標 11「住み続けられるまちづくりを」に貢献すると考える。目標 1 については、人々の生計の日々の変動の要因とそれへの対処策を示すことで、目標 5 に対しては、家庭内での食事の調理、および生計が困難になった際彼女たちの社会関係を通じて食事を獲得するという女性の役割とその重要性の記述をつうじて、そして目標 11 については、島の人々の居住と周辺地域から島への移動に関する詳細な情報を提示することによって、貢献が可能であると考ええる。

II. Research Activity

1. Introduction

(1) Objectives of this Study and the Research Activity Funded by GLTP

As written in the above summary, the objectives of this study are as follows. Firstly, to describe how people daily experience changes or temporalities of their social relationships in Mozambique Island, which consists of immigrants and their descendants. Secondly, it will be clarified how the social context, in which the island is embedded, is affecting the uncertainties of peoples' social relationships, such as the current socio-economic situation which derives from its unique history, as well as the volatility of people's living. Thirdly, with the basis of these temporalities/ uncertainties of their relationships in a short term, how their relationships will change in a long term will be examined, as generations pass after migration. *In this trip funded by GLTP*, quantitative survey was done using a questionnaire, in order to attain a part of the second objective as well as the third objective. In addition, interviews with intellectuals and government officials, as well as literature collection were conducted in order to collect narratives and documents on the history of the island, as another partial effort to attain the second objective.

In order to partially attain the second objective, questions to illustrate the stability and volatility of the people's living was included in the questionnaire, such as their occupation, amount of earning and its frequency of each woman and her husband if married, house ownership, number of moves of houses, etc. To attain the third objective, questions on women's social network were included in the questionnaire, with a purpose of comparing its characteristics between the first-generation immigrants (those who immigrated from outside), second generation immigrants (those whose parents have immigrated from outside), and immigrants with more than three generations.

(2) Role of Food Transaction in Mozambique Island

The role of food transaction among people in the island is not critical but has a certain importance. The livelihood of the people is not as that of who suffer from poverty: normally people eat at least twice a day, although of course there are some days in a month when they have difficulties to find money to buy foods. This volatility of people's livelihood can be attributed to the "uncertain" economy of the island which greatly depends on fishery industry, whose profit significantly varies day to day depending on the weather as well as between seasons. This volatility of livelihood can be one of the motivations of the food transaction among women, which can occur between one who relatively have and another who does not have at all on that day.

Mode of food transaction takes many ways such as mutual exchange or one-directed offer of cooked foods on plates which is practiced regularly between specific pair of women, or flow of cooked or raw food based on asking when people do not have money to find things to eat, although it is often times not reasonable to distinguish these two since this regular mutual exchange of food and food transfer based on asking can happen contiguously within the same pair depending on their condition of that day. Not all the food transactions are based on immediate needs; there are exchanges on plates practiced even from days when they have money, which might have intentions to create or maintain their social relationships with

friends or neighbors, while people do ask foods due to its scarcity, which might derive from the volatility of the island economy, whose impact can easily reach to each household. Yet, this speculation on people's motivations on food transaction still needs to be examined with further surveys.

(3) Who do People Transact Foods with?

Women of the island practice their food transaction with people of various attributes, from relatives to neighbors. From the qualitative observation by the author, it can be presumed that while relatives and those who are categorized as "close friend" play important roles in the food transaction based on asking, among those who they exchange cooked foods daily, a large extent was occupied by neighbors who are often times non-relatives, because of their advantage of geographical proximity in exchanging cooked foods on plates.

Food transaction can be seen not only with those who live in other houses, but also with those who live together in the same house. Due to the scarcity of houses in the island, in many cases a house is shared with several families among relatives, or with non-relatives who rent the house. According to the previous surveys of the author, it can be tentatively concluded that when they live together in a house with wife's matrilineal families (e.g. a couple with wife's parents/ sisters and their husband, etc.), they tend to share their budget by putting their money together before buying foods or by taking turns for buying and preparing foods for every household member, sharing one same oven and pan. Although the same manners were also seen among wife's patrilineal families or husbands' families who live together, especially with husbands' family and non-relatives, not many people share their household budget: they have their each oven and pans, cook separately, and share their cooked foods on a plate when finish cooking.

(4) Tentative Results from the Previous Surveys

According to the previous qualitative surveys conducted by the author, it was found that people's food transaction relations between non-relatives can often be temporal; whom they exchange foods changes with a certain frequency, while there are other stable reciprocal relationships between relatives or close friends.

Additionally, difference in food transaction network between those who migrated from outside and those born in the island can be suspected: based on the author's previous survey with sample of 25 families, there was a tendency that those who were born in the island have more difficulties in asking for food while they do not have than those who immigrated from outside. Further analysis using quantitative data is required to examine the existence of this difference and its cause.

2. Study Area

(1) General Characteristics

Survey field of this research is a small island called Mozambique Island, located in the coastal area of northern Mozambique. The island stretches from the south to the north with its length of about 2.9km, and its maximum width from the east to the west is about 540m. The architectural or spatial structure of the

island has two distinct characteristics separated into the north and south: the northern half of the island has been the administrative area as well as residential areas for European populations since the colonial era, while the southern half has been areas for the *Makhuas*, which is the dominant ethnic group of the northern Mozambique. The population density of the southern half of the island is quite high with approximately 33,600/ km², and hundreds of houses locate themselves very close with each other as seen in the map.

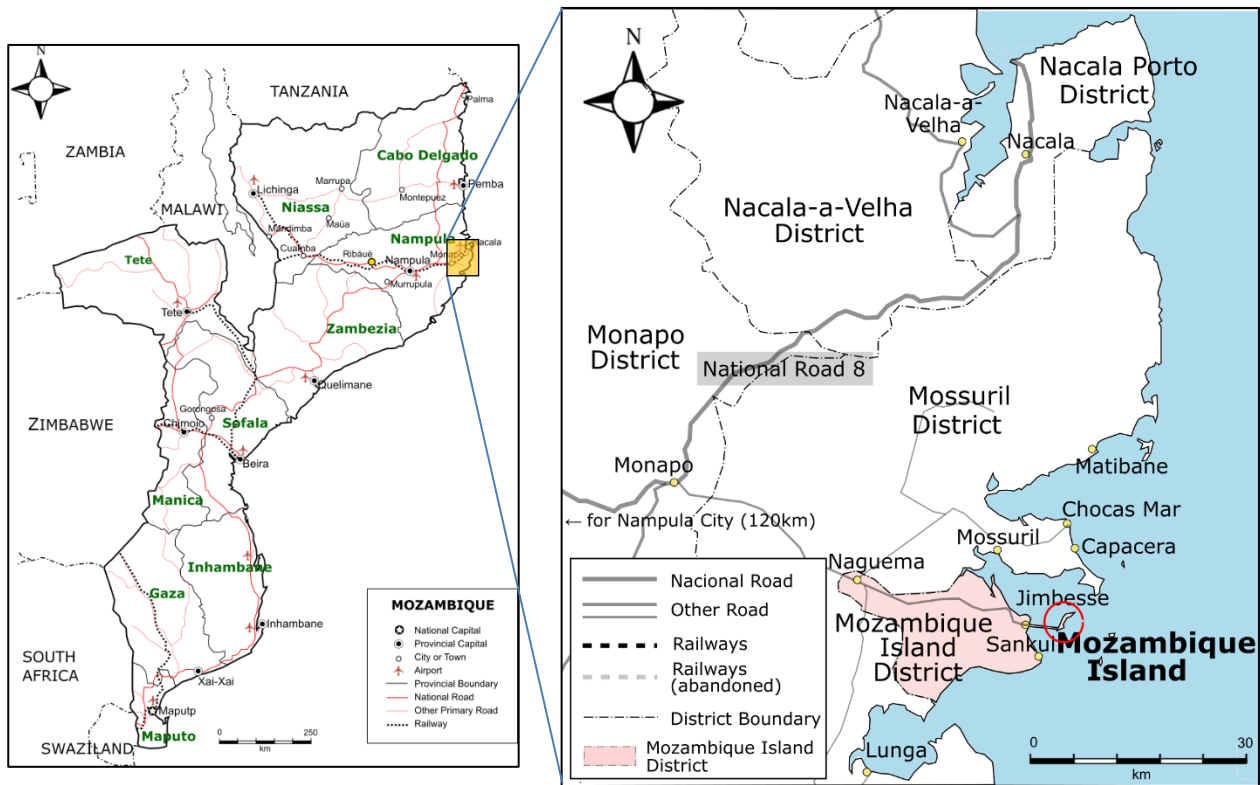


Figure 1 Map of Mozambique and Mozambique Island

The island has its unique history from the ancient times, having been a base of trade and anchorage in the Indian Ocean trade, and the island once set as the capital of the Portuguese East Africa due to its importance in territorial defense. However, after the abolishment of the slave trade and opening of Suez Canal, the island lost its importance and the capital was moved to former Lourenço Marques (current Maputo) located in the south of the country. Still, the livelihood of people in the island has been well off until the end of the colonial era in 1975. After the independence and successive civil war, their living became difficult with scarce employment and higher commodity price.



Pictures of the Northern Half of the Island



Pictures of the Southern Half of the Island

The large majority of the Mozambican populations of the island are *Makhua*, and the language spoken in the island is called *Makhua Nahara*, with which the island-born people identify themselves to distinguish from the migrants. Northern Mozambique is dominated by the matrilineal kin system, and sharing of houses and budget among the matrilineal relatives were frequently seen in the island as well, though the patriliney is said to have importance in the island due to the prevalence of Islam. Almost all local populations except for teachers or government officials who are transferred from inland areas are Muslims.

This island consists of people immigrated from surrounding areas as well as descendants of the immigrants. Large-scale chain migration, which has been a dominant mode of rural-urban migration in

Africa, is not seen in this island especially among the women who are the main actors of food transactions, neither the act of mutual help within the large group of people of the same origin.



Source: Gabinete de Conservação de Ilha de Moçambique (edited by the author)

Figure 2 Map of Mozambique Island

(2) Survey Site

The target of this study is situated in the southern half of the island. The southern half is divided into 7 *bairros*, which is the smallest administrative division in the urban area. *Bairro A* was selected as the target for this quantitative survey, where the author has conducted her qualitative survey since 2017. According to the data collected, there are 126 houses as of May 2019, and 1,274 population as of 2018.

3. Methodology

The survey was conducted in the following manners. During the survey period, the author's supervisor in the host University in Maputo, Dr. Carlos Arnaldo, kindly monitored the author's activities via email, and provided technical comments and advices on survey methodology via Skype.

(1) Quantitative Survey

a) Sampling

All the female population who are adult or have been married at least once was targeted in this survey. The result of this quantitative survey is to be generalized to the whole area of the southern half of the island,

assuming that this *bairro* basically has the same characteristics with other *bairros*. Women who are under 21 and who never have been married, as well as university students who moved to the island from other areas to study, regardless of their marital status, are not targeted in this study. Size of the population as well as the survey sample is described as below.

Table 1 Population and Sample Size, Collection Rate of Questionnaire

Total population ² of the target female in <i>bairro A</i>	223
Females who accepted the survey	169
Females who did not accepted the survey/ whose answers were rejected	54
Questionnaire collection rate	75.8%

b) Questionnaire

List of questions included in the questionnaire prepared by the author is as follows.

Table 2 List of Questions in the Questionnaire

<p><u>Basic information of the households and demographic information on household members</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> House ownership and its succession, marital status, age, educational level, occupation/ means of livelihood, income amount and its frequency, etc.
<p><u>Basic attributes of targeted women</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Place of origin, migration history, motivation of coming to the island (for immigrants only), relationships with countrymen (for immigrants only), number of relatives in the island, extent of being concerned with gossips, divorce history, moving history in the island, etc.
<p><u>Social network of the targeted women</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Name of persons applicable to each of <u>the following questions</u>, and attributes of each person such as their origin, occupation/ means of livelihood, relationship with this person, frequency of contact, years since they met, etc. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Who visit your house regularly at least twice a week? ➤ To whom do you offer your cooked food with or whom do you exchange cooked food on a plate on a regular basis? ➤ To whom can you ask for cooked/ raw food when you do not have things to eat? ➤ With whom you can confess your secrets?

The questionnaire was tested with the author’s host family in order to verify if questions make sense to the respondents, if appropriate wording is used to stand for the ideas or customs in the local context, or if more options are necessary in the choice list. Since it was difficult to collect detailed data on their social network from the elderly women, instead of asking these questions, inquiries were made on the living, occupations and their social relationships in the colonial era.

c) Implementation of Quantitative Survey

After the questionnaire preparation and testing, a quantitative survey was conducted continuously from February 21st to April 23rd, with breaks of one or two days a week. The author visited all the targeted women in person with the survey assistant who has helped the author since 2017. About 3 to 4 interviews were done during the morning from 7:30 a.m. to around 13:00 p.m. on weekdays, and 5-6 interviews were done on Saturdays from 7:30 a.m. to around 15:00 p.m. Data input was done in the afternoons, and the author re-visit the respondents if there is any missing information.

² This number is based on the survey of the author.

(2) Interviews with Intellectuals/ Government Officials

Following interviews were done with intellectuals or the government officials of the island.

Table 3 List of Interviews

Date	Name	Position	Subject
April 21, 2019	Mr. Hafis Jamú	President of Associação da Ilha de Moçambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On social associations in the Mozambique Island
April 23, 2019	Mr. Bruno Musti	Former professor in Dar es Salaam University/ former consultant for international aid organization in rural development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the history of the Mozambique Island
April 24, 2019	Mr. Outabio Francisco Xavier Uaite	Head of Department of Planning and Local Development, Mozambique Island District	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On previous projects to relocate population from the island to the continent On the result of the latest census
April 29, 2019	Mr. Outabio Francisco Xavier Uaite	Head of Department of Planning and Local Development, Mozambique Island District	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To report the activities done in this trip and the tentative findings of my survey To propose an informal saving group to prepare for the downside of the island economy
April 30, 2019	Mr. Hafis Jamú	President of Associação da Ilha de Moçambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On social associations in the Mozambique Island On the history of the Mozambique Island To report the activities done in this trip and the tentative findings of my survey
May 2, 2019	Ms. Conceição	Former teacher in primary school in the colonial era	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On the education system in the colonial era.
May 3, 2019	Mr. ———	Secretary of the targeted <i>bairro</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To report the activities done in this trip and the tentative findings of my survey To propose an informal saving group to prepare for the downside of the island economy
May 6, 2019	Dr. Akiyo Aminaka	Researcher in Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On further research plan On details of the historical documents saved in archives of Mozambique and Portugal
May 7, 2019	Dr. Carlos Fernandes	Researcher in the Center of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To report the activities done in this trip and the tentative findings of my survey

(3) Literature/ Data Collection

The author visited 1) library of Faculty of Social Science, Lúrio University located in the island, and 2) library of Museum of Mozambique Island to collect the following documents on the history of Mozambique Island.

Table 4 List of Literatures Collected in Libraries

Date	Name	Position
April 16	Library of Faculty of Social Science, Lúrio University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ricardo Barradas [2018] <i>Ilha de Moçambique: estória da sua história</i>, O Matolense, Maputo. Eugénia Rodrigues, Aurélio Rocha and Augusto Nascimento [2009] <i>Ilha de Moçambique</i>, Alcance Editores, Maputo.
April 22, 28, 30 May 2-3, 2019	Library of Museum of Mozambique Island	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> João Paulo Borges Coelho, ed. [1988] <i>Arquivo: Boletim do Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique--- Ilha de Moçambique nos 170 anos da fundação da primeira cidade de Moçambique</i>, Maputo.

4. Research Findings

The quantitative data is to be analyzed and therefore the result of the analysis cannot be shown in this chapter. However, preliminary explanations will be shown here which can contribute to attaining the second objective, based on narratives collected in the course of questionnaire surveys as well as descriptive statistics of the collected data.

(1) The Impact of Fishery Industry on the Island’s Economy

In the course of the survey, the author came across some scenes where people mentioned the importance of the fishery industry for their livelihoods. For example, when the author asked to greet a respondent who sells mobile phones and credits in a small kiosk, “How is your business these days?”, she replied to me “Not good, since the weather is bad, no one buys the mobile credit. (March 17, 2019)”

As mentioned above, the economy of the island which greatly depends on fishery industry, which has “uncertain” characteristics, with its profit that varies significantly day to day depending on the weather as well as between seasons. As seen in the narrative above, this volatility of the fishery industry reaches quite easily until the fringe of the economy of this small island; when the tide is high and fishermen cannot go out to the sea for several days, the cash stops circulating in the island and many people find it difficult to have the money to buy foods as well as to deposit to their credit and saving associations.

(2) Advanced Division of Labor

Data obtained in the quantitative survey shows that there is a great variety in the means of livelihood or occupations of people especially among men; though fishery is the main industry in the island, those who are engaged in the fishery industry is limited to 25% of the male population, and there are many other various activities practiced by men. This structure of employment or livelihood can be classified as urban, in that division of labor is established and functioning.

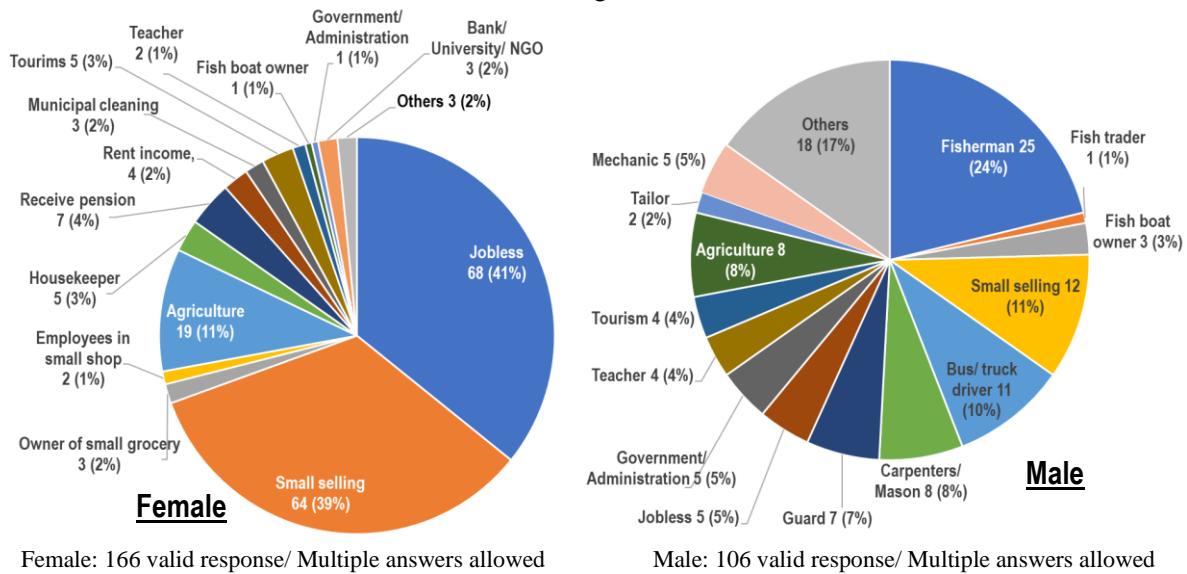


Figure 3 Means of Livelihood

Data shown above can conduce that frequency of income varies greatly person to person; some receive stable salary monthly while others receive day to day though its frequency and amount cannot be known.

(3) Narrow Network of Sphere of Intimate Association with Non-Relatives

It was found out that the geographical area of their intimate daily association between non-relatives is narrowly confined: though it is difficult to show this as a data, many of who visit one's house or whom they exchange their food with live next to or one or two house-far from the respondent's house. In addition, narratives were collected from two women which show that this densely populated small community consists of many small realms of intimate daily association, and sometimes people do not know well about others who live four houses away where you can reach in only 30 seconds on foot.

5. Discussion

Here discussion will be made based on the above findings on the second research objective: How social context of this island such as its unique history or volatility of livelihood affects the uncertainty of people's social relationships?

(1) The Impact of the Fishery on the People's Livelihood and the Advanced Division of Labor

From the tentative findings above, it can be indicated that, although the impact of fishery industry reaches to the fringe of the island economy, extent of its impact can vary from family to family due to this division of labor where the amount of income, its frequency, or its uncertainty in other words, differ between people. This can be the source of food transaction between households which have and which do not have. However, at the same time, this uncertainty of income between households can also be the cause of the temporality of this food transaction relationships: since when one cannot give back, this relationship can end.

(2) Narrow Network of Sphere of Intimate Association with Non-Relatives

This geographical narrowness of the circles of intimate association may also be causing the temporality of the reciprocal relationships between non-relatives, since the geographical closeness itself as well as high frequency of meeting can create tensions among people, although further survey and analysis are needed to conclude this hypothesis. Furthermore, this narrowness is partly due to the spatial pattern of this island, which is attributed to the island's unique history of its construction.

6. Conclusion

As per the second research objective, it was preliminary supposed that uncertainty of the production of fishery industry and the advanced division of labor, as well as the geographical narrowness of intimate associations with non-relatives, which can be attributed to the historically-constructed spatial patterns of the island, are the part of the causes of the temporality of their food transaction relations. On the third objective, since the quantitative analysis is not completed yet, the conclusion cannot be presented here.

Quantitative data analysis is to be proceeded, in order to examine the long-term change in people's food exchange network across the generations.

In relations with the SDGs, this study can contribute to attaining the following goals: Goal 1- No Poverty, Goal 5- Gender Equality and Goal 11- Sustainable Cities and Communities. In the followings, it will be explained how this study contributes to the related Targets of each Goal.

(1) Target 1.5

By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters

People in Mozambique Island do not live in absolute poverty, though they find a few days in several weeks when they do not have enough money to buy food. One of the causes of this uncertainty or volatility of livelihood can be attributed to the dependency of the island economy on the fishery industry, which is vulnerable to the seasonal or daily weather changes.

Considering this existing situation, the author proposed to the community leader as well as to the government official in the planning department an informal saving system for the people to get prepared especially for the seasons of the bad catch of fishes. People of the island are already accustomed to their informal microfinancing or saving group called *xitique* or *popança*. Utilizing these existing customs, it will be possible to build a saving system from which people can receive their accumulated money when the catch of fish is small and the economy gets stagnant, so that people can receive cash enough to buy things to eat, and the economy can get revived by the economic activities of the people who are not engaged in fishery industry.

(2) Target 5.4

Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate

It can be said that women's roles in preparing foods or obtaining foods through their social ties are not evaluated in households in the target society. This study, however, will not point out "the problem" or propose "solutions" on the domestic gender issues in Mozambique Island. Instead, this study indirectly contributes to the Goal 5 by describing in detail the domestic role of women in preparing and obtaining foods through their social ties and showing its importance in the target society.

(3) Target 11.1

By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums

Target 11.4

Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage

The southern half of Mozambique Island is densely populated and has issues of scarcity in housing or living space. In addition, the area is frequently flooded with the rainwater which can mix with sewage

water reserved underground, causing a rise of malaria due to the increase of mosquitos and other bacterial infections. As the island is designated as UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage Site, tackling with these above issues will also enable a residents' sustainable living in the protected heritage site.

This study cannot propose direct solutions to these issues. However, it can provide information in detail on, firstly, the house ownership status in the island, secondly, with whom people live together and with how many families, and thirdly, the unstable process of people's frequent moving of the houses inside the island. Those kinds of information can be referred to as a resource knowledge in implementing projects to mitigate population or housing densities and to introduce a sanitary system in the island, which will enable a residents' sustainable living in the protected World Heritage Site at the same time.

Target 11.a

Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, per-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning
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Another issue concerning the Goal 11 is that, in terms of links between cities and rural areas, studies on rural-urban migrations in northern Mozambique has not adequately accumulated compared with the southern part of the country, which shall be necessary for formulating regional development plans. In the interviews conducted, questions are asked on people's origins, their migration histories and why they moved to the island. Although the dominant population flow in northern Mozambique is not toward the island but those to other larger cities of Nampula or Nacala, through analyzing these data, this study will show the dynamic mechanism of local population movements and circulations around the Mozambique Island, and describe the relationships between surrounding rural areas, Mozambique Island as a destination of population, and other larger cities which absorb the outflow of the island populations in turn. Those kinds of information can contribute in formulating regional development plans.

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to thank all the island people I met in this survey, especially for those 169 women who accepted my interview, and my survey assistant. I do appreciate the support from Dr. Carlos Arnaldo and Dra. Ilda Jotamo in Center of African Studies in Eduardo Mondlane University, for your inputs on my research as well as the logistic support for accepting me as a visiting surveyor. Finally, I am very thankful for the supports from GLTP and program officials for the financial as well as logistic assistance, which enabled a smooth implementation of my work in Mozambique.

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III. Reflection to the GLTP in Africa

I applied for the GLTP with a purpose of conducting a long-term field work, which is an essential requisite to obtain detailed local knowledge on people's behaviors and attitudes on migration, food exchange and other types of associations among them. Although my survey period was finally set for 3 months due to certain limitations in the schedule, the GLTP is a program which provides an opportunity for the long-term survey, enabling to understand people's lives from their perspectives.



In order to conduct the quantitative survey, I visited all the houses of the selected *bairro* alone with my survey assistant. I wake up at 5:50, prepared myself, got a small breakfast with bread and sweetened tea, and started my work at 7:30. Since my survey assistant was a teacher and had his classes in the afternoon, we continued our work until 12:00 or 13:00. Though it depended greatly on the attributes of each woman how long an interview takes, in each morning we managed to conduct interviews with 3 or 4 women on weekdays, and 5-6 women on weekends.

The author has an experience to conduct a quantitative survey in Cambodia, and at that time I employed some interviewers. However, this time in Mozambique, I decided to conduct all the interviews by myself, in order to have opportunities to do un-structured interviews. Although it was a tough experience to conduct interviews with 169 women in person, what touched me a lot was that, when I was inputting the data in the excel file after the interviews of the day, I could recall the respondents' faces or voices, and even those small chats which were totally irrelevant to the interview. This was an impressive experience for me that I could see the person behind the data or numbers.

I did face difficulties in this trip as well; I experienced a sort of separation from my host family where I have stayed since my first trip in 2017. I have been feeling bothered by one of their behavior for a long time, though I didn't have the courage to confess it to them for fear of losing this family relationship. However, through the survey, I learned that sometimes people cut off their relationships with friends or neighbors when they confront troubles between them, and this actually is one of the reasons of the temporality of their relationships. Therefore, I decided to follow the people's ways of changing the relationships, ending up having an argument with my host family. I did not forgive them for what they did to me, and they claimed they did not do something wrong to me, so we still have not reached any compromise. It seems that people's way to get through this situation is just to let things go, without locating or determining what was the cause and who is to blame, as they sometimes phrase their past disputes as "*já passou* (it's gone already)." I still don't know what will happen next time I visit the island, but I hope this will be a step to understand how people negotiate their relationships between others.



Daily Lives in the *Bairro*

Since field survey is a work of mutual act with people from the different cultural or economic background, there would be a lot of difficulties that we may face, and sometimes it even creates disputes or tensions between the surveyor and the local people. Once we get into the field, we cannot avoid ourselves being involved in their living, or sometimes in their interests. However, people in the field are also those who got involved in our survey. When we are struggling with our own situations, the people in the field are also involved and trying to deal with the situations. This recognition might be the ways to encourage our understanding on them and ease the situation.



Xima with coconuts curry of shellfish



Rice with *caril tokosado*, soup cooked with fish, green mango, tomato, garlic, onion, and chicken bouillon



Xima, fried fish and salad



Rice with bean curry cooked with a variety of spices

Foods in Mozambique Island