

GETTING READY FOR LIFE
Life Strategies of Town Youth in
Mozambique and Tanzania

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADPP	Ajuda de Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo (Humana People to People Movement)
AMODER	Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento Rural (Mozambican Association for Rural Development)
CNJ	Conselho Nacional da Juventude (The National Youth Council)
COBET	Complementary Basic Education for Tanzania
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (The Independence Party)
CUF	Civic United Front
DDE	Direção Distrital da Educação (District Education Office)
DEO	District Education Office
Frelimo	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambican Liberation Front)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (Mozambique)
Mt	Meticais (The currency in Mozambique)
MINED	Ministério da Educação (Mozambique) (Ministry of Education)
MJD	Ministério da Juventude e Desporto (Mozambique) (Ministry of Youth and Sports)
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture (Tanzania)
MOLYD	Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports (Tanzania)
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics (Tanzania)
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (Mozambican Women's Organisation)
PARPA	Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta (Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (the Portuguese name for PRSP)
PPP	Purchase Power Parity
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Exam
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper/Plan
Renamo	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (The National Movement for Resistance)
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
Std	Standard (the names of grades in primary school in Tanzania)

TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
Tsh	Tanzanian Shillings (The currency in Tanzania)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USD	US dollars
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organisation

GLOSSARY

<i>Bairro</i>	Neighbourhood (Portuguese)
<i>Bairro de cimento</i>	The cement area (Portuguese)
<i>Bwana</i>	Gentleman/husband. Can also be used as 'my friend' in conversations (Kiswahili)
<i>Bhajia</i>	Deep fried biting (Kiswahili but used also in Mozambique)
<i>Capulana</i>	Piece of material used by women for clothing (Portuguese)
<i>Chamador</i>	Male livelihood of attracting passengers (Portuguese)
<i>Chefe</i>	Leader (Portuguese)
<i>Chefe do bairro</i>	Neighbourhood leader (Portuguese)
<i>Chefe de lar</i>	Head of the boarding facility (Portuguese)
<i>Curandeiro/a</i>	Medicine man/woman (Portuguese)
<i>Escola industrial</i>	Industrial school (Portuguese)
<i>Kanga</i>	Piece of material used by women for clothing (Kiswahili)
<i>Kijiwani</i>	'Jobless corner' (Kiswahili)
<i>Machamba</i>	Piece of land for cultivation (Portuguese)
<i>Machinga</i>	Marching salesman (Kiswahili)
<i>Maandazi</i>	Doughnuts (Kiswahili but used also in Mozambique)
<i>Mama Lishe</i>	Women who do food business (Kiswahili)
<i>Mercado Central</i>	Central Market (Portuguese)
<i>Mwinyi</i>	Old female and male leader (Kiswahili)
<i>Piga Debe</i>	Person whose livelihood activity is to attract passengers to busses (Kiswahili)
<i>Shamba</i>	Piece of land for cultivation (Kiswahili)
<i>Ujamaa</i>	Family ties/villagisation (Kiswahili)

1. INTRODUCTION AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Once upon a time, there was a boy called Saíde. He grew up in a village in Montepuez district in northern Mozambique. When Saíde had just enrolled in primary school in Montepuez, he moved with his family to Masasi, a district on the other side of the border, in Tanzania. Saíde's maternal grandmother lives in Masasi and the family had decided to migrate to her land. The farm was not producing enough crops to support the family so they wanted to try their luck on the other side of the border. They walked for days, crossed the river Ruvuma, continued to walk and when they finally reached Masasi, Saíde was very tired and his feet were hurting. In Masasi, Saíde didn't enrol in school. Perhaps because they were unfamiliar with the place and the system, or because the family needed an income also from Saíde. Another obstacle was perhaps the language issue. At the time, Saíde did not understand Kiswahili, the official language in Tanzania and the language of instruction in primary school. Saíde spoke Macua, a local language which is widely spoken in northern Mozambique as well as in southern Tanzania. Instead of going to school, Saíde got a job walking around selling porridge around the bus station in Masasi and to earn some extra money, he carried luggage for arriving passengers. After about five years, his family decided to return to Montepuez, because the farming situation was even worse in Tanzania. They walked back to Montepuez, a journey that took five days. After the return to Montepuez, Saíde stayed in the village for about six months and then he got a job as a domestic worker for a family in town. His older brother used to work for the same family and had told them that Saíde was suffering in the village, so they decided to take him on as their new domestic worker.

Saíde is now about 13-15 years old, he is not quite sure, and he has been working in this family for three months. He helps with the shopping, the washing up, the cleaning and the cooking. He lives with the family and his salary is 8 USD per month. He likes his job, but he misses Tanzania. He says that if somebody would bring him there again, he would go, because all his friends are there and he knows the place. He has even built a house for his mother in the village just outside of Masasi town, which made him very famous among his friends. In Montepuez he hasn't made any friends yet because he is working early mornings until late and doesn't have much time to get out of the house. Saíde started primary school in Montepuez but dropped out already in the first year when they moved to Tanzania. He would like to continue to study, but in Tanzania, not in Mozambique. He explains that if he would study in Mozambique, nobody would understand him because he doesn't speak much Portuguese, while in Tanzania this would not be a problem since he by now speaks Kiswahili fluently.

In the future, Saíde would like to live in Masasi town and have a good job, not some very heavy work like farming. He says that when he grows up, he wants to get married and have children. He doesn't know how many, but he thinks it's good to have children because they will assist him in the future.

1.1 From event to research interest

I am beginning this piece of work by telling the story about Saíde,¹ because it was through him that I started to sow the seeds for this research topic. We met in Masasi town in 2001 when I was part of the research team in a study on girls' and boys' basic education (Helgesson 2001). Saíde and some of his friends were selling porridge in Masasi and they shared their experiences as out-of-school children. When Saíde told me that he was from Montepuez, I was curious to find out why he had moved from Montepuez to Masasi and he told me the beginning of the story above. I knew Montepuez because I had spent a few months there in 1998, collecting data for my Master's thesis on girls' access to education on an upper primary level in northern Mozambique (Helgesson 2000b).

After the conversation with Saíde, I began to think about conducting a study which would include research in Montepuez in northern Mozambique as well as Masasi in southern Tanzania. I thought that it would be interesting because the areas are similar and relatively close to each other, both geographically and socially. The distance from Montepuez town to Masasi town is about 300 km and the same local languages are spoken although the official languages differ. Family networks stretch across the border and during the war in Mozambique, Mozambicans went to Tanzania for refuge. There is also cross-border migration in search of more fertile lands to cultivate and mobility in relation to trade. Due to these links and the relative closeness to the border, I thought that it might even be possible to talk about a borderland² of Mozambique and Tanzania, and that Saíde was one among many young people with experience from both Tanzania and Mozambique.

More specifically, I decided to focus on youth who live in the *towns* Masasi and Montepuez, towns with many similarities. Masasi as well as Montepuez are the second largest towns in the respective region, regions which in the national context are regarded as remote areas. Masasi and Montepuez are therefore urban places in these 'peripheral' areas and they are the centres of two predominantly rural districts where small scale farming is the main mode of production.

When I arrived in Montepuez in 2003 to conduct the fieldwork for this thesis, I met Saíde again. One day, Abudo, one of my research colleagues in Montepuez, introduced me to a young man who used to live in Tanzania. He looked a bit familiar and I recalled the boy who I had met in Masasi several years ear-

¹ All the names of respondents in this study are fictitious in order to protect the respondents.

² The concept of borderland is introduced in section 1.6.

lier. I was not sure that it was him, so I asked him in Kiswahili “Did we meet before, about three years ago in Masasi?” and he answered “Yes, and you took three pictures!” Then I asked if he had participated in the information sharing seminar³ in Masasi and he replied “Yes, I was there and I got 4,000 Tsh (4 USD⁴)!”. It was definitely him. I remembered Saïde very well because he said that he would use the money to buy a dress and food for his mother. His monthly income then was 3 USD, so 4 USD in one day was plenty of money.

Meeting Saïde again was an important event of the research. While the first encounter had triggered the initial thinking around the research, the second meeting marked the realisation of the actual fieldwork. Meeting Saïde again also meant that he could tell the rest of the story of his life so far. Saïde is now a youth in town on his way into adulthood.

1.2 Why investigate life strategies of town youth?

1.2.1 *A comprehensive perspective of the life of young people*

This research focuses on youth in Tanzania and Mozambique, two countries where young people constitute a large share of the population. Almost 65 percent of the population are under 25 years and 20 percent of the population are between 15 and 24 years old⁵ (INE 1999b and NBS 2003b). That young people constitute a large share of the population and that they are in a dynamic phase of their lives makes youth an important group to study, not least in the context of social and economic development.⁶

One of the two main paths in this research is to look at the life situation of young people in a comprehensive way, rather than focus on one aspect, such as education or HIV/AIDS. Education and HIV/AIDS are two areas of interest which currently receive a lot of attention when it comes to young people, both in terms of research and in various development programmes. These are important areas but I will argue in this section for the significance of hav-

³ At the end of the research, we invited respondents from different respondent groups to participate in an initial sharing of the findings of the research and Saïde was one of the participants.

⁴ The Tanzanian and Mozambican currencies have been translated into US dollars (USD) in order to facilitate comparisons. In 2003, about 1,000 Tanzanian shillings (Tsh) and 24,000 Meticaïs (Mt) was equivalent to 1 USD.

⁵ 15-24 years is the UN definition of youth.

⁶The importance of age structure for economic and social development has been emphasised by Malmberg and Sommestad (2000).

ing a broad perspective of the life of young people, rather than focus on one specific theme.

The previous studies in which I have been working in Mozambique and Tanzania have both dealt with girls' and boys' access to schooling (Helgesson 2000b and Helgesson 2001a and b). They showed that the access to education and the performance in school for girls in general was lesser than for boys, especially in the higher classes of primary school. However, there was also a great variation, which could be attributed to factors such as the financial situation of the family, experiences of education in the family, occupations of family members and rural or urban background. It was also clear that the school was regarded as one of several important institutions where girls and boys develop⁷ and that formal education involved a high level of investment, both financially and in terms of loss of labour power while the children were in school. A particularly high investment was made if a family in a rural area decided to send their child to town in order to be able to continue to study. In Mozambique, this was a decision that had to be made already after class 5 in primary school while in Tanzania the issue of migration for education appeared if the child had been selected for secondary education, that is, after the completion of seven years of primary school.

Due to the investment that formal education means, it could be regarded as a *strategy* to improve the standards of life (e.g. Palme 1998). The strategy can be that of an individual, a family or part of a national strategy. To opt for education is however only one among other possible strategies and even if somebody pursues their education, it merely constitutes one aspect of life. In this study, I want to broaden the focus, from education to an analysis of also other strategies in life, such as how to make a living, where to live and strategies concerning family life.

While working for UNICEF Tanzania in year 2000 and 2001, it became clear to me that youth was increasingly becoming an important category on the development agenda in Sub-Saharan Africa but that the focus among many national and international organisations was almost exclusively HIV/AIDS prevention. Young people were the main targets of the information campaigns and they were also increasingly becoming involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS through youth to youth information. The effects of HIV/AIDS in many Sub-Saharan African countries have been devastating and the infection rate is highest among young people. Half of all new infections world wide are among young people between 15-24 years and 62 percent of the total of

⁷ For a discussion about the school as one out of several institutions where girls and boys develop, see also Palme (1993) and Callewaert (1998).

10 million infected youth live in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2004). However, what I think is problematic is the narrow focus on HIV/AIDS as *the* preoccupation when it comes to young people. There are other important issues of concern to young people than HIV/AIDS and even if the main concern right now is the battle against HIV/AIDS, this cannot be done successfully without a comprehensive understanding of the life of young people, including the strategies in life they develop and within what context and structures they act.

1.2.2 Urban youth in 'peripheral' towns

The second path in this research is to focus on the town context and I see my research as a contribution to research on youth in urban contexts. Although towns make up a significant share of the urban population, they tend to be overlooked in favour of rural areas or, more recently, large cities. In Sweden, which is my main place of reference, as well as in many other countries, Africa is perceived as a rural continent. The majority of the population in many Sub-Saharan countries lives in rural areas, but there are also many urban places and a rapid process of urbanisation is taking place. The perception of Africa as almost exclusively rural has been reinforced by development assistance over the years, which to a large extent has focused on rural development. While talking to friends and researchers in Sweden about my research, they took for granted that I would conduct the study in villages. It can be argued that the focus on rural areas has influenced the research agenda since research funding often is granted to projects that are considered to be relevant research. This is not only the case for Sweden. Bryceson (1996:104) refers to 'the anti-urban bias of donor agencies', which she thinks has had effects on the kind of research projects which have been undertaken. It was not until well into the 1990s when Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) and other agencies formulated urban development strategies, recognising that the ongoing urbanisation process is a fact and that cities play a crucial role for economic growth (Tannerfeldt 1995 and Tranberg Hansen and Vaa 2002).

When I told friends in Dar es Salaam and Maputo that I was going to do research in Masasi and Montepuez, they talked about these areas as rural: "*So you are going to the villages!? Are you sure you will manage to stay there for several months?*" they expressed, implying that life in the 'village' is very hard. My reply "*No, I'm going to town!*" was therefore often unexpected and demanded an explanation. The three largest cities in Mozambique as well as in Tanzania constitute approximately half of the urban population, which implies that the other half of the urban population live in urban areas further down on the urban hierar-

chy. The towns Masasi and Montepuez are defined as urban but although towns like them, with a population of 50-60,000 people, make up a significant share of the urban population, they tend to be overlooked when urban contexts are discussed. The perception of what is regarded as urban and rural is relative and seems to vary according to where in the urban hierarchy people identify themselves. For people who live in Dar es Salaam and Maputo, towns of the size of Masasi and Montepuez are not perceived as urban, while for people living in these towns, they are central places and understood as urban.

There is another explanation as to why people in Dar es Salaam and Maputo referred to the towns Masasi and Montepuez as rural. Both southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique are in the respective national context regarded as peripheral, rural and underdeveloped. It is far from Maputo to northern Mozambique and the infrastructure is poor. From Dar es Salaam to the southern regions in Tanzania, the roads are bad and a large barrier has been the Rufiji river. When the bridge over the Rufiji was completed in 2003, the media reported that the South was finally connected to the commercial capital Dar es Salaam. *Business Times* (1 August 2003) wrote that the Rufiji bridge “[...] marks the start of an economic revival in the resource-rich but underdeveloped southern regions [...]”.⁸

A rapid process of urbanisation is taking place in Sub-Saharan Africa and young people are important actors in this process. From 1975 to 2002, the urban population in the Sub-Saharan African region increased from 21 to 35 percent. In 2015, it is estimated that the urban population will constitute 43 percent of the population and Tanzania and Mozambique are no exceptions from this trend⁹ (UNDP 2004). This means that in the near future, a much larger share of the population will live in urban areas and they will live in cities as well as in towns. It is therefore likely that towns like Masasi and Montepuez will grow, due to migration from the surrounding rural areas and due to natural growth. For that reason, there will be more young people who are trying to live and plan their future in these towns. Against this background, it is particularly important to obtain a greater knowledge about the short term and long term life strategies of young people in these urban contexts. Important questions are: How do young people in these urban contexts manage? What possibilities do they have? Can they live the life they wish to live or are there obstacles? Can young people in these towns have long term strategies and how do young people influence the development in these towns?

⁸ The view of the southern regions in Tanzania as passive, remote and underdeveloped places is contested in *The making of a periphery* (Seppälä and Koda (Eds.) 1998).

⁹ Urban growth in Tanzania and Mozambique is further discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.2.

1.3 Aim and research questions

The aim of this research is to explore how and under what conditions life strategies of young men and women unfold in the towns Masasi and Montepuez.

My research questions are:

- How is youth defined and how can life strategies of youth be related to the representations of young people in national and local discourses?
- What are the life strategies of young people and how do the strategies develop in these specific time-space contexts?
- How are the central issues of livelihood, education and mobility included in the life strategies of young people?
- How are global processes involved in young people's daily lives and how do they relate to them?

1.4 The concept of youth

Historically, the concept of youth used to refer to young men and as discussed by e.g. Mørch (1985), it was first used in the male bourgeois class in Europe during the 18th century and it appeared through an increased demand for education during the industrialisation process. The new form of production meant a shift from family life to production life and because the girls continued to belong to the private sphere rather than participating in the production, they did not enter the youth phase. While the demand for schooling was an important factor in the *creation* of a youth category, education can also be a way to *prolong* youth. This has been discussed by e.g. Hall and Jefferson (1976) who state that due to a longer education, middle-class youth tend to remain longer in their transitional stage towards adulthood than working class youth. That youth is linked to class and education is a finding in my study, for example that the youth period by some young people is seen as a privilege. Prolonged education in relation to a prolonged youth period also has gender dimensions, which McRobbie (1991) points out in her research on girls' culture in Britain in the 1970s. Girls who had the possibility to prolong their education also had a chance, and a right, to push marriage forward. As will be shown, this is a finding also in this study.

Youth is a phase in life between childhood and adulthood. However, what characterises this phase, when it begins and when it ends, varies between countries, actors and interests. Wyn and White (1997) argue that what consti-

tutes youth is socially constructed by institutions, such as the education system, history and culture, as through the media. Sernhede (1996) expresses that in late modernity, it has become increasingly difficult to define youth and that popular culture plays an increasingly important role in creating a sense of being youth, for example through music and magazines aiming for a specific group. Since music and media now easily can be accessed around the world, this also creates a feeling among young people that they belong to the same group.

Wyn and White (1997) suggest a similar development in youth studies to that of gender studies where there has been a move from looking at men and women as separate categories, to viewing masculinities and femininities as relational concepts, based on power. Like gender, youth is a relational concept, which exists in relation to the concept of adulthood and between youth and adulthood there is a power relation. Young people are often seen as incomplete adults but it could be argued that youth is actually an important category in its own right.

I am aware that by choosing 'youth' as a category, there is a risk that the diversity within this category is lost. Mohanty (1999) has criticised Western feminists for reducing women in the 'Third World'¹⁰ into an average 'Third World Woman'. Of equal importance is to not reduce youth in Tanzania and Mozambique into an average 'Third World Youth' but to aim for diversity. The young people in this study live in two towns which in the Mozambican and Tanzanian national contexts are peripheral. This implies that the situations lived in these localities may be very different from for example young people who live in the capital cities or in rural areas. In addition, also within localities there are big varieties due to aspects such as gender, education and class.

Öhlund (1994) points out that an important aspect concerning the concept of youth is *who* makes the definition and with reference to Bourdieu, he claims that the border between youth and old age is a struggle in each society. By ascribing certain characteristics to youth, those in power can define the characteristics which youth 'lack'. Hereby generation conflicts actually start with the definition of youth. Mørch (1985) highlights the importance of giving *contents* to the concept of youth and argues that the notion itself is often not analysed and reflected on. Young people's lives and problems are therefore fre-

¹⁰ The terms the 'Third World', 'developing countries' and the 'South' are problematic. They have been coined within a Western discourse and they imply a hierarchy. In addition, they allow little space for heterogeneity. Still, the terms are used and are by many scholars seen as useful because they mark that these countries have something in common, namely that they have a colonial heritage and are poor.

quently studied without this foundation. In this research, I explore the concept of youth empirically and the power relations involved in defining youth. **Of relevance here is my research question concerning how youth is defined and how the life strategies of youth can be related to the representations of young people in national and local discourses.**

1.5 A life strategy framework

1.5.1 From a livelihood to a life strategy framework

Livelihood has become a commonly used concept in research in ‘developing countries’ (e.g. Espling 1998, Andersson 2002, Lourenço-Lindell 2002 and Westermarck 2003) and among development agencies (e.g. Carney et al. 1999 and Hussein 2002). Livelihood embraces more aspects than employment and because many people in ‘developing countries’ make a living without being employed, in informal economic activities as well as through cultivation, it is a more useful concept (e.g. Chambers 1995). A text by Chambers and Conway (1991) on sustainable rural livelihoods is frequently referred to when the concept of livelihood is applied. They explain a livelihood as follows: “*a livelihood comprises the capabilities¹¹, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living*” (Chambers and Conway 1991:6). Although this definition is commonly used, I think it is useful to make a division between a livelihoods and *means for a livelihood*. The way I see it, education and migration can be means to obtain a livelihood but they are not livelihoods in themselves. Livelihoods are separate from assets and capabilities but livelihoods can enhance capabilities. That this division exists also according to Chambers and Conway (1991) is more comprehensible in other parts of the text, when they describe that:

[...] a person may be born, socialised and apprenticed into an inherited livelihood – as a cultivator with land and tools, a pastoralist with animals, a forest dweller with trees, a fisherperson with boat and tackle, or a shopkeeper with shop and stock [...] A person or household may also choose a livelihood, especially through education and migration (Chambers and Conway 1991:6).

In an article by Rakodi (2002), she discusses the livelihoods approach in relation to urban development. The formation of livelihood strategies of the household or the individual is shaped by the assets of the *individual or within the household* (human capital, social capital, natural capital, financial capital and

¹¹ In relation to livelihood, Chambers and Conway (1991) state that capabilities mean to be able to cope with stress and shocks and to be able to find livelihood opportunities and pursue with them.

physical capital), but also on the factors *policies, institutions and processes* (such as structures/organisations, the government, private sector, institutions, laws and culture), *infrastructure and service, vulnerability context* (such as stocks, trends and seasons) and *external environment*. The different forms of capital used in the livelihood framework, deserve an introduction. *Human capital* consists of labour resources available within the household, including number of people, education level, skills and health status. *Social capital* is for example social network, memberships of groups and access to institutions. *Natural capital* is resources such as land, water which are available for the individual or the household. *Financial capital* is for example savings, credit, remittances and pensions and *physical capital* is infrastructure such as transport, houses, and equipment (Rakodi 2002, with reference to Carney).

I think that the livelihood framework is useful and I would like to develop it further to better suit my research. The illustration that strategies are shaped in a context where assets and other aspects is useful, but rather than *livelihood strategies*, I focus on *life strategies*. In my definition of life strategies, livelihood is included, but a person or a household also develops other strategies in life, such as education strategies, family life strategies and settlement strategies. The concept of life strategy is useful because it embraces all possible strategies in life and not only those which have to do with livelihood. There can for example be other reasons why a person opts for education, than just to get a livelihood (such as status and knowledge) and a person may migrate for other reasons than a livelihood (such as to be close to relatives, or because the person likes the place). In short, there is more to life than just making a living. **The research question concerning what the life strategies of young people are and how the strategies develop in these specific time-space contexts is here important, as well as the research question on how the central issues of livelihood, education and mobility are included in the life strategies of young people.**

1.5.2 Additional forms of capital

I want to add a few forms of capital to the list of assets in my life strategy framework, namely *symbolic capital* and *cultural capital*, from Bourdieu's notion of capital (Bourdieu and Waquant 1992). The use of Bourdieu's forms of capital has been questioned with the argument that they have been developed in a specific context, namely French bourgeois. However, his early studies on the forms of capital took place in a completely different context, the Kabyl society in Algeria during the 1950s and 1960s. Here, he found a symbolic economy where honour, gifts and prestige were important components and a

material economy was embedded in the symbolic economy (Bourdieu 1977). In a Mozambican context, Palme (e.g. 1998) has used Bourdieu's notion of capital while analysing the meaning of education.

Symbolic capital has to do with status and prestige. It is something which societal groups value and can vary according to context. In the context of youth, a young person may have high status in a group of young people due to certain characteristics, but these attributes may not be valued among adults. Another example of context specific symbolic capital is that an urban life style may be considered as a form of symbolic capital in some contexts but not in others. *Cultural capital* is a form of symbolic capital. Writing skills and later the emergence of the educational system, was the foundation of cultural capital (Broady 1985). There are different forms of cultural capital such as academic qualifications (titles and exams) and cultural capital in embodied form (*habitus*). If formal education is valued in society, the exams obtained by completing primary school, secondary school etc, can be seen as cultural capital. *Habitus* is embodied capital gained during the life course through socialisation, such as habits, values, beliefs, abilities, knowledge and experiences. A person's *habitus* can change, but it is a slow process. This form of cultural capital has to be invested personally, an investment which costs time as it cannot be transmitted or inherited instantaneously (unlike money, property rights or titles). Nor can it be accumulated beyond the capacity of the individual (Bourdieu 1986 and Bourdieu and Waquant 1992).

According to Bourdieu and Waquant (1992), social agents are carriers of capital and their ability to accumulate, redistribute and sustain the distribution of capital during the life course depends on their capital assets. The capital disposition contributes to the reproduction of structures in society. Some structures, such as those forming gender differences, are formed very early in life through the socialisation of girls and boys. When the person's *habitus* does not correspond to his or her actions, a process of change is initiated. Such inconsistencies in *habitus* exist for example if a peasant boy or girl in a rural area with no education or other livelihood activities than farming, go to town to study or to earn a livelihood, or if a girl decides to go into a typical 'male' livelihood. The older a person gets, the more rooted a person's *habitus* becomes. Therefore, it can be argued that the study of processes of change is more fruitful when young people rather than old people are in focus.

1.6 Through a geographical lens

1.6.1 Relational urban space and place

For a geographer, aspects of place and space¹² are essential. My perspective of space is in line with Massey (e.g. 1994 and 2004), Harvey (e.g. 1973 and 1989) and others who look at spaces and places as relational. Harvey (1973) states that social processes *are* spatial and Massey, while discussing the geography of social structure, argues that “*the spatial is social relations ‘stretched out’*” (Massey 1994:2). Massey here specifically analyses social relations in terms of class, but social relations based on other social markers such as ethnicity, age, sexuality, rural and urban way of life, educational background etc can obviously also be analysed. The young people I have interviewed interact with families, friends, teachers, employers and colleagues. These social relations take different forms due to socialisation based on for example education, age and gender and these constitute their relational space.

Central to this thesis is what it means to be young people in towns in Tanzania and Mozambique in terms of what they do, how they do it, how they talk about it and the roles they give themselves in their stories. As mentioned, the towns Masasi and Montepuez are defined as urban but in the national discourse they are regarded as peripheral and rural. This leads into the definition of *urban*. The definition of urban can broadly be divided into two parts, namely urban as a *physical entity*, based on e.g. population size, economic base and function, such as infrastructure, and urban as a *quality*, based on urban lifestyles and urban identities (e.g. Pacione 2001). Louise Wirth (1938) saw urbanism as a *way of life* associated with urban areas, a way of life that people in urban areas have in common by viewing the city as a social entity. The concept of urbanism has been further explored by Harvey (1973), who regards urbanism as a relationally defined concept rather than a “thing in itself” (Harvey 1973:16). There cannot be a centre without a periphery, and not an urban area without a rural, as they define each other. Harvey emphasises that urbanism entails unequal economic power relations rather than being a neutral ‘thing’ and he sees urbanisation as a process linked to capitalism, a system of unequal power relations. The urban is therefore formed by the capitalist system. This thesis explores what urbanism signifies in these towns. Urban and rural are looked at as relational concepts and they are investigated empirically through young people’s perceptions of what the concepts urban and rural contain. It will also be shown how power relations are played out within these

¹² Place and space are often used interchangeable, but place is more associated with physical places, while space can be used metaphorically, such as public and private space, although spaces also are connected to physical places.

towns, economic power relations as well as power relations based on generation, gender and education.

Apart from *space*, it is important to include *time* in the analysis. Harvey states that a useful analysis where both space and time is included is presented by de Certeau (Harvey 1989 with reference to de Certeau). Footsteps of different people in a city constitute a collection of individual expressions which weave places together and people's daily activities and movements actually create the city. By this illustration, Harvey points towards a shift from *localisation* to *spatialisation*, i.e. a social definition of space. Another way in which Harvey (1989) uses both space and time is his distinction between *being* and *becoming*. While *being* is associated with space, *becoming* has a time dimension. The space and time dimension of being and becoming is useful in my analysis because it marks a distinction between the present everyday life activities in various places and the life strategies for the future. Being and becoming can also be seen in relation to youth research because the youth period is often characterised as a process of *becoming* an adult rather than viewing youth as an important category in itself, i.e. *being* youth.

Place specific phenomena can always be seen in relation to other places and geographical levels. Through the lens of a geographer, the life strategies of youth within the localities Masasi and Montepuez can therefore be related to other geographical levels, such as the national context and global trends. In addition, a phenomenon such as globalisation, always takes place somewhere, but the shape it takes varies from place to place. **Relevant here is my research question concerning how global processes are involved in young people's daily lives and how they relate to them.**

1.6.2 Incorporation of space in the life strategy framework

In order to incorporate space into the life strategy framework, one way is to look at the formation of life strategies as played out in a *space of possibilities*. A space of possibilities is a system where every possible alternative for action is present (Bourdieu 2000). However, not all strategies are possible or desired by everybody, so the *horizon of possibilities* is subjective. What set of life strategies a person can develop looks different depending on the assets and perceptions of the individual as well as aspects such as policies, institutions and gender relations. As will be shown in this study, the assets of the young person (often through the family), as well as factors beyond the individual (such as the organisation of the education system), influence the life strategies of youth.

At the same time as life strategies are played out in a space of possibilities, they can also be said to be played out in a *space of constraints*. An individual is constrained in space and time by various kinds of constraints (e.g. Hägerstrand 1970, Åquist 1992 and Helgesson 2000b). One problem with the application of constraints in an analysis is that there is no distinct border between what we *can*, *want*, and *should* do and there is a risk that the observed behaviour is presumed to be the desired behaviour (Holm, Mäkilä and Öberg 1989). We may take for granted that a person *wants* to perform certain tasks and the only reason the person abstains from doing it is because she or he is surrounded by a number of constraints. An analysis of what an individual *wants to*, *should do* and *can do*, is useful when trying to analyse the life strategies of youth.

1.6.3 *A borderland – dynamic space of transformation*

Youth as a phase in life implies being *in between* childhood and adulthood. In a similar way, small towns can be seen as places which are *in between* the rural and the urban. In towns like Masasi and Montepuez, practices of the past (often associated with a rural way of life), meet more recent practices (generally associated with urban life). Liechty (1995), in his work on youth in Kathmandu in Nepal, describes life of youth in Kathmandu as a life in the ‘in between’ space:

[...] between expectations and reality; between past and future; between village and an external, modern metropole; between child- and adulthood; between high and low class; between education and meaningful employment (Liechty 1995, p. 191).

As much as being a useful concept, the ‘in between’ space is problematic because there is a risk of being locked into a non-space, a position *in between* different social processes. A more useful metaphor is Bhabha’s use of ‘the third space’, which he describes as a process of hybridisation where completely different positions can be developed instead of focusing on tracing two origins (Eriksson, Eriksson Baaz and Thörn (Eds.) 1999).

One of the concepts which I use in this thesis is that of a borderland. My notion of borderland is inspired by Anzaldua (1987) who apart from referring to the physical (USA-Mexico) borderland includes what she calls cultural borderlands, e.g. when different sexualities, classes, languages and ethnicities meet or border each other. I have however included other components in my borderland concept. Apart from the physical Tanzania-Mozambique borderland, there are other borderlands of relevance in this study, namely childhood-adulthood, rural-urban, centre-periphery, local-global and the formal-informal

economy.¹³ A borderland is a dynamic space of transformation where people interact and categories meet, are redefined and reshaped in constantly ongoing processes.

1.7 The concept of strategy – an actor approach implied

1.7.1 *The concept of strategy*

The livelihood framework contains the concept of *strategy*. Poor and marginalised people are hereby regarded as agents rather than passive victims (Rakodi 2002). However, Rakodi (2002) points out that there is an ongoing debate about whether or not people in vulnerable positions can use their assets to have goal-oriented strategies. In this debate, it is suggested that people react to circumstances rather than being proactive. Rakodi (2002) has captured a useful definition of strategy in the following quote, which shows the relation between actor and structure in a fruitful way:

[...] the term strategy should be used as shorthand for a series of choices constrained to a greater or lesser extent by macroeconomic circumstances, social context, cultural and ideological expectations and access to resources (Rakodi 2002:8, with reference to Wolf).

However, I have a reservation regarding this definition. It suggests that strategies are *constrained* by the surrounding structure, but it could be argued that the structure can also be productive, shape the strategies and develop them. The government could for example decide to facilitate the provisioning of credit, which would *enable* an individual to decide upon a loan strategy in order to realise an investment. The series of choices can therefore be both constrained and enabled by the conditions she mentions. Also Bourdieu's use of strategies is constructive (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). He conceptualises strategies as:

[...] the active deployment of objectively oriented "lines of action" that obey regularities and form coherent and socially intelligible patterns, even though they do not follow conscious rules or aim at the premeditated goals posited by a strategist (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:25).

¹³ Youth research has been conducted in other geographical borderlands, such as Torne Valley in the borderland of Northern Sweden and Finland (Waara 1996). Apart from living close to an administrative border, Waara refers to a social or mental borderland and the borderland between tradition and modernity, history and future.

The strategies are according to Bourdieu based on the composition of an individual's habitus and other capital assets. This does not mean that people do not have options, have to make decisions and take initiatives. Rather, it is an argument against the common view put forward from a rational choice and utilitarian point of view, namely that strategies are rational, conscious, systematic and intentional (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). I think the suggestion that strategies are *lines of action*, is a useful definition. It is not unlike the definition that Rakodi uses although in the quote from Rakodi, strategies are seen as *choices* while in Bourdieu's definition strategies are *actions*. Both choices and actions are here relevant, since a person first may formulate a strategy and then take action. However, as suggested in the quote above, the patterns constituted by actions have not necessarily been thought through before. Utilising a combination of definitions and adding that structure can be enabling as well as constraining, I mean the following when I refer to strategy:

Strategies are lines of action that are more or less thought through before action, constrained and enabled to a greater or lesser extent by macroeconomic circumstances, social context, cultural and ideological expectations, access to resources and the composition of capital of the individual (adapted from Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 and Rakodi 2002).

As Rakodi (2002) points out, *household strategies* tend to be the focus of analysis in the livelihood framework but that the household has often been treated as a black box, disregarding the power relations within the household. As she states, although some decisions are taken jointly, it should not be ignored that some people in the household may have more power and influence than others. Therefore, it is important not to concentrate solely on the household as a unit, leaving out individuals and social groups. In this study, *individual strategies* will be the focus, that is, the strategies of individual youth. However, this does not mean that the household is absent in the analysis because the individual youth is also seen in relation to the household, from the perspective of the young people themselves.

1.7.2 Routine strategies and deliberate strategies

Halfacree and Boyle (1993) have an interesting discussion about agency in relation to migration decisions where they argue that research on migration decisions should be analysed within an everyday life context. They refer to Giddens' division of agency as operating at three levels of consciousness, namely the *unconscious*, the *practical* and the *discursive*. Halfacree and Boyle (1993) are interested in the distinction between the practical and the discursive. Discursive consciousness refers to actions that we take because we have actively

considered them. Practical consciousness, on the other hand is at work when there are things we do in order to maintain everyday life.

I think it would be fruitful to divide the concept of strategy into two levels of consciousness. The first type of strategy is *routine strategies* and is in line with practical consciousness. *Routine strategies* are responses to what we do in maintaining everyday life, often without even thinking about them as active decisions or without thinking much about the consequences. The second type of strategy is *deliberate strategies*, in line with discursive consciousness, which are more conscious considerations. Sometimes a person ‘just does’ something and sometimes she or he formulates a very deliberate strategy and both types are strategies. Another theoretical distinction which can be made is a division between *short term* and *long term* strategies. It can however be difficult to differentiate between a routine strategy and a deliberate strategy, as well as between a short term and long term strategy. In practice, a more interesting approach focuses on the actions and their meanings.

1.7.3 *An actor oriented approach*

The use of a life strategy framework implies that people are seen as actors. Long (e.g. 2001) advocates an actor oriented approach. However, he states that actor-oriented analysis sometimes has been reduced to rational choice theory and that it also been blamed for detaching the individual from the surrounding environment. This can be compared with Bourdieu’s argument against rational choice theory in relation to strategies, referred to above (Bourdieu and Waquant 1992). In Long’s view, actors are:

[...] active participants who process information and strategise in their dealings with various local actors as well as with outside institutions and personnel. [...] The different patterns of social organisation that emerge result from the interactions, negotiations and social struggles that take place between several kinds of actor, not only those present in given face-to-face encounters but also those who are absent yet nevertheless influence the situation, affecting actions and outcomes (Long 2001:13).

As shown in the quote, Long not only refers to individuals as actors. Also organisations, companies and political parties are considered. Another point that Long makes is that localities and social groups are heterogeneous. Although actors have social markers such as class and gender, actors with the same social markers can act differently when faced with a similar challenge or situation. However, although there can be large variations within social groups and within localities, strategies according to Long are not totally arbitrary. They should instead be seen as are framed within the existing discourses in society.

Every society has a repertoire of lifestyles, cultural forms and rationalities which actors use, and which may also transform to a certain degree when the actors create meaning in their lives. The way in which people act is based on the way they construct and perceive the world (Long 2001).

Long (2001) puts forward the relation between agency and structure in a fruitful way because he emphasises that actors develop strategies even under constrained circumstances. Given the horizon of possibilities and the space of constraints, one could argue that each actor has a *space of action*, a concept that I will hereafter use. As will be shown, the young people interviewed in this study have a restricted space of action, which makes them vulnerable.

1.8 Synthesis of frameworks, concepts and perspectives

The story of Saíde, which introduced the thesis, can be used to synthesise the different frameworks, concepts and perspectives which are used in this thesis. Saíde's grandmother lives in Masasi and had it not been for this social relation, his family may never have moved from Montepuez to Masasi. This also illustrates that social relations are spatial. A *time-space analysis* of Saídes everyday life shows that he spends most of his time working in the house of his employer, cleaning, washing and cooking. He is working early mornings until late at night and therefore he does not have much spare time to meet friends.

When Saíde talks about the future, livelihood is not the only dimension. He also says that he wants to live in Masasi town, get married and have children. The reason why he wants to live in Masasi is not due to livelihood but because he has friends there and knows the place. This shows that the livelihood framework is not enough to analyse the life situation of a young person. A *life strategy framework* is more suitable. That there may be a difference between *want* and *can* is illustrated by Saíde's story. He wants to live in Masasi but whether he will be able to do it depends on if somebody will bring him there. He also says that he wants to study but that he cannot do it in Mozambique because he does not speak Portuguese, the language of instruction in Mozambican schools.

Saíde's story also shows the usefulness of the concept of *borderland*. He has lived on both sides of the Mozambique-Tanzania border and has relatives and friends across the border. Being a youth, Saíde is in the borderland of childhood and adulthood and due to his experiences in Masasi and Montepuez town, he is in the process of negotiating an urban identity. Saíde is also in the borderland of formal and informal economic activities because although he is

employed, the level of his salary suggests that he is not formally employed with benefits such as pension and other social security benefits.

Concerning *strategies*, Saíde maintains his everyday life by activities such as washing, cleaning, cooking and going to the market, i.e. *routine strategies*. A *deliberate*, perhaps more *long term* life strategy, such as returning to Tanzania has not yet been realised. So what does *an actor oriented approach* mean in the interpretation of Saíde's story? Saíde says that he prefers to live in town and that he does not want to be a farmer. His preferences are based on his lived experiences in rural areas and in town and may be influenced by other people's accounts and discourses around town life. However, he is the one who has processed the information and is acting upon it.

1.9 Disposition of the thesis

This introductory chapter where the background, aim, research questions, frameworks and perspectives used in the study have been presented is followed by **Chapter 2**, called 'Setting the scene'. Here I give a theoretical, thematic and geographic contextualisation of the study. Processes of change in the light of structural adjustment, globalisation and urbanisation are theorised, previous research on urban development and youth is reviewed and a presentation of the geographical areas in focus is given. **Chapter 3** is the methodology chapter where I give a brief introduction to grounded theory and narrative identities as well as present the different phases of the fieldwork and interpretation of the material.

Chapter 4 is the first empirical chapter. Here, the various discourses around youth in Tanzania and Mozambique are discussed, as well as how young people themselves define youth and what their *youth task* is, i.e. what is demanded from them in order to become fully accepted members of society. This chapter also focuses on organisation of young people and the social relations involved between different actors. In **Chapter 5**, the focus is on livelihood strategies of young people. There is a large variety of livelihoods both among the female and the male youth and some livelihoods are largely gendered. A majority of the economic activities take place within the informal economy and many young people have created their own livelihood or livelihoods. **Chapter 6** deals with educational possibilities and constraints. Educational strategies form part of the life strategies for some youth but not for others, and the reasons and the implications for this are analysed. Both Chapter 5 and 6 are more biographical in their character than the other chapters. I found these chapters most appropriate for an introduction of the respondents be-

cause they are all either studying or engaged in various livelihood activities (for an overview of the respondents participating in the semi-structured interview, see Appendix 2).

In **Chapter 7**, the involvement of global processes in young people's lives is analysed and how young people in Masasi and Montepuez perceive the conditions in their own place through mobility experiences and information about other places. This chapter is important for the understanding of the context in which young people in Masasi and Montepuez live, not least the local-global interface. **Chapter 8** is the last empirical chapter and concerns young people's aspirations for the future in terms of livelihood, settlement, family life and their children's future. **Chapter 9** consists of a concluding discussion of the thesis.

2. SETTING THE SCENE

2.1 Introduction

There are two main research areas of relevance for this study, namely urban contexts and youth. Youth in urban settings is a research field which has started to gain recognition. In this chapter, previous research of relevance for my study will be presented as well as the geographical areas in focus. The chapter starts with an introduction to the current processes of globalisation and neo-liberalisation with particular emphasis on post-colonial Africa, an important background when emphasising on contemporary urban development and youth research in African contexts. Then follows a section about urban development in Sub-Saharan Africa where aspects such as the small town context, the informal economy and deagrarianisation are discussed. After this, a presentation of the youth research field is given, with special attention paid to research with a spatial perspective of youth in urban settings. Lastly, a brief introduction to the geographical areas in focus is provided, i.e. Tanzania and Mozambique, and more specifically the towns Masasi in southern Tanzania and Montepuez in northern Mozambique.

2.2 Globalisation and neo-liberalisation in a post-colonial world

2.2.1 A post-colonial situation

Three interwoven components of colonialism can be distinguished, namely the conquering of physical space, colonisation of the mind of the “natives” and the incorporation of the local economy into Western capitalism (Jonsson 1995, with reference to Mudimbe). All three aspects of colonialism still have consequences today. Significant for postcolonial theory is the view that the linkages and uneven power relations between centre and periphery that were created during colonialism did not end with independence. They are highly present, both economically and culturally (Eriksson, Eriksson Baaz and Thörn 1999). Hall (1999) states that all countries are not postcolonial in the same way and to the same extent, but all countries are postcolonial in *some* way. Effects of globalisation can indeed be seen from post-colonial perspective.

Mudimbe (1999), who has focused particularly on post-colonial analysis of the African continent, states that due to the colonial structure, a binary system of dichotomies have been created in African societies, such as traditional versus modern, oral versus written, agriculture versus urban and industrial. These extremes have been associated with underdevelopment (traditional, oral and

agriculture) and development (modern, written, urban and industrial). Between these extremes is what Mudimbe calls a space of marginality. In this space, traditional values (underdevelopment) are gradually destroyed and replaced by modern values (development). As will be shown in this study, the discourses around development are strong, but the young people in Masasi and Montepuez are far away from passive victims of these discourses. They are negotiated and transformed according to the realities of the locality, which includes agriculture for example as something associated with development rather than underdevelopment.

Paolini (1999) discusses the 'Third World' in relation to globalisation and modernisation and says that the Western modernity has been globalised and now embraces the major part of the Third World. However, *how* it is influencing people has to be looked upon from a spatial and differential perspective. Paolini, with reference to Hannerz, states that when looking into the global culture's influences and effects, there is difficulty in understanding how people in a specific place perceive global culture. A global analysis that does not seriously take into account specific aspects of time and space is nothing but a copying of the westernised experience. Paolini suggests that western modernity is incorporated and creolised according to the local context, with its history, traditions and daily practices.

This is a study of young people in two localities, the towns Masasi in southern Tanzania and Montepuez in northern Mozambique. However, these localities are not isolated places. On the contrary, processes in these localities are influenced by processes going on at other geographical levels. The locality can function as a lens through which we can understand how large forces are played out and we can also see how more general strategies, policies and power relations are realised, dealt with, challenged or transformed. Life strategies of young people are influenced by national governance, which in turn to a high degree is affected by the international development agenda and the global trends that govern them. As will be shown in the empirical chapters, some of the livelihood activities of the respondents have emerged as a result of the liberalisation the economy and their livelihood activities are therefore in many ways depending on agendas set on other geographical scales than the local. Another aspect of the interaction between different geographical levels is that cultural expressions and patterns of consumption have been influenced by processes of globalisation, such as music, fashion, food and life styles.

An illustrative example of research where a locality in an African context is studied in the light of global structural changes is Andr e's (2004) analysis of the water sector in the town Kano in Nigeria towards the background of de-

centralisation and liberalisation of state provision of services. She found that new patterns of supply and distribution had meant that different agents in society had developed new strategies to meet these changes and to benefit from them. Other suppliers and regulators had come forward and as a result, social relations had changed. Andr e (2004) clearly points out the importance of studying localities from a perspective of interrelated geographical scales:

The combination of physical, economic, social and political conditions as they have developed and intertwined through history in a place, in relation to the large socio-spatial context with which it interacts, will lead to great variations in outcomes of similar processes of liberalisation and decentralisation (Andr e 2004:22).

2.2.2 Perspectives on globalisation

One of the structural changes often referred to concerning current development processes across the globe is globalisation. Globalisation is often referred to as a condition of the world as a shrinking place. People live in a global village and meet in cyber space, workers across the globe produce different parts of a shoe in a footloose company and economic transactions are made within the blink of an eye. There has however been limited theorisation of the driving forces behind globalisation and its impact in different places and for different people. Held and McGrew (2000) identify two main views of globalisation, namely the *globalists* and the *sceptics*. The globalists see globalisation as a real situation while the sceptics view it as a mythical and ideological construction.

Two scholars who have theorised globalisation are Castells (1998) and Hoogvelt (1997). Castells views the present world condition as a new epoch: the information age. What has created this new era is the emergence of information technology, which has completely changed patterns of interaction between people and modes of production. The present capital system is informational and society has become a network society. Hoogvelt's analysis of statistics since the colonial times shows that an increase of trade and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) can mainly be seen within the core countries. She therefore makes the point that *intensity* is not the same as *extensity* and emphasises that globalisation is a *deepening*, not *widening* of capitalist integration. Hoogvelt states that an ideology of 'globalism' has emerged, an ideology which perceives globalisation as a driverless machine, impossible to control. The ideology of globalism is according to Hoogvelt a strategy under neo-liberalism, and she views it as a new form of imperialism where peripheral countries are forced to abide to globalism (Hoogvelt 1997).

Despite different opinions about whether we now live in a new era or not, Castells and Hoogvelt agree on a number of issues. Both emphasise that not all people are included in the global economy and that the geographical division of the world in rich and poor nations and regions has been replaced by a social division. Marginalisation and social exclusion is found also in rich countries, and an international bourgeoisie fully integrated in the global economy exist in poor countries.

Hoogvelt (1997) uses Wallerstein's terminology of the world system analysis with core, semi-periphery and periphery and she divides the world population into three circles which cut across all continents and nations, rather than the previously used pyramid structure of the first, second and third world. She estimates that about 20 percent of the world population constitutes the core, i.e. the elite, or the 'bankable', as she calls them. They are surrounded by a larger, fluid circle of workers and their families who constitute about 20-30 percent of the world population. They are employed, but can any time be unemployed if the enterprise they are working for make their production more efficient or decide to move to another place where labour is cheaper. The rest of the world population compose the third circle and is excluded from the global system. They have no productive function and they are not potential consumers in the information driven capitalism. Hoogvelt, in line with the world system analysis, states that the core can expand its wealth due to the exploitation of the periphery. Poverty and wealth creation depend on each other and a gain somewhere always means a loss somewhere else.

Castells (1998) describes the division of the world in terms of excluded and included parts of the world population and he refers to them as *on* and *off* the global network. However, while Hoogvelt argues that excluded people will continue to be excluded and exploited by the core social layer, Castells suggests that although exclusion has been one of the outcomes of informationalism, people are not doomed to be excluded from the global system. The strategy therefore has to be to conform to the rules of the game and play it in order to get on the global network.

Castells (2000) refers to Africa as structurally irrelevant, a 'switched off' region without significant participation in the global economy of the network society. Hoogvelt (1997) agrees with this analysis and gives some statistical evidence for this. From early post-independence in the 1970s to the 1990s, Africa's primary commodities trade went down from 7 percent of world trade to less than 0.5 percent and FDI went down from 13 percent in the 1980s to less than 5 percent in the late 1990s. Castells (2000) puts forward a different strategy for Africa than that he recommends for all other regions. While the main

message from Castells is to try to get on the global network society, his recommendation to the African region is to close itself off the rest of the world and find a different path to development. This is an analysis which can be questioned because it may contain elements of a common image of Africa as 'different' and therefore needing a 'different' path. The empirical material on Africa is poor in comparison with the substantial material on the other regions which Castells analyses, which makes the analysis less convincing.

Whether structurally irrelevant or not for the global economy, the foreign investments have nevertheless increased in both countries during the last decade. The net FDI inflows (as percent of GDP) in 1990 was 0 percent in Tanzania and 0.4 percent in Mozambique, while it was 2.6 percent in Tanzania and 11.3 in Mozambique in 2002 (UNDP 2004). Most of the parastatals such as the telecommunication, water, electricity and brewery enterprises have been privatised and there are now several mobile phone networks. In the capital cities Maputo and Dar es Salaam, new shopping malls, restaurants, banks have opened and real estates been constructed, not least by foreign investors.

According to Van Arkadie's (2002), one of the most fundamental outcomes of the liberalisation of the economies in East Africa has been the emergence of a substantial number of small-scale successful businessmen in transport, trade, construction and service. In Van Arkadie's view, these entrepreneurs are a positive force for long term economic development. Quite a few of my respondents are small-scale entrepreneurs but, as will be shown in the thesis, their living conditions are very tough and from their stories, I think it can be questioned if a liberalised economy really is the answer to achieve long term economic development.

2.2.3 A neo-liberal agenda

As e.g. Shivji (2002) and Hoogvelt (1997) state, the dominant discourse on globalisation builds on an ideology of neo-liberalisation, represented by institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). One of the manifestations of neo-liberalisation was the implementation of structural adjustment programmes through liberalisation and privatisation of the economy, prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF in the 1980s as a condition for new loans. Many scholars agree that the structural adjustment programmes have had serious effects, not least in African countries, and e.g. Barratt Brown (1993) states that they have lead to a further marginalisation of Africa. Hoogvelt (2002) makes a distinction between different phases of structural adjustment programmes and

states that the first phase involved largely economic measures such as removing price controls and subsidies, favouring export commodities, privatising state property and parastatal enterprises and reducing the costs for social service. When these measures did not have the desired effects, political pressure was introduced, such as ‘good governance’.

There has been a move from *government* to *governance*, which means that the government is no longer the only service provider. Partnership between the government, the private sector and the so called ‘civil society’ are encouraged. Elander (2002) points out that the governance and partnership rhetoric first emerged in Britain by the conservative government under Thatcher in order to bridge the gap between the public and the private sector and it has now been appropriated by various constellations in the era of neo-liberalism. Partnership and good governance are key features on the contemporary development agenda and as e.g. Mercer et al. (2003) argue, despite the rhetoric that African nations are setting their own development agenda, there is certainly a sense of trusteeship among Western countries which build on a colonial legacy.

Part of the neo-liberal agenda is an increased focus on the local level. In an ongoing process of decentralisation, for example in Tanzania and Mozambique, the local government, in partnership with the civil society and the private sector, is increasingly becoming responsible for implementing service provision. It has become common that NGOs and private investors enter partnerships with the local government to implement e.g. education, health and micro-financing programmes. Mohan and Stokke (2000) argue that the local level as a preferred level of action and analysis is where the ‘new’ Left (post-Marxism) and the ‘new’ Right (revisionist neo-liberalism) find common ground. Mohan and Stokke (2000) point out that while the ‘new’ Right focuses on the empowerment of individuals through civil society organisations, existing power structures remain unchallenged. Concerning the ‘new’ Left, the focus also here is on actors at the local level, but with the argument that every situation is different and diverse. The solutions according to the ‘new’ Left have to be found through local knowledge and local actors who can challenge the power of the state and the market. However, to focus on the local solutions can according to Mohan and Stokke (2000) involve the risk of getting lost in diversity rather than finding common strategies and there is a risk that the local level is detached from other geographical scales.

Amartya Sen’s concept of development as expanding freedom of the individual has become a popular development approach among international donors, including the World Bank. According to Sen (2000), individuals should be

seen as agents of change rather than passive receivers and to promote people's capabilities and entitlements through enhanced freedom should therefore be the aim as well as the means of development. Increased freedom can be achieved through e.g. economic possibilities, political rights, education, health and transparent governance. It could be argued that Sen's approach has gained popularity among donors because the focus on the empowerment of the *individual* suits the neo-liberal agenda.

The discussion around people's capabilities and entitlements is related to the discussion around vulnerability, since it could be argued that people without sufficient capabilities and entitlements are vulnerable. Chambers (1995) states that vulnerability has two sides, one of which he refers to external and the other as internal:

[...] the external side of exposure to shocks, stress and risk; and the internal side of defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss. Loss can take many forms – becoming or being physically weaker, economically impoverished, socially dependent, humiliated or psychologically harmed (Chambers 1995:189).

Watts and Bohle (1993) refer to a space of vulnerability where groups of people and regions can be vulnerable due to problems of entitlement, powerlessness and due to appropriation and exploitation. Vulnerable *groups* are people at risk/resource-poor, the powerless and the exploited while vulnerable *regions* are those which are marginal, peripheral/dependent and crisis-prone. Watts and Bohle distinguish between groups and regions, but as Findlay (2005) points out, society and space cannot be separated and his concept of vulnerable *spatialities* is one way to capture this.

Vulnerability and poverty are often used as interchangeable terms, but the meaning is not necessarily the same. As Moser (1998) states, poor people are often among the most vulnerable, but not all vulnerable people are poor. How vulnerable people are to economic decline depends on their portfolio of assets, how these assets are mixed and the capacity to manage them (Moser 1998). I find vulnerability to be a more dynamic and suitable concept to describe the situations of my respondents than poverty. Poverty is often associated with economic poverty and although many of my respondents would be defined as poor (if for example the frequently used World Bank definition of less than 1 USD per day is used), poverty only partly captures their position.¹⁴ Vulnerability has been defined differently by different researchers, but the terms risk, insecurity, sensitivity and powerlessness all capture vulnerability.

¹⁴ Some definitions of poverty are however more dynamic than others, such as Sen (2000) who views poverty as lack of capabilities rather than lack of income.

As will be shown, many of the respondents are in vulnerable positions, which influence their space of action and thereby their life strategies.

Several authors (e.g. North 1993) have claimed that the preconditions for long-term investments and economic development are negatively affected by the lack of well-functioning institutions in society, for instance guarantee of property rights and insufficient trust between people in their economic and social relations. In an insecure situation people tend to avoid large and long-term investments. Vulnerability, in general, may have a similar effect both on a societal and individual level. Vulnerability can be regarded as the risk of being (figuratively or literally) “wounded”, (to cite Philo, 2005); a state that constrains people’s space of action and limits the possibility for present strategies and long term strategies for the future. There is a double effect of being poor *and* vulnerable; both the lack of resources and insecurity limit the space of action. Engaged in everyday activities, there are few opportunities for poor and vulnerable people to act strategically, which limit the space to take further risks.

2.3 Urban development in Sub-Saharan Africa

2.3.1 Urban development and urban contexts

During the colonial period, migration in Sub-Saharan Africa was very much under the control of the colonial powers and the migration movements were mainly rural-rural. After independence, many people moved to urban areas in search for economic opportunities, but industrial employment was very limited and the jobs on offer were mainly in the expanding public sector (e.g. Bryceson 1996). The public sector could increase through the export of raw material from agriculture and mining and external loans in the state led the development approach, supported by the international community (Hoogvelt 1997). Industrialisation did not take off on a large scale in Sub-Saharan Africa, despite efforts by the post-colonial governments. Africa had instead been part of the industrialisation process in Europe. Europe had become wealthy through mercantile colonisation and this wealth was invested in Europe during industrial colonisation, while Africa became a source of raw material and a market of goods.¹⁵ At the time of independence in the 1960s and 1970s, the large scale industrial model was already outdated. Baker and Pedersen (1992) state that by the 1970s when it became obvious that the urban based industrialisation initiatives had failed in many African countries, the view of urbanisa-

¹⁵ For a brief overview of mercantile and industrial colonisation, see e.g. Potter et al. 2004.

tion as a positive force changed. It was instead seen as causing underdevelopment and as having a negative impact on agriculture. Rural development was instead perceived as the way forward by many African nations and this approach was also supported by the donor community.

Urban development and urban contexts in Sub-Saharan Africa is a relatively unexplored research area. However, as the share of the urban population in Sub-Saharan Africa is growing rapidly, urban issues are increasingly becoming an area of interest among researchers as well as national governments and international donors. Currently, the largest cities are the obvious centre of attention when urbanisation and urban development is discussed (e.g. Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (Eds.) (2002) and Tranberg Hansen and Vaa (Eds.) 2004) while towns as urban places have been of lesser interest on the research agenda. As Pedersen (1997) states, small towns have been overlooked in the rural-urban dichotomy. Important contributions on town contexts are however collected in Baker (Ed.) (1990) and Baker and Pedersen (Eds.) (1992) where particular attention is given to the debate about the role of small towns for local, regional and national development, including the role of small towns in rural-urban interaction.

The views on the role of towns have followed trends in development theory, which with reference to African contexts has been discussed by e.g. Ærøe (1992) and Pedersen (1997). In the 1950s and 1960s when modernisation theory dominated development theory, small towns were seen as playing a positive role for rural development. Economic growth was to be achieved through economic and technological injections from the outside and the small towns were here regarded as spatial nodes for diffusion. However, in practice, there were limited trickle down effects. Therefore, in the 1970s, with support from dependency theory and Marxist centre-periphery theory, small towns came to be seen as centres of exploitation of the periphery rather than as service centres for rural development (Ærøe 1992 and Pedersen 1997).

During the 1970s and early 1980s, theories of development from below gained recognition, in which small towns were circumvented in favour of support directly to peasant farmers in rural areas. The intention was that power would be decentralised, but what happened was that rural development was ruled from the capital cities. Small-scale activities at subsistence level occurred rather than rural industrialisation at an intermediate level, i.e. in the small towns (Pedersen 1997). The fact that non-agricultural activities increasingly are taking place in rural areas and in small towns is changing the balance between rural and urban areas. The role of small-towns may therefore also be changing.

Simon (1992) makes the point that spatial analysis often has been weak, ignoring the fact that all scales are interrelated. In his view, small towns must be regarded as part of wider national, regional and international systems and that definitions of what is considered to be urban and what is regarded as a small town must be made in relation to the national urban and economic system. According to Simon, although national governments in Sub-Saharan Africa have had secondary towns and service centres as part of the national strategy, the implementation has been poor due to a top-down perspective from centralised governments. In Simon's view, they have focused more on physical planning than social and economic relations in the various localities. Simon's argument suggests that research on how young people develop strategies in towns, could contribute to the understanding of social and economic relations in these contexts.

Several studies have focused on small towns in Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of migration and the urban-rural links that hereby exist. Andersson (2002) investigates a small town situation in Zimbabwe where she looks at reciprocal links between rural and urban areas through social networks. Others have highlighted particular social categories, such as women and their migration to towns (e.g. Trager 1995 and Olurode 1995) and elderly people's retirement in towns (e.g. Peil 1995). Few have however focused on the *forms of urbanity* existing in small towns and how people navigate their lives *within* these towns. Espling's study (1999) on women's livelihood strategies touches upon this theme since one of her three research areas is a small town. So does Holm (1992) who looks into the survival strategies of male migrants in a Tanzanian town and the migrants' relations with the home village. However, life of young people in towns is a theme which so far has seen limited research.

Research concerning urban development and urban contexts in Tanzania, Tripp's (1997) research on the increased role of informal economy and its social, economic and political implications is an important contribution. Other research has dealt with urban governance and migration, such as Ngware and Kironde (Eds.) (2000) and urban planning has been another focus, such as Halla (1999). Concerning urban development and urban contexts in Mozambique, some of the studies I have come across deal with livelihood strategies of women, such as Espling (1999), where women's livelihood strategies in different areas on the urban hierarchy in Mozambique are explored. Waterhouse's (2001) research does not take place in an urban setting, but the women she has interviewed in a village in southern Mozambique have developed livelihood strategies which involve inter-linkages between the village and

the capital city Maputo. The influence of deregulation in urban areas in Mozambique has been explored e.g. in Baptista Lundin's (2001) research among female traders in Maputo.

2.3.2 *Informal economy*

Many poor countries have a large informal economy. The neo-liberal approach, in which deregulation of the market and privatisation are central, has speeded up the process of informality since the structural adjustment programmes were introduced in the 1980s. One of the advocates of a free market who have gained influence is Hernando de Soto. In his study on Peru (de Soto 1989) he argues that in order for the economy to thrive and for employment opportunities to be created, institutional obstacles should be removed and informal sector activities encouraged.

The division between formal and informal became categories that were widely used when applied by the ILO in the 1970s. In an ILO report on Kenya from 1972, the ILO characterised the informal sector as being easy to enter, relying on indigenous resources, small-scale and family owned enterprises, labour intensive and adapted technology, based on skills gained outside the formal education system and unregulated and competitive markets (Tripp 1997 and Tranberg Hansen and Vaa 2004). The division into an informal and a formal sector has been questioned due to the difficulty to draw a line between them. Tranberg Hansen and Vaa (2004) prefer the term informal economy rather than the informal sector with the arguments that informal activities are heterogeneous, the degree of legitimacy also varies and well-to-do people as well as marginalised people engage in them and benefit from them. In countries like Tanzania and Mozambique, informal economic activities constitute a substantial part of the economy. What is considered to be formal and informal economic activities is complicated but the dichotomy informal and formal is as will be shown expressed by young people in Masasi and Montepuez when they talk about 'real' employment, although 'real' jobs in these geographical contexts are the exceptions rather than the rule.

An interesting study on the informal economy is Lourenço-Lindell's (2002) research on food provision in urban Guinea Bissau. She views informality as a social process that has increased due to flexible modes of production, weakening labour unions and deregulation of the market by the state. By investigating how actors with informal livelihoods respond to this, she relates local actors in a locality to a global process. She uncovers the social relations *within* the informal sphere in the locality and how they through social networks of

assistance negotiate their roles in order to obtain livelihoods and social security. Contrary to the neo-liberal view of the trickling down effect to benefit the poor, Lourenço-Lindell shows that increased informality has made the poor more vulnerable while those in a relatively secure position have gained even more power. Rather than viewing the state as the only agent with a regulatory role, Lourenço-Lindell (2002) unpacks the 'black box' of informality and argues that other agents within the informal sphere also act as regulators.

Baptista Lundin (2001) states that in the case of Mozambique, domestic trade was to a large extent centralised and controlled through state programmes before the mid 1980s. When there was a shortage of food and other necessities due to lack of capacity of the state programmes and due to the destabilisation war, a parallel, black market was created. The state took a first step towards market deregulation in 1985 and when the structural adjustment programmes were introduced in 1987, private markets were encouraged rather than discouraged. As a result, there has been a substantial increase in the number of traders.

Also in Tanzania, economic liberalisation occurred in the mid 1980s. Tripp (1997) acknowledges the role played by external forces such as the World Bank and the IMF through the structural adjustment programmes which were agreed upon in 1986. However, Tripp also sheds light on the internal pressure in Tanzania for economic reform. During the economic crisis in the end of the 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s, urban dwellers, who were more dependent on state jobs than people in rural areas, had to turn to other ways of making a living as real wages dropped. The informal economy became urbanites' cushion against economic hardship and by engaging in the informal economy, Tripp states that they were also exercising resistance against the state regulations. This pushed the government to loosen up the restrictions on informal economy activities. In Tripp's view, the growth of the informal economy meant one of the greatest changes in Africa in the 1980s and it affected all social strata and categories:

In Tanzania the agricultural sector was affected by the sale of crops on parallel markets. Wage workers were living primarily off their sideline incomes. Education programs were affected by absenteeism as children increasingly involved themselves in income-generating projects. Teachers frequently obtained their main source of income from tutorials after classes. Physicians resorted to their private sideline practice as the demand for health care grew and doctors found their official incomes below subsistence levels. The extent of urban women's involvement in income-generating activities reached unprecedented proportions. In short, few areas of life in Tanzania were untouched by these informal strategies (Tripp 1997:4).

2.3.3 An ongoing process of deagrarianisation

The economic crisis in many Sub-Saharan African countries and the structural adjustment programmes which followed had rural-urban dimensions. Especially people in urban areas were affected because they were depending on wages and were more involved in the monetary economy than people in rural areas who could rely on their own production. As a result, they turned to the informal economy as a means for making a living (e.g. Bryceson 1996 and Tripp 1997). However, Bryceson (1996 and 1997) notes that also in rural areas, people are turning to other activities. To diversify the household economy has become a strategy in urban as well as in rural areas.

While countries in Europe and America are experiencing a process of *deindustrialisation*, many Sub-Saharan African countries are according to Bryceson (1996 and 1997) going through a process of *deagrarianisation*. According to Bryceson (1996 and 1997) and Mwamfupe (2003), the deagrarianisation process can be illustrated through four major changes:

- 1) *Occupational adjustment*. Non-farm activities are on the increase, both regarding type of activities and in magnitude.
- 2) *Income earning reorientation*. Increased costs for service such as education and health have caused a growing demand for cash, either from farming or from non-farming activities, but the gains from agriculture have gone down and agriculture has therefore become less attractive.
- 3) *Changing social identification*. Through the expansion of the informal economy, there is a move away from the main identity of being a farmer.
- 4) *Spatial relocation of rural dwellers*. There is an ongoing process of urbanisation and due to transport increase, people are able to commute between rural and urban areas and it is possible to combine rural and urban livelihoods.

By making a distinction between deindustrialisation and deagrarianisation, Bryceson aims to move on from a discussion of “industrial failure” in Africa to an analysis of ongoing development processes. Bryceson sees similar trends in statistics from 1960 to 1990 in countries experiencing deindustrialisation and deagrarianisation. The service sector has grown and the rural population and the agricultural labour force decreased in industrialised countries as well as in Sub-Saharan Africa. As for the agricultural production as part of GDP in Sub-Saharan Africa, it was 40 percent in 1965 and it had dropped to 32 percent in 1990 (Bryceson 1996).

Whether a process of deagrarianisation is actually taking place and what this process looks like is an empirical question, but I find the concept fruitful and the parallel between deagrarianisation and deindustrialisation interesting. Of particular relevance for my study is that Bryceson (1997) points towards the trend that young people, whose level of education is higher than that of their parents' generation, tend to move away from agricultural activities. She argues that based on their occupation, their future social identity may not be as farmers. In this study, the relationship between agriculture and other livelihood activities in the towns Masasi and Montepuez is explored.

In a study by Mwamfupe (1998) in two Tanzanian villages located close to the border to Malawi, he found that non-farm activities have existed besides agricultural activities for many years but that more recently they have increased in magnitude. At the time of his research, every household were engaged in non-farm activities in the areas of production (e.g. carpentry, weaving, brewing service, service (e.g. midwifery, bicycle repair, traditional healing and hair saloon,) or commercial exchange (e.g. shopkeeping, food stalls and kiosks). The explanations he gives for this development are the growing cash economy in rural areas, scarcity of land, poor performance in agriculture, good transport facilities, a large population and a strong local economy. According to Mwamfupe, trade liberalisation policies have brought about the establishment of non-farming activities in several ways. Restrictions on trade have made trade easier. The commercialisation of agriculture has caused a rise in the price of farm inputs and incomes from agricultural goods have gone down. In addition, the monetisation of labour has meant that the sale of agricultural labour has become part of people's livelihood strategies.

2.4. Youth research with related perspectives and themes

2.4.1 The youth research field

Very broadly, the understanding of youth in relation to societal change and reproduction can be divided into two main theoretical perspectives. These are *youth as a phase in life* and *youth from a generational perspective* (e.g. Westberg 2005). The phase in life perspective is associated with reproduction of society while the generational perspective is related to societal change. In the phase in life perspective, the youth period is regarded as a temporary phase which everybody goes through. In this phase, there is little space for navigation due to rigid class, gender and race relations and the society is therefore largely reproduced. According to the generational perspective on the other hand, each generation is formed under particular societal circumstances, which forms the

life of youth permanently. In times of modernisation, there has been a process of individualisation and young people increasingly have to take responsibility for their own lives. This involves reflexivity, increased opportunities but also more risks than before.

One of the influential schools in youth research is the CCCS (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) in Birmingham which initiated the youth sub-culture research in Great Britain in the 1970s (e.g. Hall and Jefferson 1976). In the CCCS, class, symbols, cultural practice, resistance and style are key concepts and this school of research is closer to the phase in life perspective outlined above. The punks as forming a sub-culture was analysed and Paul Willis study on working class male youth from 1977 has become a classic. What Willis found was an anti-school culture due to school values that according to 'the lads' were representing the middle-classes. They related to this through resisting them and therefore subordinated themselves to the class system precisely through resisting them. Class relations were hereby reproduced (Willis 1993).

Another important stream of youth research can be represented by for example work by the German researcher Thomas Ziehe (e.g. 1989 and 1991). This research is in line with the understanding of youth from a generational perspective. Key words here are modernity, individualisation and reflexivity. Ziehe argues that in the present time of modernity, all aspects of life changes. There are new technologies, forms of media and working situations and this has social as well as cultural consequences. This has resulted in more possibilities but the pressure from society on the individual increases because it is up to the individual to seize the opportunities. An individualisation process takes place where the individual has to try out, reformulate her or his identity and reflect on her or his actions and self. The individual has to adjust to the societal framework as well as to take increased responsibility. Ziehe points out that the struggle to reformulate one's identity is not something that concerns only youth but he thinks that this first affects young people because they generally have less routine in their daily life than adults have (Ziehe 1989 and Ziehe 1991).

Young people have by Ziehe (1991) and others been regarded as societal seismographs. Therefore, youth research has sometimes been regarded as futuristic research and it is argued that by studying youth, it is possible to find out how the wind blows and what is going on under the surface of society. The reason given for this is that young people and youth cultures have not yet adapted to the slow structure that characterises the rest of society. I think it can be discussed whether youth research can say something about the future

since young people's actions and aspirations do not necessarily reflect what they will actually do and what they would like to do in the future. However, I am confident that research that focuses on young people contributes to an understanding of the *present* society and the processes of change that are taking place.

2.4.2 Youth research with space and place as central perspectives

In the work by the CCCS, they have a spatial perspective that is both physical and social, as illustrated in the following quote:

These spaces are both physical (the networks of streets, houses, corner shops, pubs and parks) and social (the networks of kin, friendship, work and neighbourly relationships) (Hall and Jefferson 1976:43).

It was public spaces which were at the centre of attention in the work by the CCCS, which was criticised from within the CCCS by McRobbie (1991) for example. She argued that youth sub-culture research had a one-dimensional focus on the public space, which made girls almost invisible. It did not question whether girls *really* were not active or present in the youth sub-cultures. When girls were mentioned, they were either referred to as sex-objects, mothers or presented as giggling non-contributors beside 'the lads'. McRobbie put forward that working-class girls in Britain in the 1970s tended to spend their time in the private sphere while boys were encouraged to live their relations on the public arena. The girls had alternative ways of organising their cultural life, which was mainly experienced in the home where the 'girls' room' was a space of their own (McRobbie 1991). Gendered space had implications in my research for example when we were looking for female respondents. Girls were less seen than boys in the public space and it was therefore more challenging to find female respondents. This is further discussed in the methodological chapter.

I had noticed during my previous experiences in Tanzania and Mozambique that that the way Tanzanian and Mozambican youth are perceived in the media etc is not very different from the way Swedish youth are talked about in Swedish media, which made me interested in the perception of youth in official discourses. That young people move away from rural areas is seen as a problem both in Sweden, Tanzania and Mozambique and the older generation takes a worried perspective in relation to the younger generation, stating that outside influences are threatening the societal order. This has been a theme for generations, although the evils have changed. For example in Sweden there was "dansbaneeländet" ("the dance-pavilion nuisance") discussion in the

1930s and 1940s, analysed in e.g. Lindgren 2002, with reference to Frykman 1988, and in Tanzania there was the anti miniskirt movement in the 1960s (Ishumi 1984 and Ivaska 2002).

Apart from being *talked about* in similar ways, the lives of young people in Tanzania, Mozambique and Sweden, despite different contexts, appear in some ways to be somewhat similar. They have similar interests, listen to the same kind of music, wear similar clothes and have comparable dreams for the future. This makes it relevant to talk about globalised youth cultures and globalised identities of youth. An article by Massey (1998) encourages reflections on youth culture, 'authentic' cultures and globalisation. The article departs from a filming sequence in Mexico where Massey and a film team had been filming women making tortillas the way it, according to the women, 'always' has been made. But when the filming was over, their attention was drawn towards something that was sticking out in this 'traditional' society - young men playing computer games. Was this the local culture or was it a global culture of youth? Massey asks. She argues that local youth cultures and global youth cultures interact and that the local youth culture therefore is a "*product of interaction*" (p. 122). The combination of 'local' and 'global' varies from place to place, but Massey states that all youth cultures are hybrid cultures, formed through a process of social interaction. She hereby questions the view that a 'local' culture can be separated from outside elements. To move away from an understanding of culture as authentic closed cultures, according to Massey involves:

[...] a reworking of the geographical imagination of culture which has been well captured in the formulation, from 'roots' to 'routes'. (Massey 1998, p. 123)

Massey (1998) analyses our thinking about space and scale, and how these concepts when used in an analysis, have been challenged. Rather than a space organised according to hierarchical scales (such as local and international, or body, home, community and nation), what is witnessed is that youth cultures on *different* scales interact and that the global is inside the local. Massey also points out that one also needs to be aware of that social relations are not free from power relations. A working class youth in Guatemala dressed in a t-shirt with an American logo involves a different power relation than a young, white middle class youth in the USA wearing clothes made out of textiles from Guatemala.

An interesting way of showing that global change can have similar and at the same time different outcomes in different places is illustrated by Cindi Katz (1998) who has done research on how global economic restructuring is af-

fecting youth in two local contexts: rural Sudan and New York City. Katz argues that in both rural Sudan and urban New York City, young people's physical as well as social environment, which she calls the *ecology of youth*, has eroded due to economic restructuring. In Sudan, an agricultural development aid project with the aim of shifting from cultivation of sorghum and sesame to cash crop production of cotton and groundnuts had an impact on the social relations. The time needed in the fields increased, which meant that many children had to be more involved in the farming, leaving less time for school and other activities. In addition, because many families tenured land, young people who were mature enough to get a piece of land of their own, no longer had this possibility and due to the nonexistent options of subsistence, they moved to town. The wealthy minority of the population was the least affected because they could afford to hire labour. In New York City, the decline in the manufacturing industry has caused a downward trend in the public sector. This has led to difficulties for working class youth to get jobs as well as to deteriorating schools and public spaces such as environments for recreation (Katz 1998).

2.4.3 *Everyday life of 'ordinary' youth*

One of the aims in *Cool Places* (Skelton and Valentine (Eds.) 1998) is to bring forward not only the public actions and resistance by youth, which has been studied for a long time, but also to focus on 'non problematic' and perhaps invisible youth who may be under educational and social pressure (Valentine et al. 1998). Many of the contributions in *Cool Places* regard 'youth' not as a one-dimensional category, but as a category where various identities intersect, such as gender, class and ethnicity. Youth research is becoming an accepted part of geography and young people are increasingly seen as worth studying their own right. Apart from *Cool Places*, this is shown through e.g. Aitken (2001) and Ansell (2005) and it has also been expressed by Gough (2005).

The perspective of young people as agents is articulated in *Youth Cultures: A Cross-cultural perspective* (Amit-Talai and Wulff (Eds.) 1995). Wulff (1995) states that it is a theoretical concern to show how young people are active agents rather than objects of adult activity. One of the aims in *Youth Cultures* is to move away from mainstream studies on youth cultures focusing on male, Western, urban youth and widen the scope of youth from the visible, resisting youth groups, to bring in *all* youth (Wulff 1995).

Waara (1996) conducted a study on youth in the Torne Valley, in the borderland of Sweden and Finland. One of Waara's contributions to the youth re-

search field is that he looks at ‘ordinary’ youth in a peripheral, but not necessarily rural, environment. He is critical of the youth culture research which he believes only represents something that we *think* represents youth and this only because it is visible. Also in Löfgren’s study (1990), an everyday life perspective of ‘ordinary’ youth is important. His work focuses on the process of becoming an adult through living strategies and living preferences in the south of Sweden. Löfgren uses Mørch’s (1985) concept of ‘youth task’ which is a concept that I have used also in my study (see Chapter 4).

2.4.4 Urban youth in ‘developing countries’

One study on the theme of urban youth and globalisation is Mark Liechty’s work (1995) on male youth identities in Kathmandu, the fast growing capital of Nepal. In Kathmandu, a combination of global tourism, poverty, development aid, production for a global commodity market and consumption of products from this very market, has formed a new urban experience. The middleclass youth generation lives a life very different from their parents’ generation, which is a situation that Liechty argues should be seen in light of globalisation and modernisation. Liechty works with three definitions of modernity: 1) ‘state modernism’ which is an ideology of modernisation and development, measured e.g. by health posts and roads, 2) ‘consumer modernity’, based on a capitalist ideology in which it is possible to buy an identity through commodities, which Liechty refers to as a form of post-colonial imperialism: “*a colonization of the mind via the commoditization of identities*” (p. 169) and 3) ‘experience of modernity’ where people can experience an intersection of ‘state modernism’ and ‘consumer modernity’, but where the experience also constitutes limited resources and unequal power relations (Liechty 1995).

Liechty’s analysis deals with both the commercial media interests and the experiences of middleclass youth and adults. Media magazines have contributed to the creation of a teen (teenager) category, which more than an age category is a consumer group. Teens have become a youth identity, often referred to as a category of male youth that causes trouble and does ‘bad things’. An interesting perspective of place is discussed by Liechty when he refers to youth respondents who through images from the global media regard themselves as living ‘out here’. Liechty sees this as self-peripheralisation, which is part of the many Nepali young people’s identities. In fact, argues Liechty, the *deterritorialization* which is the result of globalisation, can have a real *territorializing* effect on the minds of young Nepali people:

Mass media (but also tourists and foreign goods) are like windows on to modern places that are distant in both time and space. But if the video screen is like a window, it is one with bars that keep viewers like Ramesh outside, 'out here' looking in. [...] But media and tourism only work in conjunction with the Nepali state and its ideology of progress (*bikas*) and modernization. By assuming the role of recipient and dependent in the global development aid economy the Nepali state also languishes in this 'out here', self-peripheralizing mentality in which modernity is essentially a foreign commodity (Liechty 1995, p. 186-187).

Another study on the theme urban youth in a 'developing country' context is Christine Jourdan's "Masta Liu" (1995). *Masta Liu* is the name of a category of youth, constituted mainly by young men in Honiara, capital city of the Solomon Islands. Some of the *Masta Liu* have dropped out of school, many are not employed and they try to get by through petty business in the informal sector. The *Masta Liu* has become a cultural phenomenon, whose life-style, taste of music and films according to Jourdan are pointers to the future. The *Masta Liu* is comprised of agents who respond to their marginalisation by negotiating their own social space and identity. This is done through a process of creolisation: they take in foreign cultural traits from Western or other Pacific countries and give them new meaning. Once the *Masta Liu* members have left the village, they find it difficult to go back without enough items or cash to keep their pride. They are more numerous than before and there are nowadays young women who are also *Masta Liu*. Jourdan argues that the expansion of young people in town must be seen towards the background of the transformation of the economy on the islands, as well as schooling and urbanisation. Young people want to experience urban life and even working for a very small wage is often regarded as a better option than the hard physical labour and boredom in the village (Jourdan 1995). The transformation of the economy, schooling and urbanisation are important aspects of my research and there are therefore linkages with Jourdan's study.

Creolisation and globalisation are central concepts in Minou Fuglesang's research on female youth culture on the island Lamu on the Kenyan coast (Fuglesang 1994). She views 'creole' cultures as not just a mix of cultures. Creole cultures are products of asymmetric centre-periphery power relations, where the periphery plays an active role incorporating new cultural influences into the local culture. Fuglesang states that Lamu has a long history of creolisation through trade and immigration and that these days, through globalisation, new forms of creolisation take place on Lamu:

Today, as all sorts of exchange and traffic are taking on a new momentum and new forms, creolization, too, appears in new shapes. It no longer feeds on just trade and immigration, but increasingly on tourism and the mass media. This links the process of creolization to that of economic and cultural globalization (Fuglesang 1994, p. 7).

Fuglesang situates her study between the global and the local, and by global influences she is not only referring to influences from the Western world, but also from India and the Middle East. For example Indian films are important sources of inspiration when it comes to girls' youth cultures regarding aspects such as fashion, dancing and manners of dating and marriage. Interesting in Fuglesang's research is the large extent of spatial analyses, for example how young and old women use their space and time and she looks into male and female dominated spheres. She also highlights where an unmarried woman can move in the public space, with whom and which parts of her body she can show. Women are less visible in the public space, but Fuglesang argues that through recent changes they have gained greater access to this space, which is a matter of generation and class. For example going shopping has become a legitimate activity for young middle- and upperclass women, and through new lifestyles, young women are increasingly claiming access to their 'share' of streets, shops and cinemas.

What it means to be 'modern' is another of Fuglesang's (1994) themes. She argues that despite a strong focus on 'development', little research has been made on how messages about 'development' have been received locally. Therefore, she wants to explore what young women think about change and progress, and what being 'modern' and 'developed' means to them. She spent time with mainly middleclass or upperclass girls, i.e. those with resources, time and money for consumption. For them, being 'modern' meant for example to be mobile and to marry for love. Education has become a tool of social mobility for young women, but too much education can also involve a risk because it is less acceptable for a man to get married to a woman with higher education. Therefore, too much education makes it difficult to find an appropriate match. In the past, girls' destinies were mapped out for them, but now there is a greater extent of freedom and choice. The role of education, marriage and modernity are aspects which are explored also in my study.

The life of 'ordinary' youth has been explored by Ann Schlyter (1999) in a study of youth in a neighbourhood in the suburbs of the Zambian capital Lusaka. She wanted to find out how gender relations, living conditions, urban identities, views about politics, marriage and sexuality has changed in the light of changes in society such as democratisation and HIV/AIDS. Her results show for example that the young women interviewed from relatively well off families were more articulate regarding women's rights to participate in politics, to have a job and they were determined to complete their studies before marriage. However, they were still of the view that a man is the head of the household and the one who has the final say. The man as the breadwinner was seen as an important part of the masculine identity and so was sexual ac-

tivity. However, both these aspects had been challenged by the difficulty in obtaining paid employment and the constant threat of HIV/AIDS (Schlyter 1999).

Research with a comprehensive perspective on youth has also been conducted by Karen Tranberg Hansen (2005) and like Schlyter, she has conducted her research in Lusaka. An important finding in her research is that towards the background of structural adjustment and neo-liberal market policies, it has become more difficult, especially for young men, to fulfil their role as adults (what I refer to as the *youth task*). According to social norms, adult status of men is related to getting a job, a house and to be able to support a family, which has become complicated due to factors such as fewer employment opportunities than before and a privatisation of the housing market which has benefited the better off (Tranberg Hansen 2005). Schlyter's (1999) and Tranberg Hansen's (2005) studies are of significance for my own work, not least due to the urban context and a comprehensive perspective of the life of youth in a Sub-Saharan African context. However, our urban contexts are different. While they focus on young people in a capital city, the young people in my study live in small towns.

2.4.5 Related youth research in Tanzania and Mozambique

I see many similarities between the *Masta Liu* and the *Wamachinga*¹⁶ phenomenon in Tanzania, which e.g. Liviga and Mekacha (1998) and Jean Milliken (2000) have researched. The *Wamachinga* are in most cases male youth and many of them migrate from rural areas in the southern part of Tanzania to the capital city Dar es Salaam in order to make a living as petty traders. Like the *Masta Liu*, the *Wamachinga* leave the rural areas due to poor conditions in the home villages, such as lack of employment opportunities, low returns of farming and shortage of land. It can be difficult for *Wamachinga* to return to the village if they have not managed to earn enough money to be able to come home with pride, and many *Wamachinga* stay on in the capital. The *Wamachinga* work in the informal sector, often standing by the road selling items to passing cars and they are often seen as a threat to law and order. Another parallel to the *Masta Liu* is that *Wamachinga*, has become a cultural phenomenon and a concept. According to Liviga and Mekacha (1998) the *Wamachinga* have become a symbol for rural to urban youth migration and economic liberalisation.

¹⁶ *Wamachinga* is a word that originates from *Mchinga* which is a village in Lindi region and an ethnic group in this region is called *Machinga* (Milliken 2000). Sometimes the *Wamachinga* are also called *Machingas* in plural form. *Machingas* are sometimes referred to as 'marching guys' because they walk around with their goods.

The influx of youth to Dar es Salaam in the 1990s was according to Liviga and Mekacha a response to trade liberalisations and the structural adjustment programme. Masasi district is one of the districts where the *Wamachinga* in Dar es Salaam originate.

Amy Stambach's (2000) study on the role of education in the Kilimanjaro region in northern Tanzania is relevant for my own study because although she studies education, she goes beyond life inside the school institution. Important aspects in Stambach's study are culture, modernity, tradition, generation, gender and community and she tries to see how the concepts are interrelated. Stambach argues that schooling can be regarded as a 'modern practice' and that it is often seen as a contrast to 'traditional beliefs'. While the school is the symbol of modernity, the banana grove is the symbol of a traditional local life. Education can be converted into cultural capital and the banana grove is a form of economic capital. Not only because bananas can bring income and the fruits produce beer, but because sons will eventually get a piece of this property and the banana grove therefore is a symbol for the patrilineal lineage. For educated community members, the banana grove is an outdated symbol of tradition and history, while schooling is the contemporary way of life. Schooling is by elders seen as contributing to girls' moral decline, while female youth perceive it as a path towards an independent life as a 'City Sister', which is the opposite to a 'Stay-at Home Mother'. A self-identity as 'City Sister' means a life without being dependent on a husband for building a house and having children, which is something that attracts an increasing number of secondary school girls in Kilimanjaro. However, not all girls who aspire for such a life realise it and Stambach describes this as changing *preferences* rather than changing *practices*.

A study on youth in Mozambique related to my own research, focuses on young people's schooling, career aspirations and leisure activities and was conducted by de Vletter et al. (1999). The authors stress that the life of young people should be seen in relation to both the economic reforms following the implementation of the structural adjustment programmes and the post-conflict situation during the 1990s. The research was conducted in what they refer to as three different socio-economic contexts¹⁷: urban (Bairro Aeroporto in Maputo), peri-urban (Bairro da Manga, suburb in the second largest city Beira) and rural (Morrumbala, a rural district in Zambezia Province).

¹⁷ The study by de Vletter et al. (1999) used peri-urban for a suburb in Beira, the second largest city in Mozambique, while peri-urban in my research would be a different setting. As stated earlier, the definitions of urban and rural may vary according to context, which is an argument for analysing the meaning of rural and urban in different contexts.

The results in the *urban and peri-urban samples* were similar. Few respondents had no schooling and many were still studying, mainly in secondary school. The most popular sector to work in was banking, followed by health, commerce, electronics, industry, construction and public administration. Least popular was tourism and agriculture. A dream for many was to go abroad to work, such as to South Africa. In the *rural case study*, it was found that the educational level was much lower than in the other two samples and few young people participated in non-formal courses. Almost all respondents had at least one family member who was involved in agricultural activities and education was lower in importance in the respondents' ranking than agriculture. Few young people in the rural case study wanted to move to another district, which was a response the researchers had not expected. However, 70 percent wanted to change their economic activity, but lack of education and training was seen as the main obstacle to achieve a change (de Vletter et al. 1999). Some of the results in this Mozambique study are similar to my findings in among the respondents in Montepuez and Masasi, for example their wish to stay in the district but change economic activities.

After this outline of previous research of relevance for my study, in the following section I provide a brief presentation of the geographical areas in the study. This presentation emphasises aspects that are relevant in relation to my research questions.

2.5 A brief introduction to the research areas

2.5.1 Historical overview of Tanzania and Mozambique

Tanzania mainland (previously called Tanganyika) was a German colony from the end of the 19th century and after the First World War it was ruled by Great Britain. Tanganyika gained independence in 1961, an outcome of a struggle by TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), which had been formed during the 1950s. In 1964, a union was formed between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, known as Tanzania. At the Berlin conference in 1884-85, Mozambique was allocated to Portugal, which had had presence along the coast since the 15th century. However, Portugal did not get full political and military control over Mozambique until the 1930s. When the independence movement FRELIMO (Mozambican Liberation Front) was formed in the beginning of the 1960s, it was the beginning of a hard struggle against the Portuguese. The fight for independence, together with a military coup in Portugal in 1974, which overthrew the fascist regime, paved the way for independence (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b).



Figure 2.1: Map of Tanzania and Mozambique showing the administrative regions and regional capitals.

After independence, Tanzania and Mozambique followed a similar political path with an ideology based on socialism. In both Tanzania and Mozambique, central in the development strategy was modernisation and nation building. Inspired by the dependency theory, development was to be achieved by de-linking from the world market and the capitalist mode of production. Both Tanzania and Mozambique emphasised state interventions rather than market forces and one of the strategies of Frelimo¹⁸ and TANU was to resettle the rural population into communal villages in order to improve agricultural production and education, health and water facilities. The villagisation project became known as *Ujamaa* in Tanzania (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b and Havnevik 1993).

Rural development and self-reliance by domestic production were emphasised in the Tanzanian development strategy, while industrialisation and urban development were discouraged, although a basic industry strategy was introduced in the mid 1970s (Havnevik 1993). Mozambique aimed for industrialisation and did not discourage urban development. Here, an end to underdevelopment was to be achieved through large-scale, industrialised agriculture which would feed both the rural and the urban population (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b).

The self-reliance strategy in Tanzania built on what Tanzania's first president Julius Nyerere called 'African socialism'. In Mozambique, FRELIMO rejected the idea of 'African socialism' and class struggle was more emphasised in Mozambique than in Tanzania. FRELIMO's analysis was that feudal exploitation was executed not only by the colonialists, but also by the communal leaders with whom the colonial power had collaborated. Therefore, to break down the system of *régulos* (traditional chiefs), laws, religions and traditions was aimed for (Hanlon 1990). For example, among candidates to become a village leader in post-colonial Mozambique, polygamy, involvement with the colonial power and religion were banned. This meant that few eligible candidates were left and the previous *régulos* found themselves being ruled by leaders who were much less qualified than themselves, which created resentment against Frelimo (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b).

In both Tanzania and Mozambique, it became clear during the end of the 1970s and early 1980s that the countries were in a position of severe economic difficulties. A combination of reasons for this is provided in the literature, such as increased oil prices, agricultural stagnation, insufficient capacity in the state organisations and lack of ability to mobilise the population (Abrahams-

¹⁸ After independence when Frelimo became a political party rather than an independence movement, they changed the name from FRELIMO to Frelimo.

son and Nilsson 1995b and Havnevik 1993). In Mozambique, a major explanatory factor was also the destabilisation war between Frelimo and Renamo (The National Movement for Resistance), which broke out in the early 1980s and which ended in 1992. Renamo was supported by the white minority in Rhodesia and South Africa who feared black autonomy and the socialist ideology. Renamo managed to gain support mainly from poor and marginalised peasants who felt that they had not benefited from the reforms after independence and who had no alternative but to stay on their land (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b).

After economic difficulties and high foreign debts in the 1980s, the World Bank and the IMF prescribed structural adjustment programmes for both Tanzania and Mozambique as a condition to qualify for new loans in 1986. Under the influence of the American administration of President Reagan in the beginning of the 1980s, there had been a shift in development theory. Transfer of resources due to lack of capital was no longer on the development agenda. Over-bureaucratic, incompetent state administrations were now seen as the major cause of underdevelopment (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b). The solution was therefore withdrawal of the state and the liberalisation of market forces and many donors joined this new approach. The structural adjustment programmes meant cutting expenditure in the public sector, removal of subsidies, privatisation and liberalising the market. These had severe effects in both Tanzania and Mozambique. Many people working in the public sector and for parastatal organisations lost their jobs, prices increased, the terms of trade for peasants deteriorated and families had to pay more for education and healthcare (e.g. Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995a and b and Havnevik 1993).

In the beginning of the 1990s, multiparty systems were initiated in both Tanzania and Mozambique. Multiparty elections were held for the first time in Mozambique in 1994 and in Tanzania in 1995. Since then, CCM¹⁹ has been the ruling party in Tanzania and CUF (Civic United Front) is the main opposition party. In Mozambique, Frelimo is the ruling party and Renamo, the former military movement which has been transformed into a political party, is the main opposition.

Both Tanzania and Mozambique have qualified for the HIPC (Highly Indebted Poor Countries) debt reduction initiative by the World Bank and the IMF. When a country has qualified for HIPC, the government together with its partners (the civil society, donors and the private sector) has to produce a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) where the country's strategies to-

¹⁹ TANU was transformed into the political party CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) (The Independence Party) in the 1970s.

wards the reduction of absolute poverty are outlined. This includes the allocation of certain percentages of the budget to poverty reduction, including social expenditure on education and health (World Bank, Internet 8 March 2005). Despite increased emphasis on social sectors, there are critics of PRSP who call it 'Policies to Roll back the State and Privatise' with the argument that it is the same reforms as in the old structural adjustment programmes (Hermele 2005).

2.5.2 Urbanisation and Human Development in Tanzania and Mozambique

According to the latest census in Tanzania in 2002, the total population was 34.6 million (NBS 2003a). Projections from the latest census in Mozambique, which took place in 1997, estimated the population to be just over 18 million in 2002 (INE 1999b). Tanzania and Mozambique have a similar age structure with a young population. Almost 65 percent of the population are younger than 25 years and if the UN definition of youth (15-24 years) is used, about 20 percent of the population belong to the youth category (NBS 2003b and INE 1999b).

Tanzania and Mozambique are no exceptions from the well-known fact that urban growth in Sub-Saharan Africa is currently the highest in the world. The rapid urbanisation rate can be explained through both rural-urban migration and a high natural population growth in urban areas. The reason why the rate of urbanisation is higher than in other regions is also due to limited urbanisation until relatively recently. All regional capitals and district capitals are defined as urban in Tanzania and Mozambique, as well as other areas with what has been defined as urban characteristics. These urban areas can range from a neighbourhood to a town or even a whole district (Chuwa 10 May 2002 and Zacarias 24 June 2002). The three largest cities in Tanzania and Mozambique respectively make up around half of the urban population, which implies that the other half of the urban population live in urban areas which are smaller in size than the largest cities, such as district centres like Masasi and Montepuez.

An illustration of the increased share of urban population in Tanzania and Mozambique is given in Figure 2.2. From 1975 to 2002, there has been an increase from around 10 percent to 34.4 percent in Tanzania and from 8.7 percent to 34.5 percent in Mozambique. In 2015, the share of urban population is estimated to be around 47 percent in Tanzania and 49 percent in Mozambique

(UNDP 2004).²⁰ Due to the rapid process of urbanisation taking place in Tanzania and Mozambique, more and more people will be living in cities and towns and since a large share of the population is young, this makes the life strategies of young people in urban areas an important area of research.

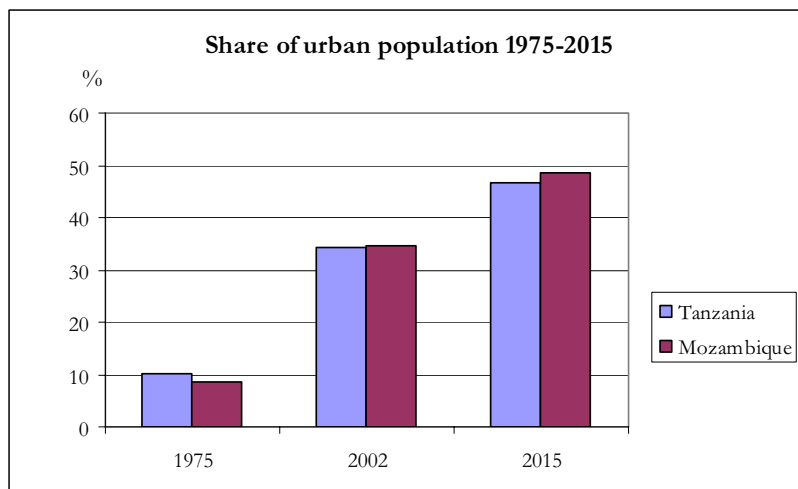


Figure 2.2: Share of urban population in Tanzania and Mozambique in 1975, 2002 and the estimations for 2015. Source: UNDP (2004).

According to Human Development Index (HDI)²¹ in 2004, Mozambique was ranked 171 out of a total of 177 countries and Tanzania was ranked 162 (UNDP 2004). This implies that both Mozambique and Tanzania are among the poorest countries in the world. As illustrated in Table 2.1, both Tanzania and Mozambique had a better HDI rank in 1994 than in 2004. The GDP per capita has increased slightly in both countries but it was higher in Mozambique than in Tanzania in 1994 as well as in 2004. Since the peace agreement was reached in Mozambique in 1992, the country has seen a positive economic development and as previously mentioned, foreign direct investments have been more substantial in Mozambique than in Tanzania. As also illustrated in Table 2.1, the adult literacy has increased in both countries but was higher in Tanzania. Also in this respect, the war in Mozambique is an

²⁰ In the case of Tanzania, the statistics from UNDP differ substantially from the statistics in the 2002 national census. According to the 2002 census, the urban population in Tanzania was 23 percent, compared to the UNDP figure of 34.4 percent. If available, UNDP bases the statistics on the countries' own data, but with a few years of delay, which explains the discrepancy.

²¹ HDI is based on the indicators life expectancy at birth, education and GDP per capita in PPP. PPP stands for Purchase Power Parity, which is a measure which can be used to make GDP per capita comparisons between different countries. Goods and service have different prices in different countries and if the GDP per capita is given according to PPP, this is a better estimation of what the GDP per capita is worth in a certain country.

explanatory factor. The life expectancy at birth has decreased with about eight years in Mozambique as well as in Tanzania. One of the contributing factors to the decline is HIV/AIDS. In 2003 it was estimated that 8.8 percent of the adult population (15-49 years) in Tanzania were living with HIV/AIDS and 12.2 percent in Mozambique (UNAIDS 2004).

Table 2.1: Human Development Indicators for Mozambique and Tanzania in 1994 and 2004.

	Mozambique		Tanzania	
	1994	2004	1994	2004
HDI rank (out of a total of 173 countries in 1994 and 177 countries in 2004)	159	162	148	171
Life expectancy at birth (years)	46.5	38.5	51.2	43.5
Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and above)	33.5	46.5	55.0	77.1
GDP per capita (PPP USD) ²²	921	1050	570	580

Source: UNDP (1994 and 2004).

During the past few years, both Tanzania and Mozambique have experienced economic growth. According to World Bank statistics, the GDP increase for the countries as a whole between year 2000 and 2004 was about 50 percent in Mozambique and 20 percent in Tanzania. The GNI per capita during the same period increased with about 19 percent in Mozambique and 18 percent in Tanzania. In 2003 the GDP annual growth was about 7 percent in both Tanzania and Mozambique (World Bank, Internet 19 January 2006).

Agriculture is the dominating livelihood activity of people in both Tanzania and Mozambique, engaging around 80 percent of the working population (which in the statistics also include forestry and fishing). The second largest category in both countries is trade, which occupies around 7 percent in Tanzania as well as in Mozambique. The third largest category is service, which accounts for 7 percent of the working population in Tanzania and 5 percent in Mozambique. Civil servants constitute around 2 percent in Tanzania (in the statistics referred to as government employees) and about 3 percent in Mozambique (in the statistics divided into education, health and administration). Less than 2 percent of the labour force in Tanzania and Mozambique are working in the manufacturing and mining industry (NBS 2002 and INE 2003).

²² The GDP per capita without the PPP in Tanzania in 2002 was 267 USD and in Mozambique it was 195 USD (UNDP 2004).

2.5.3 *A renewed emphasis on education in Tanzania and Mozambique*

Increased access to education was a major development strategy by the post-colonial governments in Tanzania and Mozambique but due to the difficult economic situation and the structural adjustment programmes during the 1980s, the education sector was not prioritised. In Mozambique, the destabilisation war was also a reason why the education system suffered during the 1980s. Schools were targets because they were associated with Frelimo and the educational system crashed (Graham-Brown 1991 and Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995b).

There is currently a renewed emphasis on education in Tanzania and Mozambique. The Education for All (EFA) initiative, agreed upon in Jomtien in 1990 and reconfirmed in Dakar 2000, has played a role. The renewed emphasis on primary education in Tanzania and Mozambique should also be seen within the UN framework of the Millennium Development Goals, agreed upon by world leaders in order to eradicate extreme poverty. One of the goals is to achieve universal primary education in all countries by 2015. One of the main driving forces right now is the HIPC initiative, since the education sector is one of the prioritised areas in the poverty reduction strategies. School fees in primary school have been abolished both in Tanzania and Mozambique, which does not mean that there are no school costs. The pupils have to buy notebooks and pens, there are examination fees and sometimes they have to contribute either in cash or in kind to the schools.

In Mozambique, the primary school system is divided into EP1 (class 1-5) and EP2 (class 6-7). The EP2 schools used to be located in urban centres but during the implementation of the Education Sector Strategic Plan for 1999-2003), many EP1 schools have been transformed into complete primary schools (*Escola Primária Completa*) with class 1-7 in order to make EP2 more accessible. This has according to MINED (2004) resulted in an increase in enrolment in EP2 with 89 percent from 1999-2003. During this period, also the EP1 enrolment increased, with 36 percent.

Secondary education has been less of a priority than primary education in both Tanzania and Mozambique. However, both countries are now making efforts to increase the enrolment in secondary school and it is one of the strategies in the countries' Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. In an interview in Sunday News in 2003 with the Tanzanian Minister for Education and Culture, Joseph Mungai, he says that the government has a goal for 2006 to achieve 100 percent enrolment for primary schools, 50 percent progression to secondary schools, 25 percent to high schools and 12.5 percent who continue

to universities and other tertiary learning institutions (Sunday News 28 December 2003).

As illustrated in Table 2.2, the net enrolment ratio²³ is higher in Tanzania than in Mozambique, which implies that the enrolment to a greater extent follows the expected school aged population. As the table also illustrates, there is a substantially lower secondary enrolment than primary enrolment in both countries, but it is higher in Mozambique than in Tanzania. Another pattern is that the enrolment for boys is higher than for girls in both countries. What the table does not show is that there are great rural and urban disparities. While people in rural areas usually have a primary school within reach, secondary schools and other formal educational institutions are mostly found in towns.

Table 2.2: Female and male primary and secondary school enrolment ratio for 2000-2004.

	Primary school enrolment ratio (2000-2004)				Secondary school enrolment ratio (2000-2004)			
	Gross		Net		Gross		Net	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mozambique	114	93	58	53	19	13	14	10
Tanzania	98	95	83	81	6	5	5	4

Source: UNICEF (2005).

As Table 2.2 also illustrates, more boys than girls enrol in primary and secondary school in Mozambique. However, there are great regional disparities. At the time of a previous study in Mozambique (Helgesson 2000b), girls in Maputo constituted over half the pupils while they only represented a third of the pupils in the Cabo Delgado province, i.e. the province where Montepuez is located. There seemed to be a pattern, which suggested the larger the town, the higher enrolment of girls. In Tanzania there is almost parity between girls and boys when it comes to enrolment in primary and secondary school. However, previous research shows that there are gender disparities also here. Girls generally perform less well in the exams than boys due to tiredness and lack of time to study for example, largely because of the heavy workload for girls in the household. Another contributing factor is that girls tend to be less self-confident than boys due to the socialisation of girls and boys (Helgesson 2001a).

²³ The net enrolment ratio is the number of students who are within the official age span for that education level, as percentage of the population of that age group. Gross enrolment ratio is the share of students, regardless of age, in relation to the expected age group.

2.5.4 *The border region of Tanzania and Mozambique*

As shown in Figure 2.3, southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique are closely linked geographically. The Ruvuma River flows through the border region and is also the national border between the countries. The Mtwara region in southern Tanzania and the Cabo Delgado province in northern Mozambique share material conditions and a majority of the population support themselves through rural agriculture. When the latest census in Mozambique was conducted in 1997, the Cabo Delgado province had a population of about 1.3 million people and 16.8 percent were defined as urban (INE 1999c). In the latest census in Tanzania in 2002, the Mtwara region had a slightly smaller population (1.1 million) and here the urban population was 20.3 percent (NBS 2003b).

The ethnic groups Macua, Maconde and Yao cut across the border. It is not unusual with cross border marriages and that people do business across the border. Tanzanian peasants go to Mozambique to look for new land to cultivate and vice versa and many Mozambicans came as refugees to southern Tanzania. Both in southern Tanzania and in northern Mozambique, the social system is matrilineal. Inheritance follows the mother's line and the husband moves to the wife's area, often after a trial period under which he has to show his ability to work on the farm. Then the couple is given a piece of land to build on. In case of divorce, the man moves while the woman and the children stay (Alberts and Hirvonen 1992). The matrilineal tradition provides the woman more freedom, but she always remains under the authority of a man, usually her mother's brother or her father. The oldest maternal uncle has a strong voice in the family and big decisions about the children can usually not be taken without him (Arnfred 1988, Hanlon 1990 and Shuma 1994). The matrilineal tradition is however eroding in both southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique. In research by Shuma and Liljeström (1998), the establishment of *ujamaa* villages is given as one of the reasons because villagisation meant that people with different traditions interacted more frequently than before. In addition, it has become more common to marry outside of the village. As e.g. Espling (1999) points out in the case of Mozambique, especially in urban areas, it is not possible to speak of a particular system, but rather a mixture of different forms.



Figure 2.3: Map of southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique.

2.5.5 Masasi and Montepuez

Masasi and Montepuez are similar towns in many ways. They are both located about 200 km in the interior away from the coast, both towns are the second largest town in the respective region and they are the centres of rural districts. The distance between Masasi and Montepuez is about 300 km. Like the age structure on the national level, Masasi and Montepuez districts have a young population. About 58 percent in Masasi district and 61 percent in Montepuez district are under 24 years old, which is slightly lower than the aggregated data for the countries as a whole. 19 percent in Masasi district and 21 percent in Montepuez district are between 15 and 24 years old (NBS 2003b and INE 1999c).

Masasi district has a population of 442,500 and 65,000 (14.7 percent) live in Masasi town²⁴ (NBS 2003a). The main mode of production in the district is agriculture and there are few industries. Cash crop production of cashew nuts has recently regained importance, which has also meant an upswing for Masasi town. The cashewnut factory, which was built but hardly used in the 1970s was reopened in 2003 by a private investor. At the time of the research it employed 600 people, but during a follow-up visit in 2004 it had closed down again. There is one more large industry in Masasi district, Ndanda Springs which produces mineral water and which employs about 700-800 people. It is not located in Ndanda, another town in the district.

There are some organisations with presence in Masasi district. The Irish NGO Concern, which works with capacity building of local organisations, has an office in Masasi and they support Masasi NGO Network (MANGONET), who also has an office in Masasi. UNICEF supports the health and education sector through Masasi District Council but does not have physical presence in Masasi.

Masasi town is situated at a crossroad and has a busy bus station. It has two centres, one around the bus station, referred to as '*Stand*' (see photo in Figure 2.4) and one around the main market area. The distance between the centres is about two kilometres. A recent feature in Masasi is a shuttle minibus which runs from one side of the town to the other for a fee of 100 Tsh (about 10 US cents). Another new phenomenon is taxis, which nowadays can be seen by the bus station in an increasing number. Many people are building houses and

²⁴ Masasi town constitutes of Masasi and Lisekese wards and make up Lisekese Division. On the 1 July 2003, Masasi District Council was split into two parts, among which Lisekese Division is administered by Masasi Suburban/Town Authority while Masasi District Council is responsible for the rest of the district which is predominantly rural.

whole neighbourhoods with houses of good quality are coming up, which suggests that some people are doing well economically.



Figure 2.4: Photo from 'Stand', one of the two main centres in Masasi town.
Photo: Author

According to the latest population census in Mozambique in 1997, the total population of Montepuez district was about 149,000 people and among them, around 56,000 were living in Montepuez town²⁵ (INE 1999c). Montepuez town has become more accessible through the newly repaired tarmac road between Montepuez and the provincial capital Pemba. It now takes about three hours to cover the 200 kilometres by bus.

Like Masasi, Montepuez town is the nave of a district where agriculture is the main mode of production. The main cash crop for peasants in Montepuez

²⁵ In Portuguese, a town can either be defined as *cidade* (city or town) or *vila* (small town). The Cabo Delgado province has two *idades* (the regional capital Pemba and Montepuez) and five *vilas*. In English, Montepuez is defined as town rather than city.

district is cotton. In the 1995/96, over 5,600 farmers planted cotton in the district for the cotton factory Lomaco, located in Montepuez town (UNHCR and UNDP 1997). The factory was recently privatised and is now owned by Plexus Mozambique (a joint venture of a German bank, Plexus from the United Kingdom and Caravel from South Africa (Ofiço and Tschirley 2003). There are also several smaller log trading companies with presence in Montepuez which are owned by South Africans, Portuguese and Chinese.

Organisations with representation in Montepuez are the Mozambican youth organisation ARO Juvenil, AMODER (Mozambican Association for Rural Development), which for example provides loans for rural development, the Swedish NGO Africa Groups of Sweden, which in Montepuez works in the education sector and district administrative capacity building and the Spanish NGO Medicos Mundi. These organisations all have offices in Montepuez.

Compared to Masasi, Montepuez has a different town planning. While Masasi looks like a small place that has expanded according to demand, the town centre of Montepuez is planned according to a square system with one main street and several parallel streets. The inner part of the town is called '*bairro de cimento*' (the cement area) and is shown in Figure 2.5. In *bairro de cimento*, the houses are made of concrete and this is where the administrative buildings, shops, a newly opened bakery, the central primary schools and the secondary school are located. *Bairro de cimento* is also a residential area for a wealthier part of the population. Like Masasi, Montepuez has several markets and the largest market is *Mercado Central* (the Central Market) where you can buy everything from vegetables to new clothes and medicine.



Figure 2.5: Photo from the main street in 'bairro de cimento' in Montepuez town.

Photo: Author

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Departure – the production of knowledge

This is a qualitative study and the material mainly consists of interviews. My starting point is the hermeneutic tradition where interpretations are central, both by the subjects and by the researcher. Meaning is created within a context and the understanding of processes depends in one way or the other on preconceived knowledge (e.g. Widerberg 2002). Like many other social science researchers with a hermeneutic approach, I see myself as part of the research process, an actor rather than an observant. The issue of the validity of qualitative research has led to a focus on the importance of reflexivity on part of the researcher. As Portelli (2001) points out, an *inter/view* is an exchange between two subjects, a dialogue not absent of power relations. The researcher is often the one who leads the dialogue and consciously or unconsciously chooses which representation to bring forward. In addition, social markers such as gender, age, class and ethnicity of the researcher are part of the construction of knowledge, which is a strong argument for reflexive research.²⁶

Positivism versus social constructivism has been an ongoing discussion over the years and still continues. A fruitful analysis of this topic is held by Gramsci (2001) in a text written in the 1930s where he discusses materialism versus idealism and objectivism versus subjectivism. Gramsci argues that we know reality only in relation to people. Therefore objective means “humanly objective”, which is the same thing as “universal subjective”. To illustrate the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, he takes the example of “East” and “West”. These are “objectively real” at the same time as they are “historico-cultural” constructions. The meaning of the concepts has been given by the European cultural classes who, through their dominance at the time, made them universally accepted. These geographical terms have been filled with a historical content of culture, such as religion and nationality:

Thus Italians often, when speaking of Morocco, call it an “Eastern” country, to refer to its Moslem and Arab civilisation. And yet these references are real; they correspond to real facts, they allow one to travel by land and by sea, to arrive where one has decided to arrive, to “foresee” the future, to objectivise reality, to understand the objectivity of the external world. Rational and real become one (Gramsci 2001:810).

²⁶ For an in-dept discussion about researchers as part of the research process and self-reflexivity in qualitative research within the discipline of human geography, see contributions in Limb and Dwyer (Eds.) 2001, such as Smith (2001).

Another enlightening discussion on subjectivity versus objectivity is held by Portelli (2001) in relation to oral history. Portelli argues that researchers should try to aim for “reality”, “fact” and “truth”, but makes the point that we have to ask what kind of truth? If one for example is researching a historical incidence, Portelli suggests that in order to reconstruct what happened and what it meant, one cannot only look at the truths and facts in archival documentation. One also has to find the *subjective truths* of the people who were around. In Portelli’s view, *subjectivity* is an *objective reality*, from the perspective of the respondent.

I think that to view the production of knowledge this way is useful. Both Gramsci (2001) and Portelli (2001) manage to go beyond the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity and their discussions illustrate that objectivity, facts and relations are socially constructed within a historical context, at the same time as these facts and relations are realities in a material world. They also show that power relations are involved in the creation of knowledge. Researchers with a social constructivist perspective have been questioned for what relevance research results have if everything is social constructions and nothing is ‘real’. A geographical perspective is important in this instance because social relations always *take place somewhere*, such as in a neighbourhood, a city or between people in different countries or cities. Places are material, but they are socially constructed through the relations between people. Borders of a country or a region are social constructions but they have real implications for the economy, politics and the organisation of social life, both within the country or the region and in their relations to other countries or regions (e.g. Gren and Hallin 2003).

3.2 Inspiration from Grounded Theory

The method used in this study is inspired by Grounded Theory, a method which originally was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later by Strauss and Corbin (1990 and 1998). A school of grounded theory research has also developed in Sweden (Starrin et al. 1991) and it is mainly this school and the work by Strauss and Corbin which have inspired my work.²⁷

Both Starrin et al. (1991) and Strauss and Corbin (1990 and 1998) promote the ‘path of discovery’ in which the researcher starts with ‘loose questions’ and an open mind, rather than with a preconceived theory in mind. The aim is to discover what is really going on in the field by taking the respondents seri-

²⁷ See also Helgesson (2000a).

ously and by regarding them as actors. During the course of the research, events, incidences and processes are identified, given concepts and organised into different categories. The research process can lead to the generation of a theory, but it is also valuable if new ideas, categories or perspectives have been generated during the research.

It is important in grounded theory to investigate the interrelationship between conditions, actions and consequences and the meaning of different experiences. There should also be interplay between empirical material and theory and the analysis starts at the beginning of the data collection. New sampling in order to find variation (theoretical sampling) is often made during the research process, rather than adhering to a predestined sample. In this way, the researcher can feel free to track down clues that appear along the way. When saturation is reached, i.e. when no more new information is obtained, the data collection can stop. Data triangulation is encouraged in grounded theory, alongside an openness towards what can be considered as empirical data (Starrin et al. 1991 and Strauss and Corbin 1998).

What I find particularly appealing with grounded theory is that the analysis should be grounded in the empirical material and that the source of knowledge should be shown with quotes etc. Another positive aspect of grounded theory is that it can be used as a guide in the analysis process, without being dogmatic. It should be pointed out that to use grounded theory as a guideline is the Starrin et al. (1991) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) approach to grounded theory. Others have a more strict approach to grounded theory, such as Hartman (2001), inspired by Glaser, who claims that a researcher who uses grounded theory should follow each step of the research path, from planning to presentation. This way of using grounded theory is opposed by Starrin (1996) who states:

As long as the ambition by advocates for GT [Grounded Theory] is *not* to *prescribe* a methodology, but *rather* to give *inspiration* to get into a “process of creation”, it has an important role. When GT [Grounded Theory] becomes a mechanical rulebook it has also lost its vitality (Starrin 1996, p. 119, my translation).

A development of grounded theory into *constructivist grounded theory*, which I find useful, is proposed by Charmaz (2003). Charmaz wants to move away from a positivistic epistemology in grounded theory where an external reality is assumed and which can be discovered and recorded. She aims to incorporate constructivism perspectives into grounded theory, for example by acknowledging mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed rather than viewing the researcher as an objective outsider. She has three main arguments:

(a) Grounded theory strategies need not be rigid or prescriptive; (b) a focus on meaning while using grounded theory *further*s, rather than limits, interpretive understanding; and (c) we can adopt grounded theory strategies without embracing the positivist leanings of earlier proponents of grounded theory (Charmaz 2003:251).

Charmaz (2003) highlights shortcomings in grounded theory research, such as “fracturing the data”. In grounded theory research, priority is given to the analysis of a phenomenon by creating codes and categories rather than to portray a respondent’s complete experience of an event. In a constructivist approach to grounded theory, it is also acknowledged that the researcher and the researched shape the data and participate in composing the story. A constructivist grounded theory makes a distinction between the *real* and the *true*, in line with Portelli’s (2001) discussion around subjective truths and subjectivity as an objective reality. Charmaz (2003) states that according to a constructivist grounded theory, the aim is to explore human *realities* rather than to look for one universal truth.

3.3 The use of Narratives

One problematic aspect in grounded theory is that concepts and categories develop around events and phenomena and the analysis is detached from people. However, it can be argued that action, practice and interpretations are connected to people and their biographies. In a study by Tollefsen Altamirano (2000), the focus on events in grounded theory is complemented with narrative identities so that the events and phenomena are seen within the context of the respondents’ biographies and narratives.

There are four main narrative elements, namely time, space, actors and events (Arvidsson 1998, with reference to Bal). These can be identified in a text and looked upon separately, but they may also be put together and analysed in a context. The narratives take place in different times and spaces. The narrator talks about his or her own experiences, makes references to other people and talks about events which have occurred. Individual narratives can be used to analyse how people create meaning in their lives and how their narratives relate to grand narratives of society (Arvidsson 1998).

Tollefsen Altamirano (2000) relates the narratives of the individual respondents to societal narratives, i.e. discourses. In this study, I use the respondents’ stories to analyse events, phenomena and life situations and in these stories, different youth discourses can also be identified. These narratives may conform to dominating discourses or be counter-narratives. Like Tollefsen Alta-

mirano (2000), Portelli (1997) builds a bridge between the individual and the society by looking at individual narratives and societal narratives, which can be illustrated by the following quote:

Texts [...] are both highly individual expressions and manifestations of social discourse, made up of socially defined and shared discursive structures (motifs, formulas, genres). Through these structures, then, we can see how each individual text negotiates the interplay of the personal and the social, of individual expressions and social praxis (Portelli 1997, p. 82).

As mentioned earlier, Portelli (2001) discusses subjectivity and objectivity and says that there is not *one truth* but *subjective truths*. In relation to narratives, Portelli (1997) argues against those who question whether subjective accounts can be regarded as ‘objective facts’, like the ‘facts’ written in history books. He states that although we do not know if the person was telling the ‘truth’ or not, what we can be sure about is the *narrative*. This is important because the narrative speaks both about an event and about how it was perceived by the narrator. It is then up to the researcher to analyse the narrative. In this study, I am interested in *what* is said, but also *who* said *what* and within what *context*. The main focus in the research is on the interviews with young people and what they say can be related to and contrasted with what is said about youth by leaders and in sources such as newspapers and policy documents.

A narrative is told by somebody in a specific context and every place and situation is a site of narrative production (Czarniawska 2004). This is important for my research because the individual narratives presented during the interviews contain information about the context in which the young people develop their life strategies, their experiences, views and their space of action. As Czarniawska points out:

[...] what people present in the interviews is but the results of their perception, their interpretation of the world, which is of extreme value to the researcher because one may assume that it is the same perception that informs their actions (Czarniawska 2004:49).

A narrative involves positioning of the characters involved in the story. In the act of narrating, the narrator constructs his or her position in the story as well as positions for the other characters in the story (Bamberg 2004). This is important from an actor’s approach because in the narrative, the actor selects the parts she or he wants to present and the actor uses different forms to present her or himself. What she or he presents is also influenced by the researcher, for example through the questions posed (Arvidsson 1998).

3.4 Conducting the fieldwork

3.4.1 *Getting started*

In 2002, I spent three months in Tanzania and Mozambique in order to prepare for the main fieldwork. I introduced myself, the research plan and obtained background information at relevant ministries, organisations and university departments in Dar es Salaam and Maputo. I also went to Mtwara in southern Tanzania and Pemba in northern Mozambique to introduce myself at the regional level, for example to regional administrators involved with education and youth issues. After this I travelled to the towns Masasi and Montepuez where I was going to conduct the actual fieldwork in order to introduce myself and to receive approval from the district administration.

Beforehand, I had decided that I wanted to work with one female and one male colleague who live in the localities where the fieldwork was to be conducted. I already knew whom I was going to work with in Masasi, namely Delaide Daniel and Rashid Chuachua. We had all been part of the same research team during the previous research conducted in Masasi in 2001 (Helgesson 2001a and b). In Montepuez, I worked with Jacinta Rosário and Abudo Kibwana. I knew Jacinta previously when we worked together to collect material for my Master's thesis in Montepuez in 1998 (Helgesson 2000). Abudo was the only person I had not previously worked with.

Both Delaide and Rashid are primary school teachers in the formal primary school system and in COBET (Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania), which is an educational programme for children and youth who have not had the opportunity to go to school, or who have dropped out. Jacinta is working for two NGOs (AMODER and Africa Groups of Sweden), which share an office in Montepuez. She is also a contracted teacher in Montepuez Central Primary School (Escola Primária Sede Montepuez) where she gives evening classes in Biology. Abudo has been working as a bus conductor and he has been a volunteer for the NGO Médicos Mundi. In addition, he has been involved in a project for youth that aimed to improve the physical environment in Montepuez.

It was important to me to work with colleagues from Masasi and Montepuez. They had the 'insider advantages' that I lacked, i.e. they knew the places, how things work and do not work, which channels to use etc. It was also important that I had both female and male colleagues. The interviews were going to be with both female and male youth and I thought the interview situation and finding the respondents would be easier if I would work a female colleague in

the interaction with girls and vice versa.²⁸ It was an advantage that my colleagues were relatively young (between 27 and 34 years) because this meant that they had insider advantages also in terms of generation. The insider advantages of my colleagues can be illustrated with the following quote from Rashid:

I think that my interest and experience helped in the selection of youth because I have lived with them for a long time. I know them and they know me. So it was easier for them to tell me the truth without fearing anything, simply because I am part of them. Not only as society as a whole, but also, I'm their fellow youth.

We became a strong research team. Delaide, Rashid, Jacinta and Abudo contributed a lot to every part of the fieldwork: preparing for the interviews, finding respondents and making them comfortable in the interview situation. They could explain further when my linguistic-, social- and cultural language skills were insufficient, both in and outside the interview situation and while doing observations. They also contributed a lot to the analysis of the interviews during the whole fieldwork period. Sometimes they could explain why it in some cases was difficult to find certain respondents and sometimes they were surprised at how easy it was to approach respondents who they thought it would be hard to talk to. With time, they became very interested in youth issues and contributed with new, interesting questions. After each interview when we sat down and discussed the interview, they always contributed to the analysis, both about what was said during the interview and the interview situation it itself, such as the atmosphere, disturbance, shyness and aspects of trust.

The main part of the fieldwork was conducted during March to December 2003. In Masasi, employees at the district offices first associated me with UNICEF because my previous research experience had been conducted on behalf of UNICEF. This was both an asset and a constraint because at the same time as it made establishing contacts with district officials easier, the UNICEF label involved a great deal of, positively intended, involvement and assistance. However, after a week or so walking or bicycling around, the UNICEF label had pretty much been washed off. In Montepuez, I did not have this kind of experience since I had not been working for an organisation here, but some people may have associated me with Africa Groups of Sweden, an NGO working in Montepuez. Jacinta, one of my research colleagues

²⁸ I am aware of that the power relations would be more equal if only one researcher participated in the interview rather than two (myself and my colleague), but to conduct the interviews by myself was never an alternative because I lacked insider advantages and I found my language skills to be too limited.

was working for them so we spent some time in their office and I also got to know the other people working for the organisation.

The methods used in the study were structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, respondent video presentation and observant participation. I prefer to refer to the participant observations as *observant participation* (Smith 2001, with reference to Thrift) because this emphasises that the researcher is an actor rather than an observer. In both Masasi and Montepuez, the research contained six parts: 1) mapping of places and activities, 2) structured interviews, 3) semi-structured interviews, 4) respondent video presentation, 5) interviews with leaders and 6) interviews with my colleagues. These parts will in the following sections be further introduced.

3.4.2 Mapping of places and activities.

A diverse sample was aimed for in terms of gender, education and livelihoods so that the experiences of a variety of youth in these towns would be captured. One way of trying to achieve a varied sample is to map out different places and activities, rather than going to one place (for example a school) and do the selection there. In order to facilitate achieving a varied sample, my colleagues and I mapped out different places where young people can be found such as schools, markets, places for leisure, in the street, in different neighbourhoods, in houses etc. We also tried to map out the activities they were doing in these places. As a tool, my colleagues and I drew a mental map of the towns, shown in Figure 3.1 and 3.2.

We tried to make sure that also ‘invisible’ places and activities would be mapped out, such as private houses. As expressed in the previous chapter, I wanted to portray both ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’ youth. This is a response to the critique towards youth research that has tried to investigate for example youth cultures, but where the outcome of the research only has been an insight in visible, often male, youth cultures, as criticised by e.g. McRobbie (1991).

3.4.3 The structured interviews

The map of the places and activities of youth was used to select young people for a short, structured interview of about 20-30 minutes. The aim of this interview was to find out about how young people’s everyday activities are lived and organised and to get an overview of their life strategies. The limit was set at approximately 50 respondents in the respective town in order to be able to

manage the volume. On the basis of the limit and of the variety of places, activities and categories, my colleagues and I calculated roughly how many of each category of youth we could interview. Then we walked around in those places, approached young people and asked if they wanted to participate in an interview. Most respondents were between 14 and 24 years old. Some respondents, for example domestic workers and young women who were not doing any economic activities outside the house, could not be reached through this approach. Instead, they were asked to participate by my colleagues who knew how to best approach them and where.

My colleagues did most of the first introduction when we approached a potential respondent and they introduced me. We did it this way in order to make the respondent feel more comfortable. In most cases, they agreed to be interviewed. For the structured interview, we tried to find a place not far away from where we met the respondents to reduce the amount of time, since many of them were busy doing other things. To thank them for taking their time to participate in the study, and to make the interview situation a bit special and festive, we offered the respondents a soda, which was much appreciated.

Before the interview, it was important to present a thorough introduction to the respondent about the aim of the research, confidentiality and about feedback of the research findings. Some respondents and other people we met asked if I would come back with a development project. I tried to be clear and say that what I will bring back are the findings, which I would present and after that it is for people in the district to decide if they want to take any action. Concerning confidentiality, we guaranteed that their names would not appear in the book. We asked if we could record the interview on tape and explained that the aim of this was to be able to sit down and listen to the tape and hear exactly what they said because we would not be able to write down everything they say during the interview.



Figure 3.1: Mental map of Masasi town.

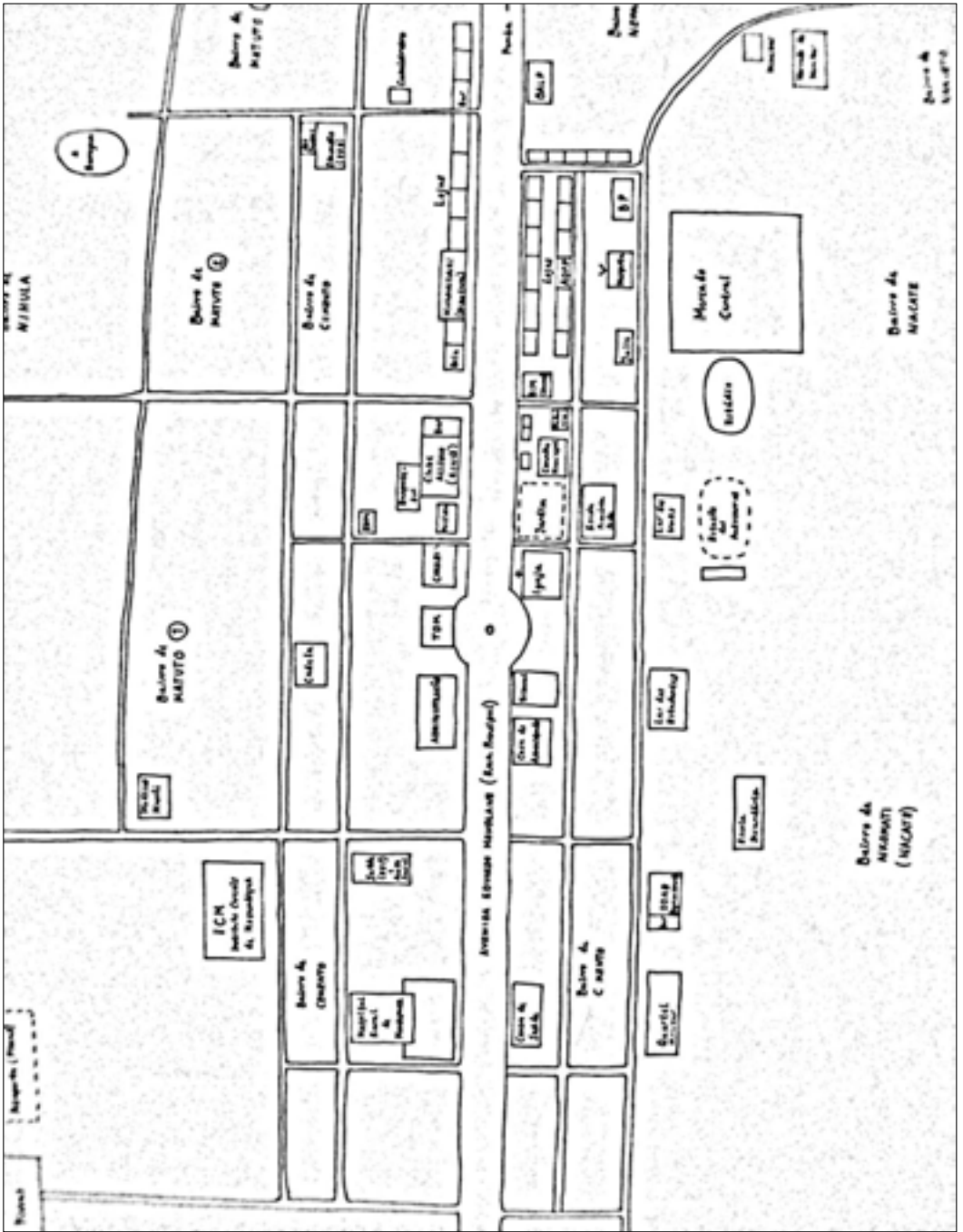


Figure 3.2: Mental map of Montepuez town.

A structured interview guide was used (see Appendix 1). I had prepared the structured interview guide in Sweden. In Masasi, my colleagues helped me to translate the interview guides from English into Kiswahili. I knew from previous experiences that it would be difficult to find somebody in Montepuez who would be able to translate the interview guide from English to Portuguese. Therefore, the interview guides used in Montepuez were translated while I was in Maputo by Inês Raimundo, a fellow PhD student at the Department of Geography at University Eduardo Mondlane. All interviews in Masasi were conducted in Kiswahili and in Montepuez they were conducted in Portuguese, apart from a few interviews which were partly done in Macua (the main local language spoken in Montepuez) and one which was carried out in Kiswahili. I asked the questions and did most of the conversing with the respondent, while my colleagues (Delaide or Jacinta for the female respondents and Rashid or Abudo for the male respondents) took notes and clarified the questions if they were not clear to the respondent.

Although variety was aimed for, this did not succeed in all cases. Some young people refused to be interviewed and although we had tried to map out many different places, we were not able to cover them all. A gender aspect of this is that both in Masasi and in Montepuez it turned out to be more difficult to find and interview female youth. This can be explained by the fact that fewer female youth were seen in public places and that girls often appeared to be less independent than boys. While boys said yes to participate straight away, girls often hesitated and sometimes wanted to ask their families or employer if it was all right that they participated. This implied that we were not able to talk to some of the controlled, timid and 'invisible' girls, which is a weakness in the material. However, we still managed to get a fairly varied sample of youth and we interviewed as many girls as boys.

The fieldwork in Montepuez took place during municipality election campaign and the research was partly influenced by this. There was a lot of political tension in Montepuez during this time and in some areas, we came across people who were suspicious and who thought we were part of the election campaign for either Frelimo or Renamo. At one of the small bus stations where we went to look for respondents, it was difficult at first to find anybody who wanted to participate. Abudo explained that the research does not have anything to do with the upcoming elections and after this clarification, a few guys came forward and wanted to be interviewed.

The structured interviews contained questions concerning for example family background, education, daily activities, migration, mobility and the future were asked. In the presentation of the research in the empirical chapters, the struc-

tured interviews have mainly been used to get an overview of the life strategies of youth. Some of the information has been quantified and is shown in figures and tables.

3.4.4 *The semi-structured interviews*

At the end of the structured interviews, we asked the respondents if it would be all right if we contacted them again in a couple of weeks for another interview. Most respondents were very positive and said that they would like to be interviewed again and only one girl, in Montepuez, said that she did not want to take part in another interview. Among the approximately 50 young people whom we had interviewed in each site, we selected six female and six male respondents to participate in the semi-structured interviews.²⁹ Also for these interviews, we tried to get a diverse sample of respondents. The semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix 2) consisted of open-ended questions in order for the respondent to talk more freely than in the structured interviews. The length of the semi-structured interviews varied between one to two hours.

For the semi-structured interview, we tried to make sure that the respondents would feel as comfortable as possible by selecting a place where we would not be disturbed during the interview. Also during the semi-structured interview, we all had a soda to make the interview situation more relaxed. Apart from repeating aspects of confidentiality etc. from the previous interview, I showed some pictures of my family. Since they were going to tell me about their lives, I thought it was fair that I share some of my life with them, an initiative which the respondents appreciated.

It was difficult to find some of the respondents whom we had selected for the semi-structured interviews, so some of them had to be replaced with other respondents from the structured interview sample. One of the reasons for this difficulty was due to mobility of some youth. By the time we had reached the phase for the semi-structured interviews in Montepuez, the schools had closed for the holiday so many of the students had gone home to their families in areas outside of Montepuez. A few female and male respondents had gone to help in their families' *machamba/shamba* (piece of land for cultivation)³⁰ in villages outside of Masasi and Montepuez. In Masasi, we had difficulties finding two male youth whose livelihood was to “*piga debe*” (to convince passengers to go with a certain bus). One of them, we never saw

²⁹ For an overview of the participants in the semi-structured interviews, see Appendix 3.

³⁰ A piece of land for cultivation is *machamba* in Portuguese and *shamba* in Kiswahili.

again and the other came back a few weeks later after having been working as a *piga debe* in another area.

Another problem we encountered while looking for respondents for the semi-structured interviews was that a few of the girls selected hesitated to participate. For example, one girl in Montepuez, whom we had met when she was selling snacks outside a house at first happily said yes and we arranged to come to her neighbourhood. However, when we arrived, she said that she could not make it that day so we arranged for another time. This time, she was not there and when we went to her house to ask for her, they told us that she had gone to cook for some relatives far away and would not come back for a long time. Jacinta got the impression that her family told us this because they did not want her to participate in the interview. One of the semi-structured interviews with a female respondent in Montepuez was discontinued because she was not comfortable with the situation.

That one interview was called off, that some young people did not want to participate or were forbidden to participate in the semi-structured interviews and that some respondents could not be found again is a weakness in the material collected. It means that there may be experiences which I have not been able to capture. However, like in the structured interview sample, the sample is nevertheless composed of youth with a great variety of backgrounds, education levels, livelihoods and experiences and, as mentioned in the beginning of this section, as many girls as boys were interviewed.

The semi-structured interviews were more elaborate than the structured interviews and contained more open-ended questions. Most citations and narratives are from the semi-structured interviews.

3.4.5 Respondent video presentation

At the end of the semi-structured interviews, we asked the respondents if they wanted to participate in yet another task, namely a video presentation. We explained that the video filming would be different from the other interviews because they would not be anonymous. They were asked to invite some of their friends to participate and to select a few topics which they were ready to share with others in front of the camera. The length of the video filming varied between 5 and 30 minutes.

Not all 12 respondents in the respective area wanted to take part in the video presentation. In Masasi, two girls and one boy did not want to participate and

in Montepuez, two girls said no. I think that some of the respondents did not want to speak without being anonymous and that some felt shy about appearing on camera. Again, fewer girls than boys wanted to participate and we think that in some cases it was not the girls' own decision. As mentioned, one male youth in Masasi did not want to take part of the video filming. This surprised us because he had been very willing to participate in the other interviews and often used to come and chat with us. We believe that he did not want to participate in the filming exercise because he might have felt embarrassed to appear on camera and to invite his friends to participate. Again, since some respondents, girls in particular, did not want to participate in the video sessions, some experiences have not been captured.

The main aim of the respondent video presentation was to produce a video film which could be used as a tool to present the research. The video material has not been used in the chapters of the thesis.

3.4.6 Interviews with leaders and with my colleagues

One way to respond to the research question concerning how the life strategies of youth can be related to the representations of young people in national and local discourses was by interviewing leaders. In both Masasi and Montepuez, one leader on a neighbourhood/village level was conducted and one on a district level. These interviews were informant interviews and unlike the respondent youth, the leaders are not anonymous. The quotes and narratives from leaders in the thesis have mainly been used in Chapter 4.

Towards the end of the fieldwork in Montepuez, I made a trip together with my colleagues from Montepuez to Masasi and back to Montepuez. We made this trip in order to explore the border region in greater depth than solely through the accounts of respondents and other people we had met during the research. It was also a way for the whole research team to get together as a group. None of us had made this journey before. In fact, among my colleagues it was only Abudo in Montepuez who had previously crossed the border. It turned out that Jacinta would not be able to travel due to a compulsory seminar for all teachers about the new curriculum which was about to be introduced in all schools in Mozambique but she was able to meet the others when we arrived in Montepuez towards the end of the trip. One of the activities during the journey was to conduct interviews with each of my four colleagues. This was a way to get into the analysis of the interviews already in the field and they were useful also from a methodological perspective. In these interviews my colleagues could share their experience from conducting the

interviews, looking for respondents and what the research project had meant to them.

They commented for example that we had managed to get a good mix of young people and that a majority of the respondents had felt comfortable during the interviews. In their opinion, it had been easier to convince male respondents to participate in the interviews because some of the girls hesitated and wanted to ask their families or bosses first. My colleagues had also found it easier to explain about the research to young people who had some education. For them personally, the research had been a learning experience. Jacinta said for example that for her, the research experience had helped her to communicate more effectively with young people, which she thought would be useful in her job as a teacher. Abudo believed that through the research he now knows a lot about life of young people, which would help him for example if he started an NGO for young people in his district. Both Delaide and Rashid said that the practice in conducting interviews and analysis would be a good experience for them if they would continue to study at the university, which both of them aspired to do.



Figur 3.3: The whole research team gathered in Montepuez. From left: Jacinta, Abudo, Delaide, Rashid and Linda.

3.4.7 Documenting the material

During each interview (structured as well as semi-structured) my colleague was taking notes. After the interview, we went through the interview from the beginning to the end. This was very useful because to have an extensive summary of each interview made the interpretation process easier and we could clarify anything which we had understood differently and analyse parts which were dubious and unclear. This also means that the material has been interpreted from two people's perspectives.

All interviews, apart from the interviews with my colleagues, were recorded on tape and later transcribed. I did not do the transcriptions myself because my knowledge of Kiswahili and Portuguese was too limited to do the work professionally and within a reasonable period of time. I had a total of 52 tapes each lasting 90 minutes. I had the interviews from Masasi transcribed in Kiswahili and then translated into English by a professional in Dar es Salaam. The translation enabled me to work with both the Kiswahili version and the English version at the same time. The interviews in Portuguese were transcribed by my colleagues in Montepuez, apart from a few which I transcribed myself. The interviews in Portuguese were not translated into English. I translated only the quotes I decided to use. Translations are problematic and the translation processes may have altered the meaning of some quotes. When I have not found an appropriate translation, I have sometimes chosen to leave words or expressions in Kiswahili and Portuguese in the translated quotes.

I also took pictures with a digital camera, which like the video filming was a way to document the research. By using a digital camera, people whose photograph was taken could see how the picture came out straight away and I promised that they would get a copy of their photo. The disadvantage with digital photos is that it can be developed in very few places, such as in Maputo and Dar es Salaam, so those who had been photographed had to wait to receive the prints of their photos until the following year when I next came to Masasi and Montepuez.

3.5 The interpretation and writing process

Jackson (2001) points out that what is often lacking in qualitative research is an account of how the interpretation process was made. Hereby, an important step in the research process is left out. This is unfortunate since the outcome of the results is influenced by how the interpretation process was conducted. Often when reading articles or research reports, one gets the impression that

key themes just ‘emerged’ because a discussion about the process of *how* these key themes emerged is missing. According to Jackson, the coding process, including how and by whom the tapes were listened to, and how the transcribed interviews were read, should be documented.

Crang (2001) also highlights the importance of the often neglected interpretation process. In line with grounded theory, he states that it is important to take the empirical material seriously and to ground the analysis in the data. This is to avoid a search only for what one is looking for and that fragments are picked out to suit the aim. Crang wants to build up a possible story and a picture by emphasising that there is not one correct interpretation but many truths and realities.

I kept a research diary and I had another notebook where I wrote down things which I thought were interesting during the interviews and observations, i.e. I followed the idea in grounded theory of theoretical memory notes. Aspects which I found worthy of note were for example issues which were repeated by various respondents, things that struck me during the research, anecdotes, pieces of analysis, differences, and similarities that appeared between different respondents and between Masasi and Montepuez. This way, the interpretation process had already started in the field.

When the interviews had been transcribed, I listened to them at the same time as I was reading them on the computer, making sure that the transcriptions matched the tapes. This involved a lot of editing since the transcriptions had been going through several steps and a number of people. During this process, I also made notes about interesting phenomena, events etc. The next step was to code the interviews according to categories and sub-categories, which was done in the software programme MAXQDA. As suggested in grounded theory (Starrin et al. 1991 and Strauss and Corbin 1998), I started the analysis process with ‘open coding’, in which concepts and phenomena were identified and named. These concepts were then grouped into categories and sub-categories.

I started the writing process immediately after the fieldwork, i.e. before I had the transcriptions. The writing at this stage was based on the impressions gained during the fieldwork and the information from the summaries of the interviews. The writing process continued when I had listened to all the interviews, read the transcriptions several times and done the coding, which was about a year later. Looking back, I think that it was helpful to do the writing in stages because during the first stage my memories were vivid and I felt very close to the respondents and other people, the different places and all the

events and encounters. By the time I got to the second stage of the writing, I could take a step back and look at the material in a different light. Inspired by grounded theory, I have taken my empirical material seriously and grounded my analysis in this empirical material. The sources of knowledge are shown with quotes, examples and observations from the fieldwork.

The material from the structured interviews and the material from the semi-structured interviews are of different character. While the structured interviews provide an overview of the respondents' everyday activities and a general idea of how and what life strategies are developed, the semi-structured interviews provide much more elaborate information. As mentioned previously, they have been treated as different kinds of material in the empirical chapters. The structured interviews are used to give a broad picture when a theme is introduced, while the quotes and narratives presented are derived mainly from the semi-structured interviews. The material from the video sessions has not been used in the thesis and should mainly be seen as a tool for presenting the thesis.

3.6 Feedback and presenting the findings

To provide feedback to the respondents and other people involved in the research process is for me a self-evident part of the research process.³¹ I promised that I would return to the respondents with the photos the next time I went to Masasi and Montepuez, which would be the following year. Between July and August 2004 I went back to Masasi and Montepuez for follow-up research. The respondents were very happy to receive their photos and for me, it was an opportunity to find out what had happened in their lives since the last time we met. As will be illustrated in Chapter 5 and 6, there were some substantial changes. A few respondents had moved and some were not in town, but my colleagues made sure that they would get their photos.

After defending this thesis, I aim to present the findings in various places and to various groups of people. The emphasis will be on those who have contributed to this work in one way or the other, such as in Masasi and Montepuez, as well as the university departments, organisations, ministries, NGOs and donor agencies with which I have been in contact in Dar es Salaam and Maputo. The photos and the video material will be useful tools for such presentations. In order to make the findings more available, I would like to con-

³¹ Feedback to the respondents is discussed e.g. by Widerberg (2002).

vert some of the chapters in the thesis into articles and produce a short version of the thesis in Kiswahili and Portuguese.

4. IMAGES OF YOUTH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A SPACE

4.1 Introduction

While conducting the fieldwork in Tanzania and Mozambique, I encountered different viewpoints on the concept of youth, what it means and who a young person is. I also found various representations of youth, how young people were regarded and talked about by different actors in society, such as local leaders, national governments and media, international organisations, as well as by young people themselves. As mentioned in Chapter 1, definitions of youth and how life strategies of youth can be related to the representations of young people in national and local discourses is one of my research questions.

As other researchers have discussed (e.g. Wyn and White 1997, Öhlund 1994 and Mørch 1985) there are power relations involved when youth is defined, such as between adults and young people. The study of youth does not necessarily mean that the focus must be on generational conflicts, 'problematic' youth and youth cultures of resistance in the public space. As put forward by e.g. Valentine et al.(1998) and Wulff (1995), youth is far from a homogenous category and I think it is important to focus also on ordinary and 'non problematic' youth. Youth research can focus on *becoming* an adult and the social process of societal qualifications which young people have to go through in order to become accepted as adult members of society. Mørch (1985) and Löfgren (1990) refer to these as the 'youth task'. The process of *becoming* adults is partly a focus of this research, but I am also interested in the youth period itself, of *being* youth. In this chapter, the definitions and representations of youth are explored within the context of young people in the towns Masasi and Montepuez. It also includes a discussion on the organisation of youth and what constitutes the 'youth task' in these towns. I analyse the power relations involved, between for example leaders, international organisations and young people.

4.2 What is youth and who is a young person?

One way of trying to understand what the concept of youth means in the context of Masasi and Montepuez, is to find out what the respondents' definitions of youth are and if they see themselves as youth. During the structured interview, one of the questions touched upon the concept of youth and it was developed in the semi-structured interview.

Many respondents used age to define youth. The age definition varied from 12 years old up to 35-40 years old, with the most common definition being between 13 to 20 or 20 plus. When Maria, HIV/AIDS activist in Masasi, explains who can be defined as youth, she gives a thorough explanation:

M: Aaa, a youth is somebody who is already at the stage of being mature. The youth of this stage is able to run his/her³² own life. For example a girl can get married, a boy can marry and a youth can arrange his/her own plans on how to get money and means to live. Yea, at that age some can still be with their mothers and their parents and others are not, but at that age, you have reached puberty and you have matured.

L: That is a youth?

M: Yea, that is a youth. And a youth is a person with his/her energy who can work and who can find his/her own employment (*ajira yeye binafsi*). For a boy, maybe he can make bricks and he can have his own garden because during the youth period, everything can be done, it is time for making your own advancement. Do not think that you will advance when you get old. You have to use your energy at this time of being young. So a youth is a person at the age of... you get into puberty of 14-15 years and then to 35... if I'm not mistaken, or 40. So that person is a youth.

Maria covers several of the definitions given by other respondents, for example she suggests that the youth period is about becoming a mature person, that it is the period when you are about to leave home and get married, and that young people have energy and can arrange their own livelihood. That Maria refers to an age definition and says '*if I'm not mistaken*' may suggest that she is referring to the government definition of youth.

Both in Mozambique and Tanzania, the official definition of youth has been under discussion and different definitions have been used. The UN definition 15-24 years was for example used in the national youth development policy in Tanzania from 1996 (MOLYD 1996). In Mozambique, it was agreed in 2002 that 15-35 years would be used as a definition of youth (MJD and CNJ 2002) and 15-35 years will be used also in the new youth policy in Tanzania, which is expected to be out in the beginning of 2006. There is therefore a substantial difference between the Tanzanian and the Mozambican definition of youth compared to the UN definition. One possible explanation is that it has to do with the political system and the national party structure in the two countries, where 35 years is the upper limit of membership in the youth wing of a political party.

Along with her definition, Maria defines herself as a youth:

³² In Kiswahili, the pronoun is not gendered, so the context has to decide if it is a female or male who is referred to, which is not always possible.

M: I'm a youth.

L: Why?

M: Because first I'm 23 years old and I have good strength and great health, so I can do my activities. I have energy, my mind is still young to initiate some projects, yea I'm still young and I can do many things like these.

To describe who is a youth, Mohamed, a 22 years old businessman in Masasi, says that a youth is somebody like him. As in Maria's narrative, age is part of the definition and he refers to youth as a transitional phase between childhood and adulthood.

M: Youth is somebody like me. I'm a youth.

L: Mm, why?

M: I'm a youth because I haven't reached that age of being an adult. Youth starts from age 15-20 years, still a youth, up to 22 years...

L: Aaa, go on explaining about who is a youth.

M: A youth is from being child to youth, from 15 is a youth, until 25 years old. From then you now pass to being an adult. So I'm at the youth age.

José in Montepuez, who sometimes helps his mother to cultivate on her *machamba*, says that a youth is like him. However, rather than age, his argument is that his height is that of a youth and because he does not yet have a beard. When some of the respondents define youth, they describe an 'ideal' youth, or what they think a youth should be like, such as Selemene, who does business in Montepuez:

To be a youth? To be a youth is to be a person who is well educated, a person who... if a person says something, you do this thing. Not pretend/imagine (*não fazer imaginado*). That is to be youth. Now, if a person is pretending/imagining, it is a youth but not a complete youth. Without studying, not a complete youth.

Also Rosalina, secondary school student in Montepuez, describes youth as a privilege. She says that for her, a youth is somebody who is 18 up to 30-35 years old who is living well and has the right to be a youth. When I ask what she means with the right to be a youth, she says: "*The right to be a youth is to have the opportunity to grow up well, study and live happily. Yes, to have the right to all necessities.*"

Youth as a privilege and ideal is also put forward by Celina, who does petty business in Montepuez, but her focus is on basic needs, which illustrates that even items like soap are not taken for granted.

L: What does it mean to be youth?

C: To have resources, to have possibilities to take a bath with soap, that is a youth, to wash his clothes, not to get dressed in things without washing, that's not a youth. A youth takes a bath and washes his clothes.

Most respondents regard themselves as youth. Not as children and not as adults. Several respondents define themselves as youth because of their age, especially students, while other respondents use different rationales for defining themselves as youth. Saïde, domestic worker in Montepuez, divides life into phases by saying that he is a young person because he has already passed the phase of a child. A clue that he still does not regard himself as an adult is his reference to the future: "*When I grow up, I will get married and have a job.*" Another respondent who does not use age as a definition is Deborah, who does petty business in Masasi. She defines herself as a youth because she is part of a youth group. Zawadi in Masasi, who is working as a barmaid, places herself in the youth category both because of her young age and because of the way she looks:

Me for instance, the way I am, one can think that I'm still very young, but I have a child. So it can also be the body. [...] First, my age is still young (*mdogo*). And then, I have got a small shape. Not the one that shows I'm old. That's why I regard myself as a youth.

A few respondents see themselves as children rather than youth, such as one girl in the structured interview in Montepuez, who is a primary school student and who said that she is a child because she does not yet have a house. Others regard themselves as adults rather than youth, like Pedro, businessman in Montepuez, who explains that he is an adult because he has already started with things like having women. Another example is Selma, secondary school student in Montepuez who says that she is an adult because she has a child.

As shown above, the definitions of youth vary between the respondents. The definitions can be divided into different groups. *Age* is the most common connotation that goes with belonging to the category of youth. Interestingly, it seemed to be more common among respondents in school than out of school to use age as a definition, while young people who have left school or not been to school to a larger extent tend to use other definitions. Perhaps through school they have been socialised into belonging to age groups, such as to advance classes on a yearly basis. Through school, they may also be familiar with the government policies around youth etc. Youth as a *phase in life* was also part of the definition. However, changes in the life course like to move away from home, marriage and to have children do not necessarily need to be clear cut transitions. Some had moved from home and back again and some have children while they still live with their parents. Maria in Masasi,

who thinks that her husband soon will divorce her because he does not want to let her study, says that she depends on her husband economically and in case of divorce, she therefore will have to move back to her parents again and depend on them:

M: [...] For example me here now, I'm here with my husband, I live and depend on my husband. But if he says that he will divorce me, I will go back home. Back home, I will be regarded as a child. I will depend on my father, my father will buy me soap, he will buy me food, he will buy me vegetables. So there at home, I will live as a child.

As Maria's quote shows, whether you are regarded as a child or an adult may in some cases depend on the context or situation. Also Moussa, secondary school student in Masasi, gives examples of *situations* when he is regarded as a child and when he is regarded as an adult:

Yes, sometimes they [his parents] regard me as a child because I still stay with my parents and also I'm still at school so I can't depend on myself to find my needs. So I'm still in this group of being called a child because all the needs that a child gets, I'm also getting. Also, I can't solve a problem on my own without my parents. I have to go and say 'mum, this and that happened in school' and they can help to solve the problem, maybe by giving me some money or some help. So they regard me as a child. They also regard me as an adult because if a problem has happened at home which will involve the whole family to solve, people will sit together as adults and talk about the problem. And if I'm there and I will contribute with an idea which they think is good, they will see me as an adult because I contributed with an adult idea.

I found it interesting that some respondents describe the youth period as *a privilege*. Wyn and White (1997) critically points out that youth development policies are designed for the privileged majority, leaving out a marginalised group of youth. In the case of Tanzania and Mozambique, youth is seen by some respondents as a privilege, which involves studying and the opportunity to grow up in a good way. This is far from the reality for many young people in Masasi and Montepuez. As will be shown in the course of this thesis, many young people are vulnerable, have limited access to education and have to struggle to get a livelihood which is possible to live on.

One definition of youth through *participation* came from Deborah, who identified herself as youth by virtue of her participation in a youth group. The association with youth was the critical element. Deborah has a baby, but despite this, she defined herself as a youth rather than an adult. Zawadi's quote above about that she looks young although she has a child, and José's statement about height and beard, are about *appearance*, i.e. looking youthful. To be fat,

used to be, and still is in many contexts the ideal of adult women in Tanzania and Mozambique. It is a compliment if somebody tells you that you have gained weight. However, Zawadi emphasises that she is slim despite having had a baby and is proud of it, which is a competing ideal for women. In Masasi, I heard the expression ‘British figure’, which means a slim shape. The Western ideal of women, such as to be slim, has become fashionable among young people in Tanzania and Mozambique and the ideal is displayed for example in advertisements and fashion competitions.

Many young people in these towns, both male and female, some well over 20 years, are still largely dependent on their families. They are not married yet and some do not have children. This suggests that the youth period for many young people really is quite long. As Hall and Jefferson (1976) indicate in the context of Great Britain, middle-class youth tend to be youth for a longer period of time, which, as McRobbie (1991) states, also has a gender dimension since girls in school are not expected to get married. Interestingly, this idea was put forward by some of the respondents in my study, as will be shown in chapter 8.

Celina in Montepuez says that adulthood starts earlier for some due to difficulties and a hard life. She gives herself as an example. She is 20 years old and has to worry about her sister’s children who are now her children because the sister is dead. Celina is struggling hard to make a living through petty business. She regards herself as an adult but says that for those whose life is going well, adulthood does not start until they are 30 years old. In her view, youth is a privilege for some without heavy responsibilities.

Oswaldo, secondary school student in Montepuez, says that when you are considered adult varies and depends on who you are. In the following quote, he compares the life of people in Mozambique with the life of a foreigner:

[...] here in Mozambique a person who is 38 years old is already *muito adulto* (very much an adult) and he is already married, while for others, for example a foreigner, a person who is 50 years old, is not that much an adult (*não é tão adulto*).

Oswaldo’s quote suggests that people become adults earlier in Mozambique than in other countries and perhaps this is a way to express that people in other countries have an easier life than in Mozambique, a privilege of foreigners. There is therefore a parallel with this quote and Celina’s statement that people get older if they have a difficult life.

4.3 Representations of youth

4.3.1 Perceptions of youth by leaders – according to youth

In the interviews with young people, there were different views concerning how leaders look upon and talk about young people. Several respondents mentioned that leaders talk about HIV/AIDS when they address young people. A narrative by Irene, a primary school student in Montepuez, shows that she associates leaders' interest in youth to HIV/AIDS.

What I have heard about youth [from leaders] is only being careful, because I have heard them speak about the thing of AIDS. Many young people talk about that AIDS doesn't exist, and that they are deceiving us and I don't know what. These people who go around and talk about AIDS say "youth of today, take care, take care of yourself", but we don't want to know of anything. We are saying that there is no AIDS, AIDS doesn't exist and that they are deceiving and criticising us a lot.

One could argue that a new meaning of youth has emerged in the light of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As Irene's narrative illustrates, for her, HIV/AIDS is the only association to youth that she hears leaders talk about. Irene's narrative also shows that some young people are resisting messages about HIV/AIDS by ignoring them and by saying that they are being fooled by leaders and those people who "*go around and talk about AIDS*". This could be seen as a form of resistance against control, against those in power of spreading the message. There may also be a generational conflict involved here, a struggle between youth who are the targets of the campaigns and the leaders who spread the message.

Both in Masasi and Montepuez, some respondents say that leaders tell young people to cultivate, to arrange their own jobs and keep busy rather than to wait for the government to do it for them. The quote by Furaha, who is working in a stationary shop in Masasi, illustrates this.

For the government... the government says that the situation of youth is bad. It insists all youth to be self-employed and not wait for the government to employ them. Everybody who is able to do activities should do it and everybody who has the strength should take a hoe and cultivate.

Moussa, who lives in a village just outside of Masasi town, says that the government is concerned that many young people are moving away from the villages. They have therefore initiated projects of self-employment to make them

stay. Moussa's narrative also illustrates the move towards cost sharing of water facilities, where young people in his village have become actors.³³

The government keeps telling youth to involve themselves in doing different things. For example *many* youth are now running to town and others want to go to other countries. So the government then has to tell them to go back to their villages and engage themselves in different activities. Sometimes the village also initiates different *fundi* (artisan) groups in the villages. For example here, about three groups were initiated. There was a carpenter group, a masonry group and a tailoring group. The masonry group was told to dig a well which is over there (points). The well they dug was nicely done and the council helped them to bring different tools. They started to guard the water in that well and then they sold water. So they got money. Also the carpenter group, many tools were brought here and many youth got skills from there. After that, everyone had the knowledge and the skills so they could initiate a workshop by their own house.

The narratives by Furaha and Moussa are part of discourses around self-employment and young people fleeing to town. In Moussa's narrative, these discourses are combined, i.e. if young people create their own jobs in the village, they do not have to go to town. Old and new discourses are merged. The discourse about young people leaving rural areas for an inappropriate life in town has been around since the 1960s, as Ishumi (1984) and Ivaska (2002) show, at least for the big cities, while the discourse around self-employment is more recent and has become pronounced as a response to the liberalisation of the economy. The neo-liberal approach, implemented e.g. through the structural adjustment programmes, has involved an increased reliance, and an appreciation of, informal economy activities.

Some respondents put across that they feel that leaders do not trust young people. Particularly articulated concerning the lack of trust were Osvaldo in Montepuez, who is a secondary school student and engaged in Geração Biz, and Maria, who is active in one of the HIV/AIDS youth groups in Masasi.

O: Here in Montepuez, the community leaders speak badly, very badly about youth because they don't like the present generation and there is a conflict between those leaders and us youth. It's a conflict.

L: Is this the case in all neighbourhoods?

O: Yeah, in all neighbourhoods this happens.

L: When they speak badly about youth, what do they say?

O: They say that these youth of the new generation is useless. They start to talk about their things and blame it on us, the present youth. [They say] some drink and concerning religion [they say that] some don't follow what the religion itself says, yes.

³³ For an analysis of the reorganisation of water provision in terms of access and actors involved in the light of liberalisation, see e.g. Andr e (2004).

So they start to say that this one does not do the things we say, this one is this and that. They start to think things like that, yes.

L: And these things that they say, is it true or not?

O: The way we young people see it, these things are not true but for them it's true.

M: The government contributes to this [lack of trust]. If you exclude UNICEF, which is not the government. But our government here in Tanzania is not regarding youth as youth. Why? For example there is this thing called... council, youth council, I have forgotten what it's called. This was not initiated by youth. Young people were not called. No youth were there to initiate these laws, only adults were sitting there and decided about these laws. You see?! Why didn't they let us youth contribute? Because we are here and we can do such things. The ability is there. You see?! So the government itself does not have a good attitude towards us youth. Yeah, the government does not trust us. I believe that the Tanzanian government could give us loans, because I think the money is there, but they think that we would mess it up. We have our own ability and brains, but the Tanzanian government really doesn't look well at youth. We can also help our government. Even to become the president, a youth of 27 years old could do this job! He/she could really do it, but young people are not given this space. It's important, but the government doesn't see this. They don't know that we are important and they don't utilise us. It is only these organisations who do this, but not the government.

Oswaldo's and Maria's narratives illustrate youth as a subordinated group in society. Their narratives are important because of the feeling some young people have that they are regarded as useless. This may in fact influence what strategies they develop. If they are told that they are useless, this may limit their space of action. It may however also lead to young people starting to challenge the leaders. It is interesting that Maria differentiates between the government and organisations like UNICEF. Both Maria and Oswaldo are active in HIV/AIDS youth groups and have undergone training through these organisations. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Maria and Oswaldo are the most vocal concerning this issue. That they demand a space for youth may be a result of the training and engagement in these groups. Maria's narrative above about the formation of a youth council, which according to her was not initiated by youth, is illustrative. According to Ms Shaidi, the Director of Youth in the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports, the Ministry has tried to increase the involvement of youth in the formation of a youth council (Shaidi 4 April 2003). It is possible that this was a response of the criticism from organisations supporting the formation of a youth council and various youth groups similar to the group Maria is involved in.

In a conversation with the District Executive Director in Masasi, Mr Mageke, we spoke about micro-credit to youth. He informed me that the district council provides loans to youth, but that the approach from the district council is problematic. In Mr Mageke's view, they hand out the loans as if the money

were candies, not expecting to get it back (Mageke 31 May 2002). This is exactly Maria's point. The government does not believe that youth would be responsible enough to pay back the loan, but she argues that if only they would be trusted, they would.

Some respondents who are not active in the kind of youth groups which Osvaldo and Maria are part of also found that young people are not trusted by leaders. As Rosalina, secondary school student in Montepuez expresses:

They say that these young people nowadays are not capable, won't be able to confront and be the flower of tomorrow, yes, they don't have much confidence because of marginalisation, which exists a lot in this phase of ours.

Other respondents are happy with the way leaders regard youth. Moussa, secondary school student in Masasi, thinks that village leaders give good guidance to youth.

M: Village leaders guide youth and explain to youth about various things, also about things that don't bring development, like...

R: That doesn't bring development?

M: Yes, that doesn't bring development. For example, maybe young people are gambling (*kamani*) here in the village, maybe playing cards (*karata*). When you look at it, you see that they sit in a place wasting time and they also lose their money because maybe a friend has taken all the money you had, which causes quarrels and maybe you go and steal. So the village leaders have the responsibility of educating those young people to stop activities like that. Like if somebody gets drunk and insults people, then everybody starts to hate him and they may beat him and hurt him. So the village leaders tell the young people that they should stop those habits. Sometimes they catch all young people who are playing cards and take them to the police post and to the court where they have to pay a fine or are being put into jail in order to stop the bad actions they have done.

Both in Masasi and Montepuez, some respondents say that village leaders support youth in sports, for example by providing equipment and contributions to teams to participate in sports events. Another area where respondents feel that village leaders consider youth is when they are needed for manual labour. The quotes from Dário, who works for an NGO in Montepuez, and from Mohamed, businessman in Masasi, illustrate this.

D: Well, for example the neighbourhood leader in Matuto (neighbourhood in Montepuez) considers youth. For example, he organised a team of youth and gave new balls and equipment. It's just that he didn't have the means to arrange for the trip, but for equipment, trousers and t-shirts [he did], he really considers [youth].

M: Village leaders stimulate youth in things like sports you see. Only sports. Also they give us directives concerning things of the village, like maybe they say that there is a problem of water, so we youth will have to go to dig a well to get water. Or there might be a problem with bricks in a school, then we youth will have to make bricks to help to build the village school.

Through sports, young people can serve as good representatives for the district or a particular school when they go to different competitions and they are considered as a source of manual labour. As shown in this section, there are young people who accept the views of leaders, while there are other youth who resist those discourses. As previously argued, it is important to recognise that youth is not a homogenous group.

4.3.2 Representations of youth put forward by local leaders

In this section, representations of youth as expressed by neighbourhood and district leaders are presented. As will be shown, they largely correspond to the views of youth in the previous section concerning leaders' perceptions of youth. One concern raised by leaders was that young people are attracted by life in urban areas, as illustrated by the following quotes by the neighbourhood leaders Ms Mijindo in Masasi and Mr Amade in Montepuez.

Young people here in Masasi want to live in the town area and they want to be employed somewhere. They don't like agriculture very much. They like town life and employment, that's what they really like. But the problem is that there is no employment, and the result is that they end up in bad gangs and they learn things like being drunk, to be thieves and many other bad things, because they don't want to stay in the village and engage themselves in farming. [...] Young people are now focused on enjoying good life. If they would stay in the village they think that their life will be hard and some tell each other that if you use the hand hoe you will get old fast, you will be old because of farming. So that's why they want to live in town, they want to be comfortable (Ms Mijindo, neighbourhood leader, Masasi).

The youth today normally need a lot. They like to be in the city/town (*cidade*) much more, because the life of youth in the city/town is extended, right. Normally [the young person] is free and participates in many activities, while there in the rural area a youth will tell you that he is old and that the problem he has is that the whole life is just at the *machambas*, yes (Mr Amade, neighbourhood leader, Montepuez).

It is interesting that both Ms Mijindo and Mr Amade emphasise that young people say that farming makes you old. Neither Ms Mijindo nor Mr Amade seem to disagree with that life in town is easier, but the narrative by Ms Mijindo also shows that the lack of employment in town is a problem, which in her view causes criminality and bad behaviour such as drinking alcohol. In

another part of the interview, Mr Amade says that a big problem of youth also in Montepuez is unemployment.

Here in Montepuez, young people face lack of employment. The lack of employment face youth a lot, and there are even many young people who walk around there at the market, and assault other men. They pickpocket, steal money from other men and if the police catch them, they reply to them: ‘well, how are we supposed to eat?’, which means, well, lack of employment, doesn’t it? (Mr Amade, neighbourhood leader, Montepuez).

In the interview with Mr Amade, he referred to young people as *male* youth. Both in Tanzania and Mozambique, the concept of youth is gendered. The expression “youth” (“*kejana*” in Kiswahili and “*jovem*” in Portuguese) is associated with male youth, so when for example a neighbourhood leader says “*yule kejana*”/“*aquele jovem*” (“that youth”) it is usually a male youth he is referring to, while a female youth is referred to as “*yule msichana*”/“*aquela moça*” (“that girl”). The explanation to this may be due to similar reasons than what Mørch (1985) highlight, namely that young women used to be, and still often are, more associated with the private sphere rather than with production and education. However, both young men and young women in this study identify themselves as youth and in youth policy documents etc., both young men and young women are included in the youth category. A change regarding who is commonly referred to as youth may therefore be underway.

Agriculture is according to Mr Kapinga, District Administrative Secretary and Acting District Commissioner in Masasi, and Mr Alí, District Executive in Montepuez, an opportunity for young people in Masasi and Montepuez and a solution to the problem of unemployment of youth:

You know, the main livelihood here in Masasi district is agriculture. There are big *shambas* without people. The government has already suggested that those *shambas* should be distributed to youth, but the young people don’t want them. They are running away. [...] They want to know [life in] town and to work there, to come to town because there is electricity and this and that, yes they move to town and they know that there is future there (Mr Kapinga, district leader, Masasi).

The major problem is like I said employment and because of this, what could be the main occupation offer is agriculture. It would be ideal if the agricultural sector would be organised so that it could employ more young people. To absorb more young people means that we have to adjust to an agriculture which is a bit more developed so that the young people in fact would feel motivated to dedicate themselves and embrace agricultural activities and not feel frustrated. The pattern now is that the major frustration is in fact that with the resources they have, they do not succeed to reach the level of income they need to be able to solve their day to day problems (Mr Alí, district leader, Montepuez).

The narrative of Mr Alí is more optimistic than that of Mr Kapinga. Both leaders argue that the agricultural sector has potential, but Mr Kapinga puts forward the suggestion that young people simply are not interested in agriculture. Mr Alí in contrast suggests that young people have insufficient resources to make cultivation a profitable livelihood.

Organisation of youth is an aspect which was discussed by leaders in Masasi and Montepuez, both in relation to HIV/AIDS and livelihood activities:

Youth really organise themselves now and we have already organised youth groups. In this village there is a group which is engaged in AIDS and generally they gather people in meetings in the village and they give performances (Ms Mijindo, neighbourhood leader, Masasi).

We encourage groups of five or more people for the purpose of economic activities such as animal husbandry and tailoring. We have people like [from] SIDO³⁴ who give out loans (Mr Kapinga, district leader, Masasi).

There are various opportunities that we are outlining. Right now for example, we are integrating these youth in various projects which are implemented locally. Mainly formation of groups in the area of agriculture through support in improved techniques or through training of these youth in improved techniques, so that they can develop agriculture with reasonable profit (Mr Alí, Montepuez).

One of the solutions to HIV/AIDS and the problem of unemployment of youth is that young people organise themselves, or as the quotes above propose, that leaders organise youth. The organisation of young people is on the development agenda in Tanzania and Mozambique where partnership between government institutions, the private sector and the so called 'civil society' is promoted as a poverty reduction strategy. Not least due to HIV/AIDS, I would argue that youth has become a recognised category in civil society.

In relation to youth in Montepuez and Masasi, there is also an education discourse, as shown in the following quotes by Mr Alí and Mr Kapinga:

There are various ways through which we, together with the government partners, are trying to create conditions for youth, but what we think is the most important right now is education. Without education it would be difficult to improve the life conditions for our youth. Especially one group to another and as you know, what the government is struggling to do right now is to develop through education and through health (Mr Alí, district leader, Montepuez).

³⁴ SIDO is an acronym for Small Industries Development Organisation and is a Tanzanian organisation which supports small scale industries and agriculture.

Another chance, as I have said, is that if the young people themselves would agree to go to school, they would be educated. The problem is that many young people don't want to go to school and those who get that chance usually drop out half way through, for instance girls who end up with pregnancy (Mr Kapinga, district leader, Masasi).

As mentioned in chapter two, education was an important strategy in Tanzania as well as Mozambique after independence. However, during the economic difficulties, the structural adjustment programmes during the 1980s and 1990s and the destabilisation war in Mozambique, the education sectors deteriorated in both Tanzania and Mozambique. As Mr Alí's narrative above shows, education is a sector which is now given priority. This is done through partnership between the government and other stakeholders, and the statement "*we, together with the government partners*", illustrates the partnership approach to development. Drop-out and pregnancy is a problem, as illustrated by Mr Kapinga's narrative, but his analysis of this is that young people do not want to go to school. However, as will be shown in Chapter 6, many respondents want, but are unable, to continue their studies.

Within the education discourse, there is currently some focus on vocational education, as the following quotes from Mr Alí and Mr Kapinga show:

[...] we have the vocational school in order for youth who enrol to get other employments. It is a school which trains youth to be ready to have a profession in their hands. What we have observed is that it has been a mistake for a long time that in the majority of our schools there are general courses to prepare citizens for university studies (Mr Alí, district leader, Montepuez).

Well, do you know what? The government's policy concerning employment is to study first. And people should now struggle to get employed according to the level of their studies, so young people are encouraged to go to the vocational training centre here in Masasi and some of them were sent to VETA [the Vocational Education and Training Authority]. Unfortunately they failed, what do you expect? They don't like it (Mr Kapinga, district leader, Masasi).

Mr Alí's narrative shows that there has been a theoretical orientation in the education system and many would argue that this is still the case. According to Mr Alí, this has been a mistake because it has prepared students for university studies rather than employment. By contrast, in Mr Kapinga's narrative, young people's unwillingness to study is emphasised, as in his previous quote concerning drop-out.

Another youth discourse in Masasi and Montepuez is that young people today are more difficult and less obedient than young people in the past, as illustrated by the following narratives by Ms Mijindo and Mr Amade.

In the past, young people developed well because their parents proceeded well and they understood what they explained to them. But really, young people now, they themselves have built this behaviour of 'going with time' and when the older people talk to them they tell them that time has gone past you, and that they don't have anything good to say. So my point is, I can say that young people now are more troublesome than those in the past (Ms Mijindo, neighbourhood leader, Masasi).

[...] at that time, from zero until 25, young people were just at home, the orientation was just according to their parents. Let's do this, let's go to the *machamba*, let's do that, just that. Therefore, there are many differences. Now, at 18 years old, the mother has to suffer a lot, and the father also, because the son does not understand anything and turns up at the house when he wants to. He goes to town because that has already become life of today, of youth of today. They are very different from youth in the past (Mr Amade, neighbourhood leader, Montepuez).

Both in Ms Mijindo's and Mr Amade's view, young people have developed a behaviour which they think is significant for life of youth today. To not listen to their parents and to do what they want rather than what their parents want them to do clearly illustrates a power struggle between the older and the younger generation. That children do other things than their parents want them to do is and has been a power struggle in various geographical contexts and times. However, the reasons may differ between time and place. It is sometimes indicated as a 'problem' of modernity, which is discussed by some of the respondent youth in Masasi, as shown in chapter 8. Another reason why these narratives are told in this particular context and at this time could be due to the harsh economic conditions in times of neo-liberalisation, which means that adults as well as young people are struggling to make a living.

4.4 Youth – 'discovered' through HIV/AIDS

When young people are described in the media in Tanzania and Mozambique, there are some themes which come out stronger than others. I followed the coverage on youth in the media during my fieldwork periods in Tanzania and Mozambique in 2002-2004 and many of the articles in newspapers involving youth dealt with HIV/AIDS in one way or the other, such as workshops on HIV/AIDS, causes of HIV/AIDS and statistics of HIV/AIDS prevalence. On the radio, on television and in the streets, there were HIV/AIDS awareness advertisements targeting youth and young people were encouraged to form groups in order to raise support to fight HIV/AIDS. As shown in a pre-

vious section, HIV/AIDS was also one of the issues which respondent youth suggested attracted leaders' attention to young people.

There are many HIV/AIDS programmes in Tanzania and Mozambique, run by and supported by national as well as international organisations and donors. Two examples of such programmes, with presence both on the national scale and in the towns Masasi and Montepuez, are the *Out of School Youth Programme* in Tanzania and *Geração Biz*³⁵ in Mozambique. The programme in Tanzania was initiated in 1999 and is being implemented in collaboration with UNICEF by several district councils, among them Masasi District Council. The aim of the programme is to raise HIV/AIDS awareness and provide young people with life skills. Young people from each ward of the district were trained to inform other youth about HIV/AIDS, for example through community theatre and youth centres which were created around the district (Lehmann et al. 2002). *Geração Biz* in Mozambique is also a youth to youth programme and is supported by UNFPA and the international NGO Pathfinder International. It was initiated in 2003 and is implemented by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Health in all districts in Mozambique. The focus is on sexual and reproductive health, including HIV/AIDS and young people in and out of school have been trained in peer-to-peer information sharing (Ajana 10 September 2003 and UNFPA 2003).

According to Humphrey Polepole (24 February 2004), director of secretariat at Tanzanian Youth Coalition, young people have been “*on the market*” during the past five years due to the focus on HIV/AIDS among donors. According to Polepole it is difficult for youth organisations that want to engage themselves in other issues than HIV/AIDS because the funds available are only for HIV/AIDS.

I often met this youth-HIV/AIDS discourse during my research. When I told people that I was conducting research about youth, it was often immediately identified as youth-HIV/AIDS research, in Sweden as well as in Tanzania and Mozambique. One event which illustrates this happened one morning during the fieldwork in Montepuez when we were walking through *Mercado Central* and stopped to talk to some Tanzanian businessmen. They asked what I was doing in Montepuez and when I told them that I was doing research about young people, one of the men expressed: “*Aab, about HIV/AIDS?!*” Another such research event was when I was visiting ARO Juvenil in Montepuez, a Mozambican youth organisation. Before I had the chance to introduce my

³⁵ *Geração Biz* can be translated into the ‘Busy Generation’ (UNFPA 2003).

research topic, the director had talked for a long while about their engagement in HIV/AIDS prevention.

I think that the focus on HIV/AIDS is an important explanation to why increased attention is now paid to youth. HIV/AIDS has let to various stakeholders to take an interest in and 'discover' youth. Processes of developing new youth policies and youth councils have recently been initiated both in Mozambique and Tanzania. In Mozambique, the first national youth meeting was held in August 2002 in Chókwè. The outcome of the meeting was the Chókwè declaration "*Jovens por um Moçambique de Progresso*" ("Youth for an improved Mozambique") where it is emphasised that young people are important actors in the fight against absolute poverty and HIV/AIDS. The declaration itself covers a wide range of issues such as education, reproductive health and HIV/AIDS, housing, youth associations, agriculture, fishing and tourism, social assistance and social service, gender, culture and sports (MJD and CNJ 2002).

Many actors were involved in the youth meeting in Chókwè, Mozambique, some more powerful than others. The meeting was coordinated by the National Youth Council (*Conselho Nacional da Juventude* - CNJ) and the Ministry of Youth and Sports and it was supported by the UN agencies UNFPA, UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP. A National Youth Council was formed in 2001 and in 2003 when I was in Mozambique to conduct the main part of the fieldwork, efforts were made to implement subsections of the youth council in all the provinces and districts (Muchanga 18 September 2003). According to Elias Wiliamo (16 September 2003) from the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the National Youth Council is independent from the Ministry. However, I think it is important to stress that at the same time as it is said to be independent, it is linked to the Ministry of Youth and Sports and it was the Ministry of Youth and Sports that initiated the youth council.

In Tanzania in 2003, a similar process could be observed. A National Youth Council (*Baraza la Vijana*), was about to be formed, co-ordinated by the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports. Two large youth meetings were held, one in Moshi in April 2003 and one in Morogoro in January 2004, supported by the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports and UNICEF. In 2003, the process to formulate a new youth policy had been initiated (Shaidi 4 April 2004). However it has been delayed and by the beginning of 2006 when this thesis was completed, it had not yet been released. As in Mozambique, the national youth council is linked to the ministry which deals with youth issues, although it is said to be independent. Also stakeholders such as international organisations and donors influence the process.

As argued, an outcome of the youth-HIV/AIDS focus is that youth has become a more recognised group. Perhaps partly as a result of this, young people are increasingly regarded as important actors in other issues on the development agenda, such as the fight against poverty. This is illustrated by the following extracts from an article in one of the Tanzanian newspapers. The event was an HIV/AIDS awareness training, but in addition to HIV/AIDS awareness, the role of young people in the fight against poverty was emphasised and framed by the Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan:

TANZANIAN youths have been urged to fully support the government's efforts in fighting poverty for the country to achieve the development level envisaged in the nation's Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS). The Coast Region Planning Officer, Francis Mashuda, made the remarks at an HIV/AIDS awareness training workshop for the youths at Kibaha yesterday. He said youths are part and parcel of the war against poverty and their contribution in kind and views can bring change in the country's economy should they participate in its implementation. He said it was gratifying to note that youths were actively discussing important issues concerning their future, including ways of avoiding HIV/AIDS infection.[...] (Sunday Observer 25 July 2004).

Another example is an article in one of the Mozambican newspapers. At a speech by (now former) president Chissano on the International Youth Day, he emphasised that young people are important in the fight against poverty through NEPAD³⁶ (the New Partnership for Africa's Development).

THE PRESIDENT of the Republic, Joaquim Chissano, yesterday appealed to young people to be active individuals in making the objectives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) known in the country, which facilitate the reduction of absolute poverty. Speaking in a workshop organised by the Maputo City Youth Council of the occasion on the 12th of August, the International Youth Day, the Head of State affirmed that the youth is an important force in the fight against absolute poverty, hence the necessity of its engagement in the struggle aiming to eradicate this evil.[...] Chissano affirmed that the ongoing PARPA³⁷ (Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty) in the country inserts itself into the New Partnership for African Development, because this African programme also aims to eradicate poverty (Notícias 13 August 2004, my translation).

³⁶ NEPAD is an initiative by African leaders to create a new relationship of partnership between Africa and the international community in order to overcome unequal relations through different terms of trade, aid and debt relief. It is emphasised that the programme is important in the context of globalisation in order for Africa not to be further marginalised. Poverty reduction is a major goal and democracy, sound economic management, people centred development, peace and stability is promoted (NEPAD, Internet 23 November 2005).

³⁷ PARPA is the Portuguese name for PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme).

4.5 Organised youth

During the structured interviews, the respondents were asked if they participate in any organisations or political parties. A few of the respondents were organised in youth organisations such as the youth groups involved in HIV/AIDS. A few respondents were members of political organisations, such as few male respondents in Montepuez who recently had joined OJM (Mozambique Youth Organisation), the youth wing of Frelimo, when they had visited their school. A female respondent in Masasi was an active member in the CCM youth wing. Some respondents were part of local football teams and some participated in dance organisations in their neighbourhoods, which perform when there are big meetings. A few female youth were members of church choirs and some respondents were part of associations through school, such school football teams, a masonry group at the vocational training centre in Masasi and the HIV/AIDS organisation at the teacher's training college in Montepuez.

Another type of organisation of youth was through their livelihoods. Some of the young women who sold food in Masasi were members of an association and a female respondent in Montepuez was part of a group of women who sold local brew. One of the respondents in Masasi who was a woodcarver worked in a group of carvers who in turn had formed an association under the umbrella organisation MANGONET (Masasi NGO Network). In Montepuez, some of the male youth who did business at the market had organised themselves in order to get loans for their business, and male and female youth in both Masasi and Montepuez made informal arrangements where they all contributed with money and took turns in utilising the money. In Southern Mozambique, this kind of informal savings network is called *xitique* (Espling 1999).

It is difficult to say anything about the intensity of the organised activities, but the most well known youth organisations appeared to be those involved in hiv/aids preventing activities, which the quote from Deborah shows while listing the youth groups she knows about:

D: Youth groups? There are government youth groups, like there at Mkomaindo village's office and there at the ward office there is a group of peer educators who deal with AIDS.

L & De: Ok.

D: And also here at school there is a group that deals with AIDS.

That the youth groups which deal with AIDS are the most well-known groups is not surprising. As shown in the quote by Ms Mijindo above, these kinds of

groups were highly encouraged by leaders and there is funding for such organisations. It is interesting that Deborah associates these groups with the government, neighbourhood office and the ward office because it illustrates the power relation that exists between young people and leaders. As Ms Mijindo said in the quote above “*we have already organised youth groups*”.

Another part of Deborah’s narrative shows that there are other important actors than young people themselves in the activities of the youth groups:

Masasi district council decided that each village should have young people who volunteer in making bricks to build a big house. Then the council will give them videos to show there so that they can educate youth through videos. That’s why I’ve said that you can do different things to educate the society. At Mkomaindo village, the bricks were provided but the videos were not, and they have not built the house yet. In other villages there are videos already, UNICEF is helping a lot.

There is clearly a power relation between the district council and the young people and it is interesting that Deborah also mentions UNICEF because this illustrates the involvement and power of actors such as international organisations.

These youth programmes have given their young participants a role in society, which I think is one of the reasons why they have become popular. As will be shown, the respondents who are part of such organisations say that through their involvement, they also have responsibilities at other levels in society than at the household level. Another reason why it has become popular to participate in organisations fighting HIV/AIDS prevention activities is that apart from interest and recognition in society, it can be a way to make a living. Participants in training, information campaigns and meetings often get allowances. In Tanzania in 2003, the government per diem for a non-professional person (i.e. somebody who is not a trained teacher etc.) was 30 USD. During the research in Montepuez, Abudo informed me that there was an upcoming theatre HIV/AIDS project in Montepuez which was going to go on for 20 days. The facilitators were going to get 5 million Mt (208 USD) for 20 days, a substantial amount of money in Montepuez. Despite being popular, I would like to highlight an issue that I see as problematic. These programmes have been initiated by actors such as the government and international organisations with the aim to fight HIV/AIDS. These organisations function through HIV/AIDS funding and when there is no funding for HIV/AIDS activities, there are no activities.

4.6 Political youth

One form of organisation is political organisation and young people's participation in politics is therefore of relevance for this study. There was a wide variety among the respondents concerning interest in politics and political activism. While some mentioned interest in women's meetings in the neighbourhood, others said that they participate in political events such as a visit by a Minister of Parliament. In both Tanzania and Mozambique there are often big meetings where a lot of people come to listen to political leaders and there are groups performing at these occasions. These events are popular, both because it is festive and you go there with your friends and because they are informative. As Thomas, one of the respondents in Masasi said, he likes political meetings because he learns different things about his country.

Some respondents said that they are not politically active, but that they are in favour of a political party. None of the youth in Masasi and Montepuez was in favour of the opposition party. Zawadi in Masasi expressed that "*CCM, that's my party!*" and relates CCM with Tanzania being a peaceful country. Some respondents in Montepuez say that they like Frelimo because it is a party of peace and that they fought the Portuguese. Several young people in Montepuez, both male and female made similar statements to that of Selma:

[...] we study through Frelimo, we live here through Frelimo, we eat through Frelimo and we get dressed through Frelimo.

Quotes like Selma's and others who said that they like Frelimo because they fought the Portuguese are interesting. They are quite political in their character, which I think can be related to the hard struggle for independence in Mozambique. This was led by Frelimo and after independence Frelimo has, as Selma's quote shows, been acknowledged as contributing to many of the improvements in the country.

Other respondents state that they like Frelimo because Frelimo and Chissano (the former president of Mozambique) bring clothes to wear. First I thought this was a way of saying that Frelimo and Chissano have brought development, but I later realised that they were referring to how politicians literally come with an airplane and drop *capulanas*, caps, t-shirts etc. with a Frelimo message or with Chissano's image on them.

Was it a coincidence that none of the respondents in Masasi and Montepuez favoured any of the opposition parties? After the introduction of the multi-party system in Tanzania and Mozambique in the beginning of the 1990s, the

actors on the political scene have mainly been two parties and the main opposition party in both countries (CUF in Tanzania and Renamo in Mozambique) are not very strong in the areas where the study was conducted. CCM is dominating the political scene in Masasi and the (now former) president of Tanzania, Mkapa, is from Masasi. Renamo has support in Montepuez district, but mainly in the rural areas, while Frelimo is strong in Montepuez town.

Some respondents said that they are not interested in party politics and that they will like whoever wins the elections. During the time of the research municipality elections were coming up in Mozambique. When we talked to José in Montepuez, the municipality elections had just take place.

L: Did you vote?

J: *Nada*

L: Why didn't you go to vote?

J: I don't have the age to vote.

L: But you are 18 years...?

J: Yes.

Election observers in Montepuez said that few young people had been at the polling stations and this was also said on the national news around the country. In a quote by Clara in Montepuez, she expresses that she is not interested in politics.

L: Are you interested in political issues?

C: I'm not yet interested.

L: Why?

C: Because I'm still young. I'm not an adult so my turn has not yet arrived.

That Clara says that her time has not arrived yet and that José says that he is too young to vote is perhaps significant also for other young people in Mozambique and Tanzania. Several respondents said that it is the older and influential people who are the ones who take decisions. As José said, he cannot influence decision "*Because I'm not chefe do bairro* (the neighbourhood leader)".

Some of the students in Masasi and Montepuez said that students are discouraged from being politically active because it is said to disturb their studies, as shown by Moussa's story below.

I don't like political issues much because we students are told that if you are a student it is not a good thing to involve yourself in political issue because it is not good if you show that you like one side or a certain party. As a student you can sometimes be chased away if it happens that you have a debate about some party or if you fight because of the party. It can also be a problem when your parents find out that you

like a party that they don't like and because of that your parents will hate you. So if you are a student and you want to engage yourself in political issues you can't show this directly. You can vote and do other things but you can't show to your parents that 'I like a certain political party', you just have to be calm.

Some students in Montepuez seem to want to stay away from politics, not because they are told to by teachers and family members but because they connect politics with violence. Osvaldo narrates how he sees the political situation in Montepuez.

O: Because until now I don't have this talent for politics, I don't have political ability. I don't like politics much because politics nowadays is just aggressive, it's not good politics. For example here in Montepuez, the politics here is very different from other politics. The politics here is already violent. For example the parties which are here are parties of people who don't know. It's a party of people who didn't study and they are violent. For example during the election campaigns they created conflicts. Out came many conflicts and they were throwing stones and I don't know what. And for example after the other party had won, some made manifestations which were not, a thing that should not be like that. They created violence and killed people right here.

L: Is that both Renamo and Frelimo?

O: This just happens with Renamo, it doesn't happen with Frelimo because I think that a majority from Frelimo are people who studied, they are not illiterate.

Osvaldo's narrative shows that in his opinion, the violent situation has been created by Renamo. He puts forward the image of Renamo as consisting of non-educated people while Frelimo is represented by educated people. This was, as far as I understood from the election campaign in Montepuez, a wide spread perception among the urban population in Montepuez. There was also a rural-urban dimension to politics in Montepuez with Renamo being strong in the rural areas and Frelimo in the urban parts of Montepuez. According to the District Administrator Mr Alí, Frelimo won the municipality elections in November 2003 with 6000 votes against 2000 votes for Renamo. The events that Osvaldo refers to occurred in November 2000 when there was a clash between the police in Montepuez and Renamo demonstrators, who demanded victory in the general elections held in 1999. Over 100 people died, some in the clash itself, but many also suffocated in an overcrowded prison.

Some respondents, who said that they are not interested in politics, in fact are. For example one respondent in the structured interview in Masasi says that he does not care about politics, although he follows political issues closely in the newspapers whenever he gets the chance to read them. He is critical towards the tax politics and thinks that the government is corrupt. He says that the TRA (the Tax Revenue Authority) officials sometimes come to complain or just to disturb the business for no reason at all but to get a bit of extra money.

He links the corruption that he has experienced in Masasi to corruption on a higher political level and tells me about a story in the newspapers about a Tanzanian businessman who wanted to buy a big hotel. He made a bid but a foreign investor made a higher bid and the Tanzanian businessman lost. The bid from the foreign investor was just a little bit higher, which according to the respondent started speculations about whether the government had been bribed to disclose how much the other bid was so that the foreign investor could offer a bit more and close the deal.

Joseph in Masasi said that he does not understand party politics but that he is interested in society issues, which he does through music.

I don't like to follow political issues because first of all I don't understand politics and it would give me headache to listen to what CUF or CCM did or whatever. I just listen to important political things. That's why I only like to exchange ideas on social issues.

Although Joseph says he does not like politics, he, like the respondent referred to above, makes political statements. For example when I came back the following year, all the petty business people had moved back to the place by the road from where they had been chased away the previous year. Joseph says that now it is close to the elections so things are well and the politicians say that they remember the youth.

That some respondents distinguish between politics and an urge to intervene and change social relations, as Joseph's narrative shows, should be seen in the light of how the question was posed because the question contained a separation between politics and community/society issues. However, I think that it was not only how the question was posed that caused this separation. When the respondents referred to politics, it was in terms of political parties, while other issues were not regarded as politics.

4.7 Responsible and influential youth?

4.7.1 Responsibilities in the family and beyond

Organisation of young people is one way to look at participation of youth in societal processes. This was explored in the previous two sections. Another way to analyse participation of youth is whether young people feel they have responsibility to and exert influence over society. There may be a linkage between being able to influence your own life and the sense of having the possibility to exert influence in other geographical levels, such as in the household,

in the neighbourhood, in town etc. Therefore, this section concerns aspects of responsibility and influence.

Concerning responsibility in the household, some of the male respondents say that they are able to give advice and sometimes are called upon to solve a conflict in the family. Some of the female youth say that they have responsibility for themselves and their siblings. Female youth with children say that they have responsibility for them, like Selma in Montepuez who has a son who is two years old: “*I just have responsibility for my child and for educating him*”. One of the female respondents in Montepuez, Rosalina, who is a secondary school student, feels responsibility in terms of being able to support her parents in the future:

My parents feel that they have confidence in me and they put the whole trust in me. For example there at home, they already have the spirit that we have a daughter who can help us tomorrow. Yes, for me, I'm the first born and everybody puts trust in me.

The perception of what responsibility and influence means varies between the respondents and the roles appear to be gendered. While female youth feel responsibility for themselves, siblings, parents and children, male youth talk about responsibility in terms of advice and conflict resolution. Also in terms of responsibility in school, there are gendered aspects of responsibility. While one of the male respondents has been selected to be *chefe de informação* (head of information) in his class, one of the female respondents says that she has responsibility because she has been chosen by the teachers to cook tea for them.

Some respondents relate responsibility to being economically able, like Deborah in Masasi who differentiates between being able to contribute to the family and to have responsibility for the family:

For example now I have a baby and I do business that helps me, my child and my mother. But if I had a job I could work and get a lot of money and I would be responsible for taking care of my family. But because I don't have any resources, I don't have any responsibilities.

Both in Masasi and Montepuez, few youth said that they had responsibilities on the community level. The following quote by George shows that in his view, the role of responsibility belongs to the elders:

Due to experience, social issues are dealt with by elders because in order to deal with community issues, you need to be wise. You need to know the person, the person's aim and how to help him/her. It's a special talent to deal with social issues and if you force things you might cause a misunderstanding instead of solving a problem.

The respondents who were members of the organisations in Masasi and Montepuez which deal with HIV/AIDS prevention said that they felt that they had responsibilities on a community level, such as Clara in Montepuez who said that she had responsibility in society through her work with Geração Biz: “*Yes I have [responsibility], to give advice to adolescents.*” Osvaldo, who also is part of Geração Biz says: “*We have to work to make sure that the information about the illness of the century reaches the population.*”

Maria in Masasi who was engaged in the out of school youth programme in Masasi, stated that she is able to influence decisions and give her opinions in community meetings. In her view, people nowadays listen to youth at community meetings.

M: They listen, for example in community meetings. Now the society is waking up a bit, it's waking up and it has the capacity to listen. To whom? (she says rhetorically) To youth! But all this is because of us, us together with UNICEF, who explained to us youth about getting education about life skills and now, they [UNICEF] are joining us with elders (*wazee*) and we join together in meetings. These traditional leaders are called *Mwinyi* you see. So we meet there with the elders, and with the adults, so now, we youth are getting closer... we are closer to the elders. For example now, if a youth has a problem, you can go to the *Mwinyi*. But now I'm talking about Masasi district because here we have already succeeded with this. You go to the *Mwinyi* and say that you have this and that problem, and really, they listen.

L: Mm

M: Now we have a big ability to contribute with our ideas. For example when we attend a school meeting, when they want to build a school, then we young people make bricks. Young people make maybe 10,000 bricks, you see? Yea, we do it and we don't have a problem with it.

It is important that Maria, Clara and Osvaldo felt that they had a responsibility in the society and that they can make a difference. Although the focus of the organisations is HIV/AIDS prevention through peer education; to have the opportunity to participate in such an organisation may have an empowering effect that enables them to exert influence over other issues of concern in society than avoiding HIV/AIDS. As shown in Maria's narrative, she thinks that the society has recently started to listen to young people and she gives the credit for this to young people themselves and to UNICEF, which appears to have played the role of mediator.

According to Maria, young people contribute to the society and the community depends on the youth for manual labour. One example is to dig graves for funerals and to make bricks for school constructions. However, according

to Maria, at the same time as leaders in Masasi have started to include young people in meetings, youth are not trusted to become leaders.

In one village they might see us as *'wabuni wabuni'* (prostitutes/hooligans) but when it happens that there is a funeral, they depend on us! So to give us responsibilities is difficult because they don't trust us to be leaders.

There seems to be a conflict between being needed and being trusted. Young people are needed for manual labour but not trusted with responsibilities. Maria thought that she would manage to be a Member of Parliament, but that she would not be trusted with such a responsibility.

I think I can go there and explain my issues and I think I can be a representative for the society. But it's not easy for me to become a Member of Parliament because their view is that we youth cannot.

The conflict between being needed and being trusted was also highlighted by Rosalina in Montepuez.

We never went [to present our views], they only consider us when they need to. For example during festivity days they often come here to the boarding facility to look for the best students to go there and read messages, that's all.

4.7.2 Struggling with power relations and the possibility of change through organisation

During the fieldwork in Masasi and Montepuez, I came across examples where young people through organisation had managed to change unsatisfactory social relations. There were also examples of organised youth who had been less successful in achieving such change. As shown, some young people feel that they have been given a voice in society through international organisations and some young people had also organised themselves without the assistance from a formalised organisation. At the time of the fieldwork in 2003, the programme *Geração Biz* had, as mentioned, recently initiated their activities in Montepuez and the young people involved in the programme were very enthusiastic. The young people involved in the youth centre in Masasi were also happy to be part of a youth group, but they pointed out that some aspects were problematic.

A video and generator facility was supposed to be installed in all youth centres in 2001 to show educational videos about HIV/AIDS and other videos of relevance to youth. This was the video project referred to in Deborah's narrative above. However, from the beginning due to the risk of theft, the video had pretty much been installed in the cultural officer's house and had rarely

been used in the youth centre. There were no regular activities for HIV/AIDS prevention because the activists did not have enough money for bus fares to go to different places and perform. They had plans on starting a small restaurant to generate funds in order to finance their information campaigns, but they were still waiting for funds from UNICEF to initiate the project.

There was also frustration among the young people involved in the youth centre that they did not have their own space. They had made bricks and a building had been constructed but they were waiting for a substantial amount of money (promised to them by UNICEF) to continue the construction. In the meantime, they were using the ward office as their meeting place. However, because this was not their own space, one of the ward officials used to participate in their meetings. Not only was he present in the meetings, he was also the main decision maker. One of the respondents told me about one of the incidences which illustrate this.

In April 2003 there was a national youth meeting in Moshi in northern Tanzania and one young person from Masasi youth centre was to be selected to participate. They voted on who should go, and a girl, who was not present in the meeting, was selected. However, the ward official stated that it would not be good if that particular girl went, because he thought she would not be able to convert the information back to the youth centre. Therefore, the ward official suggested that someone else should go and they selected another person. Some of the young people were not comfortable with how the voting process had been conducted and the news about the election reached the girl, who of course was very disappointed. What had started as a fair election had ended up as a cheating game. I was also told that the ward official had sexual relations with several of the girls in the group, which further indicates the misuse of power exercised by this man.

My colleague Rashid in Masasi gave two interesting examples of young people who have proved - through organisation - to be influential in their neighbourhood. In a village in the outskirts of Masasi town, which Rashid knows very well, many young people are attending the village meetings. According to Rashid, the village had to listen to the youth, because if they were not included, the manpower of the village would be lost. For some time, young people had not been happy with the Village Executive Officer (VEO) because whenever there was a village meeting, he never disclosed the village income and expenditure. The young people decided to take action and refused to participate in the village meetings. This continued until the VEO agreed to reveal how the money had been spent and it turned out that there had been a lot of cheating. The young people stood up and demanded the resignation of

both the VEO and the village chairman, and then the meeting was called off. Two days later the village chairman and the VEO resigned. For almost a month, there were no meetings but finally, a meeting was called again to choose new representatives and one of the young people was selected to become the new VEO.

The second example is an event that had happened in the same village. Six million Tsh (6,000 USD) had recently been given to the primary school to build classrooms. The head teacher said that the money would not be enough to hire labour and a village meeting was called by the school committee in co-operation with the village leaders to discuss the problem. The young people were asked to contribute their labour power for free instead of hiring labour, but they refused and the meeting was called off randomly. This happened during the time of our research and when Rashid, who had become very interested in youth issues, heard about this, he decided to ask the young people why they had refused. They told him that they estimated that the money would be enough and that they suspected that the head teacher wanted to use the money for himself.

These examples show that through organisation, unsatisfactory social relations can be changed. They also illustrate that in some places, actions against corruption are undertaken with a successful outcome. The corrupt VEO and the chairman were forced to resign and the head teacher was not able to put money in his own pocket. On the other hand, as the story from the youth centre shows, unequal power relations could not be dealt with in this case, despite organisation of the youth. How can this be explained?

In the youth centre, power relations are built into the organisation and here both UNICEF and Masasi district administration are important actors. UNICEF has provided training, advice, money and activities and according to the accounts of the young people, they are obviously still promising to do so. This means that the young people in the youth centre are waiting for action rather than to take action themselves. Another problem may lie in the kind of training they have received. They have acquired useful life skills for HIV/AIDS prevention and the skills to transmit such information for example through theatre, but this does not mean that they have gained life skills that would enable them to manage other activities.

As for the district administration as an actor, UNICEF has made sure that the district has ownership of the programme, but this also appears to imply that the district 'owns' the youth centre. The video ended up in the cultural officer's house and the youth centre is not located in a 'neutral' place. Meanwhile

the youth centre is being built, they are using a space in the ward office itself and the youth centre being built is in the same yard. As also shown, the ward officer is part of the decision making in the youth centre, including decisions concerning who will be chosen for assignments such as to travel for meetings. To go for a meeting or a workshop is attractive both because it involves gaining experience and getting allowances and if the ward officer is the one who in the end decides who will go, this could explain why they subordinate themselves to his power rather than to struggle for equality. One way of exercising his power is by having sexual relationships with some of the girls in the centre. If not even these young women, empowered and trained in life skills in order to fight HIV/AIDS, have enough power to negotiate sex, what chance do other girls in similar situations stand? An explanation to why the young people in two of the stories succeeded could therefore be explained by the fact that they were not 'owned' by anybody and that they had nothing to lose.

4.7.3 Difficult to act alone and the stepmother story

As shown in the previous section, some young people are able to achieve change because they have organised themselves. In this section, two stories of female respondents show that it can be difficult to act alone, without a network of support. These stories also show that there can be a difference between *knowing* your right and *getting* it.

Celina is 20 years old and lives in Montepuez with her mother and the children her sister left behind when she died a few years previously. Celina was married and when she and her husband got divorced, she knew that she had certain rights. However, because she did not have support from anybody who could help her to push her case, she was left with nothing.

The government [court] told me that you can take your house, *capulanas*, plates and all the things, but he didn't want to give me these things. When we came here to the tribunal they said so, yes. They said [to him that] you can leave this with her and I was thankful because I don't have family. That's why they do this here, they see that this one here doesn't have anything. [...] If he would see me and think that this one here has family, he wouldn't do such things. The problem is that I'm not from here. I don't have uncles and that, so I left the things with him, yes.

Irene, 16 years old, lives in Montepuez with her aunt and a few other relatives and she is a primary school student in class 6. Irene's mother died when she was still a baby and she was brought up by her grandmother in Pemba. When her maternal uncle realised that Irene's father had not enrolled her in school,

he brought her to live in his house in Pemba. Last year, when she was in class 5, she moved back to Montepuez to live with her father, but it did not work out because Irene's relationship with her father's new wife was problematic. The stepmother has taken over Irene's mother's house although the house legally belongs to Irene. When Irene told us her life story, it mainly reflected her disappointment with her father and her dislike for her stepmother and during the interview, she was very sad. The only person who Irene gets any support from is her maternal uncle who she used to live with.

Well, I was born here but I never knew my mother. After I had lost my mother, I lost her when I was one year and six months, my father came and brought me to my grandmother, there in Pemba. And I grew up there, I entered the initiation rite there and after that I came here to stay with my father. Now my father has married another woman, and this woman doesn't get along with me. Her house is the house that auntie (refers to me) was asking about yesterday.³⁸ I don't get along with my stepmother, and my father built this house with my mother who is dead. My stepmother came and said that she wants the house although the house is not hers and I don't know what she will do if I don't leave it for her. She will kill me and she even went to put a spell on me to kill me. From there I began to understand and I went to speak to my uncle. My uncle said leave the house issue, leave it like that with the house. Now she is about to sell the house and she didn't tell me or anything, it's just that she is about to sell the house.

The whole interview with Irene ended up being about her problems with the house. For example when I asked if she is interested in politics, she said that she is because she knows that she has the right to the house:

I am interested in political issues because my uncle even asked me to go to complain about this case to get my right, but I said no. I saw that my father will lose the case. He will lose everything and he will go to prison and I will be the one to get a lot. Many people will talk badly about me, so I left his house.

Irene's and Celina's stories are important because they show that although they know that they have certain rights, this does not mean that they will be able to get them, or even claim them in the first place, especially if your social support network is limited. Irene's narrative also illustrates the contradictory notion of a family as security and threat. While it is often taken for granted that family and relatives are supportive, this is not always the case.

³⁸ In the previous interview she brought up the issue with the house and when we met to arrange a time for the next interview, we talked a bit about this again.

4.8 Youth – ready for adulthood?

4.8.1 The ‘youth task’

Part of *being* a youth is about *becoming* an adult and in this research the question is raised, what constitutes the ‘youth task’ in the localities Masasi and Montepuez, i.e. which qualifications do they need to gain in order to be regarded as adult individuals by society?

It became clear during the interviews that to assist their parents was very important for the respondents. To depend on parents is something which many respondents found painful and they wish that they would be able to contribute to the wellbeing of their families. Selemene, who conducts business in the market in Montepuez and who has many family members who depend on him, including his mother, siblings and nieces says: *“I need to gain more strength to try to feed myself and my family, in order not to suffer a lot.”*

Some of the respondents are already able to help their family. Dário, who is working for an NGO in Montepuez, is proud that he manages to contribute with some money to his family. *“Not 100 percent, but a minimum part I can manage to help.”* Mohamed, a businessman in Masasi is also able to assist his family but wishes he could do more.

If I could have more ability to help my parents they would be happier. But I’m helping them now and they are happy that I help.

Rosalina in Montepuez, who is in secondary school, thinks that her family will be able to rely on her in the future, and this is when her parents will start to regard her as an adult:

Ah, when I start working, and engage myself in them, yes. When I’m already responsible for them. Yes, from then they will feel happy that “we already have our daughter who can take care of us from now on until the last day”, yes.

Another component of the youth task is to move away from the parents and get a house of their own. Many of the respondents, both male and female, still live with their parents and some are frustrated about this. To have a house of their own is still a distant dream for many of the respondents and some laughed when I asked if they have a house, implying that I must have been joking to ask such a question.

Selma, secondary school student in Montepuez says that she will be accepted as an adult when she gets married and moves away from her family. This does

not have to be far away, as long as she will not be living with her family. Furaha, who works in a stationary shop in Masasi, says that her family will be satisfied when she moves away from home and does not have to rely on her parents anymore:

L: What do you think would make your family happy?

F: I think that when I have started to depend on myself, I mean when I am married and am living away from my parents and I am helping them. I think they would be happy.

To get married and to have children were events that the respondents, both male and female, said would make their families consider them as adults. A few of the female youth had had a child but were still staying with their parents/grandparents. Therefore, while some aspects of life are 'adult' aspects, others are not. They may have parental responsibilities, but are still depending on their parents.

As has been shown above, to be able to support oneself and the family, move away from the parents to a house of ones own, get married and have children are main components of the youth task both for male and female respondents. There were similarities between the female and male respondents, such as the emphasis of responsibility and pressure to move away from home. However, how they expect to move differs, with female respondents saying that they will move away from home when they get married and male youth saying that they cannot get married until they have become more stable financially. Also the responsibility for children is gendered with female respondents showing more responsibility.

4.8.2 Becoming economically able and help the family – a youth task dilemma

As illustrated above, to be able to help the family is seen as an important part of the youth task. However, a few young people to whom we spoke felt that the responsibility for the family was too much. Therefore, they had made a conscious decision to move away from their family to another town where they would be able to do their own thing without too much disturbance from their families. One example was a young man³⁹ in Masasi who was running a small business that was doing pretty well. He had moved from the regional capital Mtwara to Masasi and I was curious to ask why he had moved to a smaller place, since many of the young people we had interviewed either

³⁹ He was not one of the respondents but was somebody I got to know during the course of the research.

wanted to stay in Masasi/Montepuez or move to a place further up in the urban hierarchy. He explained that he had first started to make a living in Mtwara, but that it had been impossible. As soon as he had made a little bit of money, family members would come everyday to ask for money. He felt that he never saw the money he had earned and decided to move to Masasi and start a business there instead. However, he emphasised that he had not abandoned his family. He goes there once a month or every second month with money. He said that they manage when he is not there, but when he is around and they have problems, it is easier for them to come to him than to struggle.

While the young man in Masasi already had moved away from his family, one of the female respondents in the structured interviews, who was studying at the teacher's training college in Montepuez, was planning to move far away from her family when she had completed her studies. However, she was not as explicit as the young man in Masasi about why. After the interview, my colleague Jacinta explained what she thought was the reason. According to Jacinta, a source of many family arguments is that if you have money, your family members expect you to help them and they consider your things as theirs. Under economically difficult circumstances, combined with an insufficient social security net, people depend on their network of support. However, these stories illustrate that sometimes people find that the only solution to both be able to build a life for yourself and to help your family, is to break away. This involves a dilemma in the youth task, i.e. the urge to become economically able, but support other family members and the urge to achieve both things.

4.8.3 The Initiation rite – an event in the process of growing up

In southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique, there is one transition which generally is associated with the process of becoming an adult, namely the initiation rite for girls and boys. This rite of passage marks the transition from childhood to adulthood and involves education about adult life. While circumcision is an important part of boys' initiation, this is not the case for girls.⁴⁰

In Mozambique, the initiation rite was a tradition which Frelimo banned when they were trying to create a post-colonial nation since traditions were seen as obstacles for modernisation (Hanlon 1990). Also the Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM) suggested that the initiation was oppressing women.

⁴⁰ In some areas in Tanzania and Mozambique, also girls go through circumcision, known as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). This practice is not used in Masasi and Montepuez.

However, although the tradition was banned also by OMM, women thought that the initiation rite both provided a lot of knowledge to the young girls and in addition it was seen as a space of freedom for women, a space where men were not allowed and where women could rest from gender roles. Therefore, the tradition has continued, especially in northern Mozambique where the modernisation project was not as intense as in the south, and support for initiation was even expressed during OMM conferences (Arnfred 1988). The government in Tanzania has also been opposed to the initiation rite for girls and boys and they have tried to regulate initiation in order not to interfere with the children's education. This has resulted in the earlier initiation of girls and boys who are often initiated at a very early age or during the school holidays. As Shuma (1994) shows in research in Lindi in southern Tanzania, it is common that children as young as 7 years old go through initiation.

So how do the respondents in Masasi and Montepuez view the role of initiation? Have they gone through initiation and is it seen as a transition into adulthood? All male respondents and most of the female respondents in Masasi and Montepuez have gone through the initiation rite. Where, for how long and how it had been conducted varied a lot. Among the female respondents, some girls had been sent to their maternal grandmother or to other older female relatives in their 'home village' and several girls who had been "*staying inside*" for about a month. Other female respondents had been kept in a house in town, either alone or with other girls. Those who had gone through initiation in town tended to have stayed for a shorter time than those who had been initiated in a village, but also in town they had received guidance from elderly women. Among the male respondents, there was a mixture of hospital circumcision and 'traditional' circumcision in the bush. A few male respondents had gone through the whole initiation in the bush, including the circumcision. They had stayed in the bush for several months and received instructions about various aspects of life by elders, often under tough circumstances. Some had gone through circumcision in the hospital and then been taken to the bush together with other boys for instructions and training, while yet others had gone through circumcision in the hospital and then received guidance in a house in town.

Most respondents said that they had enjoyed the initiation rite and that they had been treated differently when they had had come out from initiation. There is often a big celebration, where those who are being initiated are at the centre of attention and after initiation they are expected to be responsible and more knowledgeable about life than before. After initiation they had been told that: "*Now you have grown up!*" ("*Sasa ume kua!*" in Kiswahili) and "*Now you are already big*" ("*agora você já é grande!*" in Portuguese). However, to be told that

“*now you have grown up*” appeared to have a different meaning than being told that you are an adult. As I understood it, it was more a question of moving from one situation to another. As Joseph, who does petty business in Masasi said, the initiation means “*to go from one environment to another*”.

Irene, primary school student in Montepuez, who went through initiation when she was 13 years old, explains that before initiation you do not know anything about respect and about what to do during menstruation, but after initiation you know.

I: The initiation rite, for example a child who still has not entered initiation and who is 8, 9 years old and who does not know [anything], this girl does not have respect because she still does not know anything and she insults her grandmother and does many things. When she gets menstruation she does not protect herself and leaves it in a bad way because she does not know what it means. After entering [initiation] they talk about everything and she will learn that what I was doing is not good, yes.

L: How was it done when you went through?

I: When I went through the initiation rite they talked to me about many things, for example to respect the elders, to know how to talk to a person when somebody comes to visit at home, know how to greet them and talk to them, yes.

Isac, woodcarver in Masasi who went through initiation in Mozambique before moving to Masasi, says that initiation was very tough.

Everything over there was very bad. We were beaten without reason and that's not good. Sometimes they hide your *ugali* (food) and they say you have to go and find it and that was very bad.

Maria, HIV/AIDS activist in Masasi, is critical towards initiation of girls at a young age. She went through initiation in her home village when she was eight years old.

I say so why? (she says rhetorically) because a young girl of... 8 years old and above is sent there. And there, what they teach these young girls is how to live with a man. Now a young girl like that who is still in school, in primary school and hasn't finished, to be taught like that is not good. When she goes back then she engages herself in sex, she has to practice what she learnt. So the issue of the initiation ceremony is a big problem in our community.

Maria thinks that the girls are too young to go through initiation the ceremony when they are 8 years old because the teaching concerns the life of a grown up woman. As mentioned above, the reason why children go through initiation much earlier than before is partly a response to the government which has regulated initiation so that it does not interfere with schooling (e.g. Shuma

1994). When people discuss initiation, it is generally not the initiation itself which is seen as problematic, but the young age.

There is a rural-urban dimension to initiation rites. For respondents from a more rural background, initiation seemed to be a more important rite of passage than for youth in urban areas. One example which illustrates this is a respondent from a village outside of Montepuez who participated in the structured interview. She had recently come to Montepuez to work as a domestic worker. When she told us what she wanted to do in the future, she said that she wanted to grow up, go through the initiation rite and get married. A few months later, towards the end of the research in Montepuez, she had left her job and gone back to the village, possibly to go through the initiation rite and to get married. Paula, a secondary school student in Montepuez is an opposite case because she said that she was not going to go through the initiation at all. Paula's family lives a very urban life in the inner part of town (*bairro de cimento*), a life detached from 'traditional' practices. Young people from families with a strong urban identity, or who are striving for one, sometimes decide to exclude 'traditional' practices, such as the initiation rite. However, most town youth interviewed, both female and male, had gone through initiation. There are variations in practices within urban and rural settings respectively, but the *significance* of initiation and its implications in terms of life changes, may be greater in rural areas.

4.9 Conclusion

In Masasi and Montepuez, there were contrasting views regarding both the definition of youth, what young people are expected to do and what young people feel that they can do. Starting with the definition of youth, some respondents looked at youth as a privilege, which not all young people can take for granted. There was a contradiction between the perception of youth as a privilege and the reality of many young people and it was expressed that a hard life means a faster transition to adulthood. The youth period was by some seen as the time for action, the time for strength and advancement, rather than perceived as a preparation period for adulthood.

Self-employment and leaving farming life in rural areas were issues which were particularly pronounced in relation to youth in Masasi and Montepuez. Leaders argued that young people should be self-employed, preferably within the area of agriculture. While some leaders blamed the youth for not wanting to stay in rural areas, others stated that the way farming is done today does not bring enough income to be attractive. This is of relevance both for the

discussion around neo-liberalisation and urbanisation. Self-employment has become the order of the day and one way of realising a project of self-employment is to move to town, but young people are often criticised if they do this.

Linked to urbanisation is also the role of initiation. Initiation in the towns Masasi and Montepuez appeared to play a different role than in rural areas and with time, it had also lost some of its significance. The children are younger when they go through initiation and it takes place during a shorter period of time. The question is, would an important source of information and a space of freedom be lost if the initiation rite disappeared, or is it being replaced by other sources of information and spaces of freedom?

Another issue which was particularly pronounced in relation to youth in Masasi and Montepuez was the organisation of youth. Young people are encouraged by leaders to form groups and leaders also form groups on behalf of young people. The promotion of organisations could be seen within the “enabling approach”, i.e. that the government gives space for local associations to act in order to cater for social needs that are not provided by the state. As e.g. Tostensen et al. (2001) express, the “enabling approach” is currently being promoted by governments and aid organisations.

I have argued that young people have been ‘discovered’ through the fight against HIV/AIDS and they have thereby been given a new role in society. Young people are now “*on the market*” (as Polepole 22 February 2004) suggested, not least as mediators in HIV/AIDS prevention. Tostensen et al. (2001) raise the issue of inclusion and exclusion when associations become formalised and commercialised. I think that the issue of inclusion and exclusion is an important point when it comes to youth organisations because some young people benefit more than others from the involvement in these organisations. This may create a split between ‘the chosen ones’ and those who are left outside. Unequal power relations, which are sometimes exploitive, are common between young people and adults. These were illustrated for example by the story of the youth centre. However, there were also examples of young people, who when they are organised are able to change dissatisfactory social relations, such as the example of young people who did not accept a corrupt leadership.

The influence of external actors on the lives of young people in these localities is strong. Respondent youth incorporate international organisations in their narratives and leaders talk about the government and its partners (referring NGOs and other donors). International organisations support and train

youth-HIV/AIDS programmes and they have been behind the scenes when youth policies have been developed and youth councils formed. This highlights aspects of power relations between young people and international organisations, between young people and the national government as well as between international organisations and the national government.

Concerning the 'youth task', what was striking was a strong sense of responsibility but a frustration of not being able to take on this responsibility. Therefore there was a mismatch between the demands on youth and what it is possible for them to achieve. In some areas, the respondents however felt that they exercised responsibilities, which to some extent were gendered. Male respondents said for example that they sometimes can contribute with ideas in family discussions and young women said that they have responsibility for their children. The only respondents who said they felt a responsibility outside the family sphere were the young people engaged in organisations. Within the youth task, some young people voiced a dilemma of individual strategies versus the demands on them to support family members. This is a dilemma which I think has become more pronounced in times of neo-liberalisation when the responsibility of the individual is in focus. The solution for some young people was to distance themselves from their families through migration.

There was also a conflict between being needed and being trusted. Respondents felt the demand for their labour power, but that they were not trusted in terms of contributions of views and ideas. While some respondents said that they felt frustrated about this, others expressed that they were too young for such responsibilities and that it is not yet their turn to participate in decision makings and politics. The conflict between being needed and being trusted, as well as between the pressure for taking responsibilities and the perception of being unable to do so, trapped these young people in a space of frustration where strategies were constrained.

5. STORIES OF MAKING A LIVING

5.1 Introduction

The young people who participated in this study were engaged in a variety of livelihood activities. Most of the livelihood activities occupying the respondents in Masasi and Montpuez were informal economy activities and many were self-employed. As discussed in Chapter 4, self-employment is one of the discourses around youth in these localities in which leaders tell young people to create their own employment rather than sit around and wait for the government to take action. Up to the mid 1980s, the involvement of the state had been substantial in both trade and service but due to food shortage and limited service, a parallel market was created and deregulations were initiated (e.g. Baptista Lundin 2001 and Tripp 1997). When the structural adjustment programmes were introduced after the mid 1980s, emphasis was put on a liberalisation of the economy.

In the life strategy framework developed in chapter one, livelihood strategies constitute an important component, although it is argued that there is more to life than just making a living. In this chapter, stories of making a living are presented and the respondents' livelihood strategies are put in relation to their biographies and narratives. By looking into their biographies, comparisons between their own livelihood strategies and parents' and other family members' livelihoods can be made and processes such as deagrarianisation (theorised e.g. by Bryceson 1996 and 1997) can be explored. Given the rapid urbanisation process, young people's livelihood strategies in the context of small towns is of crucial importance, but when urban contexts have been in focus, it has often been directed towards the largest cities. As Pedersen (1997) states, small towns have been overlooked in the rural-urban dichotomy.

5.2 The variety of livelihood activities – overview

As illustrated in Table 5.1 below, 29 of the 105 respondents who participated in the structured interviews were solely students. Ten respondents had regular economic activities besides school, most of whom were males living in Montepuez. This was because in Montepuez students attend school for only part of the day, which allows more time for other activities than schooling. This is not the case in Masasi, so fewer students conducted economic activities besides school. The role of education will be further explored in the next chapter.

Table 5.1: Overview of the main activities of the respondents in the first, structured interview in Masasi (Tz) and Montepuez (Mz).

Activity	Male	Female	Total
<i>In school</i>			
In school only	6 (Tz) & 4 (Mz)	7(Tz) & 12 (Mz)	29
In school + economic activity	1 (Tz) & 6 (Mz)	3 (Mz)	10
<i>Self-employed</i>			
Business (clothes and items)	5 (Tz) & 2(Mz)		7
Business (food and vegetables)	3 (Tz) & 1 (Mz)	3(Tz) & 3(Mz)	10
Business (brew)		1(Tz) & 1 (Mz)	2
Business (shoe/bicycle repair)	1(Tz) & 1(Mz)		2
Day labourer	1(Tz) & 3(Mz)		4
Buss passenger caller	2(Tz) & 1(Mz)		3
Farmer	1(Mz)	1(Tz) & 1(Mz)	3
Herder	1(Tz)		1
Carpenter/wood carver	2(Tz)		2
Electrician		1(Tz)	1
<i>Employed</i>			
Domestic worker	1(Mz)	3(Tz) & 1(Mz)	5
Shop employee	3(Mz)	1(Tz)	4
Barmaid/guesthouse worker		3(Tz)	3
Hair dresser	1(Tz)	1(Tz)	2
NGO employee	1(Mz)	1(Mz)	2
Taylor apprentice		1(Tz)	1
<i>No own economic activity</i>			
Helps mother with farming	1 (Mz)	1 (Tz)	2
Helps mother with business	1 (Tz)	1 (Tz)	2
Helps friend with business	2 (Tz) & 1 (Mz)		3
At home		2 (Tz) & 3 (Mz)	5
HIV/AIDS activist ⁴¹	1(Tz)	1(Tz)	2
TOTAL	27(Tz)&26(Mz)	27(Tz) & 25(Mz)	105

As can be seen in Table 5.1, more respondents were self-employed than employed, 35 respondents compared to 17. Among those who were employees, only one respondent possessed what was considered as a ‘real’ job, or ‘real’ employment (*trabalho/kazi*)⁴². The young people interviewed regarded business, farming or working in a shop as ways of making a living, but not as ‘real’ work or employment. A ‘real’ job is to be a civil servant (such as teacher, nurse and administrator), which often is referred to as government employment. Also to work for a company or for an NGO is considered as a ‘real’ job. A few of the male and female respondents did not do any economic activities of

⁴¹ The two respondents in Masasi were HIV/AIDS activists in a youth group and spent a lot of time at a youth centre. This was not paid work, but they sometimes received allowances during training activities, workshops etc.

⁴² Portuguese and Kiswahili for work/employment.

their own, but were helping family members or friends with their economic activities or assisted on the family farm. Some female respondents were doing domestic tasks in their family's home or in relatives' homes, but had no source of income.

Few respondents had farming as their main livelihood activity, only 3 out of 105 respondents, as illustrated in Table 5.1. It should however be pointed out that this is data on their *main* livelihood activity. All respondents' families had a piece of land for farming, also those with parents who are not farmers. The respondents often assisted with the farming, but they did not consider it as their main livelihood. The respondents' main livelihood activity can be compared with their parents' main livelihood activity. Among the living parents of the respondents in Masasi, 76 percent of the mothers and 45 percent of the fathers had farming as their main livelihood activity. Among the living parents of the respondents in Montepuez, 70 percent of the mothers and 36 percent of the fathers were mainly farmers.

5.3 Businessmen

Both in Masasi and Montepuez, many young people were doing business, male as well as female. The business activities were gendered. While men largely conducted business selling items, such as second-hand clothes and beauty products, women were more involved in businesses related to food and beverages. The scale and performance of the business varied between both the male and female respondents. Some male respondents walked around with their goods in all manner of containers, from small boxes to large boards of items which they carried on their backs. Others had a set location with a small stall where they sold their goods, such as outside the market, on the market and around the bus station.

Twenty-two year old Mohamed runs a second hand clothes business on the fringe of Masasi town, a common business among male youth in both Masasi and Montepuez. Mohamed lives with his parents, siblings and a few of his aunts, uncles and cousins. His parents are mainly farmers, but they also do some business. Some of his sisters and brothers are still in school, while others do business and farming. After Mohamed had completed primary school, he started a small kiosk by a tree in the area and after a few years he managed to get a place in one of the buildings. He sells second hand clothes, shoes and bed sheets and recently he started to sell new clothes and watches. Twice a month he goes to Dar es Salaam to get goods for his shop. His total

income⁴³ per month varies from 80 USD to 150 USD, depending on the type of goods he sells and the number of customers. For this money, he buys food for the family, pays for school costs for his siblings etc. and he also buys new goods. Like most other respondents, he does not have a bank account. According to Mohamed, business is best in August when sesame seeds are harvested because then people get income and can afford to buy goods from him.

In the interview with Mohamed, he relates most of the themes to his life as a businessman. A business narrative is dominating his life story.

My history in short, you see, I make business, small business only, not big. I'm engaged in business to find a good life. My life is not bad, but as you know, we are not well off economically. No money but I can't stop doing business. I'm staying with my family, my parents I mean. My parents are not working. They are just doing petty business and are engaged in farming. Some of my brothers and sisters are doing business and others are studying. [...] My life situation is not bad, it's good. I do my business here. I come here in the morning and go back home in the evening. At home I talk to my parents and we exchange ideas, family ideas. [...] I'm selling clothes. It's a mixture, like second hand things like clothes, shoes, watches, shirts and trousers. I'm selling a mixture of things and right now it's things to wear, not to eat.

Mohamed says that he does not face any problems.

L: What are the problems that you face?

M: I don't face any problems.

L: Not any problems in life?

M: No problems, just normal things but not problems. I'm doing my activities without problems.

L: What are those normal things?

M: No problems. I'm just going from home to here everyday and from here I travel.... for my business.

Like Mohamed, a few other respondents in both Masasi and Montepuez said that they do not face any problems in life. One explanation could be that they saw their own troubles as small in comparison to other young people's problems. Some youth said that they do not have any problems, and this can be

⁴³ His income can be compared to the government regulated wages and a few cost examples. In 2003, the minimum wage for government employees in Mozambique was 41 USD and in Tanzania it was 45 USD, but many people had a lower salary than that. To get an idea of the price levels in Masasi and Montepuez in 2003, a kilo of maize flour cost about 40 cents and a loaf of bread was 30 cents. To rent a room per month was about 5 USD if it had electricity and 3 USD without electricity. A whole house for a family was about 45 USD per month. A new pair of shoes or trousers was about 10 USD, but it was also possible to find these items second hand for 1-3 USD. To travel to the regional capital was 3-4 USD one way.

seen as a way to resist the youth problem discourse, i.e. the common perception of youth linked to unemployment, bad behaviour etc. Mohamed is the image of an ideal youth. He is self-employed, contributes to his family, converses with his parents in the evenings, follows their advice and he does not like to drink and go out at night. To stay out of problems and conflicts seems to be one of Mohamed's strategies to succeed in his business.

M: I don't like drunkardness. I really don't like that. I don't like roaming around at night and to fight.

L: Why don't you walking around at night?

M: I don't like it because many things can happen at night. You can be beaten and you can be told that you have done something although you haven't, like stealing, just because you are walking around at night. That is why I don't like walking around at night. [...] Walking at night is not good. They say do not engage yourself in bad things or in bad groups. They tell me not to be close with them. They are my fellow youth, but they have bad habits. So my parents give directives about that.

A year later, in July when I came back to visit, Mohamed was selling food items like maize flour instead of clothes. Since January, his business had not been going so well because it had been a tough dry year with small harvests so the little money people had was spent on food rather than clothes and other things. However, he was optimistic because now people had harvested and there would be a market for clothes again. This shows that business people like Mohamed have to adjust their business according to the season and outcome of the harvest. A bad harvest has immediate effects on people's purchasing power. Mohamed adapts his business according to the market. If the market has money for clothes, this is a good business but if people only have money to spend on food, this will be his business. Consequently, Mohamed has found ways to reduce vulnerability.

Mohamed's business is important for the wellbeing of his family. He pays for three of his sisters' primary school costs and this year when the harvest has not been so good, he brings home 4 kg of maize per day so that the family of 13 people will be able to eat. His brother also has a business, but Mohamed says that he does not contribute much to the family expenditures, which seems to have created some tension between him and his brother. The reference to his brother shows that there are differences within the family over who takes the greater share of family responsibilities.

The following year, other changes had also taken place in Mohamed's life. From the first of June 2004, the government had abolished the fees for business licenses so Mohamed had registered his business. But this also meant that he had to start paying tax to the Tanzanian Revenue Authority (TRA), which

for the business on his scale was about 100 USD per year. So far, he had only been able to pay half the amount. Apart from abolishing the fees for business licenses, the government had also decided to abolish many of the taxes. Those with businesses on a very small scale, like selling home produced doughnuts, did not have to pay tax anymore. Only 20 out of 60 tax categories had remained, as the argument was that it is more expensive to collect the small taxes than the revenue that is collected (Hari 20 July 2004). The abolishment of fees for business licenses is a way to formalise the informal economy and having a registered business means that the government can start to claim tax. As shown earlier, self-employment is encouraged by the government and to hand out free business licences is one way to encourage this.

Another businessman is Pedro, 18 years old in Montepuez. He stays with his five siblings and his mother who is a peasant. Pedro's father is dead, but he used to be a carpenter. Pedro is the oldest among his six sisters and brothers. He sells vegetables and dried fish at one of smaller markets, which is located at the outskirts of town. He buys the vegetables early in the morning from somebody who brings them to town from a village, which he then sells at a higher price at the market. He wakes up at six o'clock in the morning and goes to buy the things which he will sell at the market, such as tomatoes, salad and dried fish. Then he goes to the market and stays there until 5 o'clock. He rests for an hour at noon because during this time there are few customers. His profit is about 1-1.5 USD per day. Pedro started his business when he was still in primary school and in class 5 he left school because of the business. He also has his own *machamba*, but this year the harvest was bad and only yielded a small amount of maize, beans and peanuts.

One of the problems which Pedro mentions is that business is not going so well. I ask if the business would be better at the larger market *Mercado Central* and he says that it is difficult to get a place there and it is expensive, while the fees are lower at the smaller markets. Another problem which Pedro faces is that the man in charge of the market sometimes comes and takes products from his stand without paying:

He takes the things without paying. Now, when you say "give me my things, give me my money" he says "well, I don't have any right now, but I can pay tomorrow". Now, you don't have money to buy more things to sell. Well, that's why (sighs).

Pedro's quote shows that the leader uses his power position to put the salesmen at the market in a dependent position, which limits their space of action. When I returned less than a year later, Pedro was not doing business at the market anymore. I could hardly recognise him. He was walking around like a beggar, dirty and confused and I'm not sure if he remembered me. People in

his neighbourhood said that relatives had poisoned him with witchcraft and different drugs because they were jealous that he did well in his business. I did not feel at ease when I tried to talk to him and give him his pictures because people gathered around him and said to me that he had become “*um louco*” (a madman). It was interesting that people said that Pedro had been poisoned by jealous relatives through witchcraft; a common reference by many people as it appeared to be widely used in both Montepuez and Masasi. However, during this research I did not have the possibility to look into how witchcraft was used or what it meant to people. For whatever reason, whether witchcraft or having fallen ill due to psychosis or schizophrenia, Pedro’s case illustrates that the situation of a person can change rapidly. Within a year, Pedro’s life had changed from being a relatively successful businessman to being a totally confused person.

Joseph, 18 years old in Masasi, does petty business and, as will be shown below, he sees himself as an R&B and hip hop musician. Joseph’s father is a businessman in Masasi and his mother works at the cashew nut processing factory in town. His mother also owns a farm with cashew nut trees. Joseph rents a small house where he stays with a friend, but he goes for supper to his mother’s house. The first time we met Joseph, he was selling chewing gum and sweets by the road close to the main market place in Masasi. His income from the business was about 1-1.5 USD per day. Joseph explained that he depends on the business for his small daily needs like breakfast and lunch but that if he needs larger sums of money, he goes to his parents for assistance.

About a month later when we met Joseph for the second interview, he had moved his business to a field behind the market place. He had built a small kiosk here and was selling chewing gum, sweets, cigarettes, toothpaste, soap, some new clothes and a new pair of shoes. He was pleased that he had expanded his business but was not satisfied with the location. All the petty business people had been told to move from the busy area by the road outside the market to the field behind the market.

[...] we are making good business along the road and you can make a lot of money per day, but then somebody comes and says that you have to move to another place the next day, away from the road. They give very short notice and some people don’t even have time to build their new shop, so they have to stay without doing business for four days. Some have families at home and some depend on their business for food to pay the rent etc., so that’s the problem for many young people who are making business.

Very few business people had actually moved to the field so it was an almost empty space with a few business stalls and no customers. It is also the case in

other places that that business people without licences have to move. In Dar es Salaam during January 2004 there was a large operation where petty traders and kiosks without licenses were removed. Instead, they were referred to other places allocated by the government, such as open fields where there was plenty of space, but no customers.⁴⁴

Joseph has been an R&B and hip hop musician since primary school and he would like to become a professional musician. He has a band with a friend, but now his friend is in secondary school in Dar es Salaam so they cannot play very often. Joseph explains what the songs are about:

I sing about my life in general, about different situations. For example around the disease AIDS or something which has happened in my life, like the situation with my stepmother you see, or about school. I both sing and rap about where we are going in this world.

Rashid asks if he could sing one of his songs for us. Joseph says sure, but wants to know what we want to hear about.

J: Can I ask you a question? What do you want to hear about? About a couple who are in conflict or about the problems with AIDS, or something else?

R: Perhaps you could sing a bit about AIDS, just one minute.

J: So should I sing about AIDS?

L: If you want to sing about AIDS it's okay and if you want to sing about something else it's okay, anything that you want to sing about.

J: Aah, I will sing about AIDS, the way people have forgotten God etc, only chorus and a verse.

"Our God, remember us so that we can do important things in our lives. There are so many diseases in the world such as syphilis, gonorrhoea and AIDS. AIDS doesn't choose whether you are thin or black. This disease is very dangerous and when you get it you are nothing. This disease has entered the world, in town and in the villages".

L: Great!

J: And now a bit from the verse:

"This is the end of this world. You can imagine what AIDS is and how many people have already been killed by AIDS. Me [his initials], I'm telling you I'm not joking. AIDS is like a trap and who knows who will be trapped? Maybe it's me, you or somebody else. AIDS has entered the offices and in the streets there are prostitutes. Let's ask ourselves why? Let's be in the front line to emphasize anti-AIDS programmes."

⁴⁴ The removal of vendors from the streets has been discussed by e.g. Tranberg Hansen (2004) in the case of Lusaka, Zambia. She argues that one of the reasons behind why the local authority took action towards street vendors in 1999 was to open up "the market" for foreign investments. She states that a "free" market in Zambia, rather than giving more freedom has meant more institutional control of local vendors by assigning particular spaces for vendors, issuing of licenses etc. Through regulations, street vendors are pushed out in favour of those who can afford to abide by the rules.

That one of Joseph's songs is about HIV/AIDS, says something about the focus on HIV/AIDS. In Joseph's view, HIV/AIDS is a real problem, but he may also consider singing about HIV/AIDS as a potential livelihood, given the emphasis on young people through popular media and youth-to-youth information campaigns. Joseph says that when he gets money from his business, he will use it to promote his music. He says that some people already know about him and he has recorded some of his songs on tape, but he has not yet taken them to Dar es Salaam.

When I came back to Masasi the following year, Joseph did not have his kiosk anymore. The business had not been going well at all in the new place. Joseph said that there had been very few customers and that they had also had problems with thieves in this isolated place. Now Joseph was planning to get a driver's licence and he was helping his father with his business of buying cashew nuts and rice from the villages. For the work, Joseph's father gives him money to build his own shop, a proper shop with a door and an iron sheet roof. However, Joseph does not really want to do business anymore. He would rather be a hairdresser and use the money to open a saloon, but his father is against this and wants him to continue with the business. Joseph asks me if I can talk to his father about this and tell him that he is serious about his aspiration because his father just thinks that he is inventing things. This request for me to talk to his father may imply that he feels he is taken more seriously in the interviews than in the conversations with his father. It may also say something about the power I am ascribed for being a researcher and/or European.

Selemane, 22 years old in Montepuez, was interviewed first at the market where he was doing business selling second-hand clothes. We therefore categorised him as a businessman, but when describing his life in the second interview he stated that he is a businessman as well as a farmer and a student:

My life history. I am a businessman at *Mercado Central*. I usually buy second hand clothes there at ADPP⁴⁵. I'm a farmer and I am a student. I repeated class 3 and class 5. I'm trying to make my life (*fazer a minha vida*). I'm married but I don't have a child. I want to try to make my life, try to grow, myself and the family as well.

By mentioning the farmer activity, Selemane also gives it value. Farming is an activity which contributes to the wellbeing of his family in terms of food, but not as a mean of income. The family income is gained through his business

⁴⁵ ADPP (Ajuda de Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo/Humana People to People) is a Danish NGO with presence in Montepuez. In Montepuez they sell second hand clothes to business people and they run the computer centre. In other parts of the country, such as in Pemba, they also have teacher education centres.

activity. Selemane has been doing business with second hand clothes for a long time. His business sometimes brings him an income of 3-4 USD per day and sometimes nothing. It also depends on the clothes. Sometimes he gets nice clothes and then the profit is good, but some days he hardly makes a profit at all. For five years he stayed with one of his sisters in Pemba and sold cakes baked by his sister, but he moved back to Montepuez and started to work for a tree logging company. With this money, he started his business. Selemane lives with his wife in a house on the outskirts of Montepuez. His mother is a peasant and she depends on Selemane's business. Selemane has an older brother who also does business at the market, a younger brother is at home and he refers to one brother as a drunkard who does not do anything. He also used to have three sisters but they have all passed away.

As with many other young people, Selemane is trying hard to support his family. He expresses that it is no use to wait for the government to do something because they have much to do, such as constructing schools and hospitals. Therefore, problems have to be solved by themselves. This is possibly a response to the discourse about self-employment put forward by leaders. Selemane and some friends, who also do business at the market, operate a rotating savings system in which everybody contributes an amount of money, so that on each rotation, one of the participants receives the whole amount. This group has also formed an organisation, a prerequisite to receive loans from the credit association *Caixa Comunitária*. Sometimes Selemane goes there to get a loan, but says that it is not worth the effort because the amount you can borrow is too small, about 40 USD. Although Selemane does not expect direct interventions by the government, he wishes that they would try to attract foreign companies to establish themselves in Montepuez.

S: In Montepuez in general, we don't have companies. We are crying for companies. The company that we have, Lomaco (a cotton factory), isn't a company. One company for the whole town, all people! There at Plexus (Plexus is the new name of Lomaco after privatisation), few people get in and many are left behind. We don't have companies.

L: How could this problem be solved?

S: To solve this problem, the government could arrange ways to attract companies. Not government companies, no. Attract those people from foreign countries in order to supply Montepuez with companies. Because in other provinces there are many companies but here in Montepuez we don't see any companies.

This quote illustrates an important aspect of globalisation, namely the contradiction between the production part of globalisation with foreign companies establishing themselves, and the consumption elements of globalisation through media and goods. Selemane knows that while other areas have received foreign manufacturing companies, which have provided employment

opportunities, his place is yet excluded from this process. In times of neo-liberalisation and globalisation, the establishment of foreign companies is seen as a solution to unemployment. Globalisation will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Many of the people who are seen doing business in Montepuez are men and I ask Selemene why this is so:

There are girls who are doing [business]... but here in this district, here in Cabo Delgado, there are not those girls who are trying to earn more, to do business, no. Here, there are girls who are studying and are doing business, but there are not many. There are not many girls... there are girls who are doing business, but not those who gain the courage to move forward, no. We [male youth] have [done this] for many years... We have our friends who are trying to make a living and sometimes we even organise ourselves. One person gives the other money, and the other buys. Afterwards they compensate this money, hand out more money and give to others. We are doing this! [...] The girls are not doing business because they don't earn this minimum. Let's say I tell my cousin to do this, to expand [her business]. *Nada*, she says that "well, I'm fed up with these things, I'm already tired". A person might give her 100,000 (4 USD) to buy 10 kilos of flour to make cakes. She does it for about three days or two days and with that money "ahh, I will go and buy a *capulana* (piece of material used by women for clothing)". That's why. Here in Montepuez, there are girls [who do good business] but I don't know many of them. They don't reach 10, maybe 7 of them, whom I know very well and who are doing more and more business every time there at the market, cakes [business].

Selemene's analysis of why few girls in Montepuez manage to do business is interesting. In his view, many girls do not have the courage to go on with their businesses. They are not persistent and tend to give up the business when they have earned a small amount. In addition, they do not organise themselves financially in order to be able to invest a higher amount. Why is this so? As will be shown in the next section (5.4) concerning female respondents who do business, girls often have large responsibilities in the household to provide food and cater for the children, siblings and other family members. Girls are less encouraged than boys are to become entrepreneurs and they are expected to spend more time doing domestic tasks, which means less time for livelihood activities. In addition, due to the gendered business culture, girls are often confined to businesses where the profit margins are low, such as to sell snacks. I also got the impression that more girls than boys are engaged in family business rather than their own business, which means that the income is not their own.

The following year when I came back to visit, Selemene was not selling second hand clothes at the market anymore. He had trained his younger brother to sell at the market instead and the following week he was going to go to Pemba to buy second hand clothes for his brother to sell. Selemene himself

was undergoing training to become a carpenter. He says that life has been hard since we met the last time and expresses: “*Did you find me in this body?*” hinting that he has lost a lot of weight. He explains that he has problems with relatives who are jealous and want to hurt him and that they have even told his mother that her son will die. However, instead his uncle had died. Then he says: “*People with my skin colour do strange things.*”

Selemane is not the only respondent who brings up the issue of jealousy from relatives. Health and achievement are put forward by some respondents as relational. Relatives and neighbours are involved in success and failure, but at the same time, there is pressure from society on the individual to create self-employment and ‘make it’. What Selemane said about people with his skin colour is also interesting. It appears as if Selemane has internalised a perception of black people as different from white people. Perhaps the interview situation contributed to this narrative because I am a white researcher and he compares his skin colour to mine. A similar narrative may not have been created between Selemane and a Mozambican researcher. However, there is a colour hierarchy also in the existing Mozambican society. Light skinned people often have a higher status, such as people with Portuguese and Indian origin. Power relations created during colonisation between the coloniser and the colonised are still persistent in the present society.

5.4 Businesswomen

At lunchtime, in various street corners of Masasi, women are doing business with their pots of food and they are referred to as *Mama Lisbe*⁴⁶. Some women do this business independently while others cooperate with other women. By the Masasi bus station, there is a *Mama Lisbe* association of about 20 women who cook and sell their food. They conduct the business individually, but under the same roof.

A few of the respondents in our first round of interviews were *Mama Lisbe*. One of them is Sara⁴⁷, a 22 years old girl who is a primary school leaver. She stays with her aunt in one of the neighbourhoods in Masasi. Her mother used to be a farmer but is now ill and her father is a primary school teacher. Among her sisters and brothers, some are still in school while others are farmers. Sara is at the *Mama Lisbe* place every second day and her income about is 7 USD per day, of which 3 USD is profit. As a member of the *Mama*

⁴⁶ *Lisbe* means nutrition/feeding in Kiswahili and a rough translation of *Mama Lisbe* is female food provider.

⁴⁷ Sara participated in a structured interview but not in a semi-structured interview.

Lisbe association she pays 50 USD per year for the licence and a small amount of tax. Not all young women who sell food are as established as Sara is. Some of the female youth we met at *Mama Lisbe* stands are not actually *Mama Lisbe*, but are helping their mothers with their *Mama Lisbe* business.

There is a gender division depending on what type of food is sold. *Mama Lisbe* are exclusively women. A *Mama Lisbe* sells food such as rice and *ugali* (a thick maize porridge), served with beans, vegetables and stew. Other food, such as chips, chicken and meat can also easily be found in Masasi, but this food is cooked and sold by men. Although *Mama Lisbe* food is eaten in public spaces, it is associated with the domestic sphere, i.e. home cooked meals. Food sold by men is food eaten in public places such as in bars, and at night this is usually the only food available.

Just as livelihood activities are gendered, they also vary across space. In Montepuez, the phenomenon of *Mama Lisbe* does not exist and compared to in Masasi there are few places that serve food. People tend to go home for lunch because there is usually a two-hour lunch break.⁴⁸ However, in the government offices *horário único* was recently implemented (in 2003), which means that there is no lunch break and they close at three o'clock instead of five. The pattern of going home for lunch is therefore about to change, which might result in *Mama Lisbe* livelihood opportunities in Montepuez.

Food business is the dominating business among young women, but some female youth also conduct other kinds of businesses. Deborah, a 19 years old primary school leaver in Masasi, has no less than three livelihood activities. She brews local alcohol, produces small stones for house construction and she farms for family consumption on the family *shamba*. Her mother is a farmer and her father lives in another town where he is working as a nurse at the hospital. Deborah has five siblings. One brother, a primary school leaver, is working in Dar es Salaam, one sister, also a primary school leaver, is a farmer, one brother, who dropped out of school in Std 6, has a small shop and two brothers are still in primary school.

Last year during the cashew nut season, the alcohol brewing business was good and Deborah managed to build her own house. The house is on the same plot as her mother's house and she lives here with her baby boy. When Deborah went to the father of the baby to tell him that she was pregnant, he refused to take responsibility because he already had children and a wife.

⁴⁸ The difference between Masasi and Montepuez in this respect is a colonial legacy which can be traced also in terms of the kind of food consumed. For example, bread and bakeries are much more common in Mozambique than in Tanzania.

When she talks about what she does not like in life, she says that she hates it when people are gossiping about her, saying that she has a baby boy who does not have a father.

Deborah's local brew livelihood gives a profit of 50 cents per bucket. If it is a public holiday she can sell three buckets per day, but an ordinary day or weekend she sells less. Concerning her livelihood activity breaking and selling stones, she estimates that she can sell one load for 18 USD, a substantial sum of money for Deborah. At the time of the interview she had produced one load but not managed to sell it.

Deborah's days are long. She wakes up at 4 am and draws water. It is not so far but there is a problem of water in the area so the earlier you get there the more likely are you to get water. At 7 am, she follows up on the alcohol and at 8 am, she goes to break stones. She works until noon and then she returns home for lunch, prepared by her sister. After lunch, she returns to break stones and stays there until 5 pm. Then she goes home and does small chores at home and at 8.30, she goes to bed.

Despite three livelihood activities, Deborah thinks that her life is very difficult, especially because she still depends on her mother. She says that she has a lot of problems. For example when her mother is away in the village to farm, Deborah and her family depend on her brewery business. If there are no customers they may fail to eat the whole day. When asked if there are any solutions to her problems, she says that if she fails completely to get money, as a last resort she can go for help to her uncle.

According to Deborah, a major problem facing young people in Masasi is lack of employment:

D: No employment. There is no employment here in Masasi. If you don't employ yourself, life can be very difficult. That's why people are running from villages to town.

De: Are those who run from villages to town young people?

D: Yes they are young people and some are girls. If they find that life is tough [in the village] they find [money for] bus fare and if you have a friend there [in town], you go to town and stay with her. If you don't get a job or anything, and if you get AIDS, you go back home (giggles).

Lack of employment opportunities in Masasi and Montepuez was a problem that was highlighted by several of the respondents. It is interesting that Deborah talks about self-employment as the only livelihood opportunity. As shown in Chapter 4, the advice from leaders to young people concerning em-

ployment is to create their own jobs, but as Deborah's quote shows, she does not regard self-employment as employment. Deborah also links the lack of employment to rural-urban migration and HIV/AIDS, which shows that the livelihood opportunities are even more limited in rural areas and that she regards HIV/AIDS as an actual risk, especially in town.

During the follow-up visit in 2004 I asked Deborah if she had managed to sell the load of small stones for 18 USD as she had estimated that she would get for it. She said that a man who was also working on the stone production site had sold her load without asking her and had given her only 4 USD for it. Deborah was very disappointed by this but said that she could not do anything about it but had to accept the money. This event shows that Deborah was in a weak position in relation to the man, an unequal power relation which could have been a combination of being both young and female.

When she looks at the pictures from last year, she expresses that it was a long time ago. A lot of changes have taken place since then. She is now the head of the household because her mother got married and moved to another neighbourhood in Masasi and her sister, who was ill when we conducted the first interviews, had died. Her sister's husband is also dead so Deborah is now taking care of their six year old son. Another event which Deborah chooses to tell us about is that her brother in Dar es Salaam had asked his mother for 80 USD to get a driving license. Her mother had sold the pigs and the bicycle to facilitate this, but he did not get the license. Deborah thinks that it was a trick to get money and she does not have much confidence in her brother.

Young women like Deborah have big responsibilities, sometimes both for their children and the rest of the family. The family depends on the income from her livelihood activities and if she does not make any money, they are unable to buy food. That Deborah can go to her uncle for help only as a last resort raises questions about the network of support through the extended family. As the narratives of other respondents show, the network of support through the extended family is not always available.

Celina is 20 years old and lives on the outskirts of Montepuez town. Like Deborah, she is a young woman with big responsibilities and small margins. Celina sells *bhajia* (deep fried biting) at *Mercado Central* and the profit from the *bhajia* business is about 50 US cents per day. Celina also collects firewood and sells it in the neighbourhood, but because it is very hard work, she only does it when she is desperate for money. She has the main responsibility for supporting the family, which she finds very tough. Her mother used to farm, but now she is unable to because she is ill. Since last year, nobody is cultivating at

the *machamba*. Celina's sister died a few years ago and left behind eight children whom Celina now takes care of. Due to small margins, young people like Celina are vulnerable. When we met a few weeks later for the semi-structured interview, she had stopped selling *bhajia* because she got sick and had to use all her capital to pay for her hospital bill. Now she needs to find some money to start her business again, but because of a wound, collecting and selling firewood is currently out of the question.

Besides her business, Celina studies and she is currently repeating class five. She dropped out of school after a few years but when she was 15 years old she started to go to school again. In the second interview, she said that she had left school again because of lack of means and that now she is just sitting at home. The 'just sitting there at home' mirrors frustration rather than passiveness:

My life, my life right now, I'm just here and I suffer like youth of today. There are no marriages, and how can I study? I don't have the possibilities to study. I'm just sitting there at home because I don't have anybody to help me. I don't have my father and my mother is old. This year I went to school, I studied until class five in order to continue with class six. But I won't continue because I don't have the possibilities to study, yes.

As the following quote by Celina illustrates, there are leaders who misuse their power by only solving problems if they receive some benefit:

There in the neighbourhood there are problems. If you have problems and go to inform them [the neighbourhood leaders] they don't solve it in a good way. If you want your problems to be solved in a good way, have sex with them and they will solve your urgent problem immediately.

Related to this gendered aspect of corruption, is another problem highlighted by Celina. She explains that it is common for young women who need money to go out in the evenings and meet men. She says that boys on the other hand can solve their problems by providing services in town such as fetching water for which they get paid. Celina brings up an issue which I think is important from a gender perspective. While women sometimes solve their problems through sex, men can fetch water and get money. There seems to be a difference between more or less accepted economic activities of men and women, with a greater variety of strategies for men. I never saw women doing casual labour such as carrying luggage from the bus station in order to make some money and when they fetched water, it was usually for their own household.

The following year when I returned to Montepuez, Celina was repeating class 5 again and she was continuing with the *bhajia* business. However, she had

switched from *Mercado Central* to a small market close to her house. She said that her profit now is about 2 USD per day. I do not know if the 50 cents that she mentioned in the first interview was an underestimation of the profit or if the profit has increased. Perhaps the turnover is higher now because the fee at this smaller market is lower than at *Mercado Central*. Since last year, one of her sister's children had died. He was six years old, fell into a well and drowned. A little girl fell into the well at the same time, but she was saved by her mother. According to Celina, the mother did not try to save Celina's child because she knew that Celina does not have influential family members in the neighbourhood. When Celina went to *chefe de bairro* (the neighbourhood leader) to accuse the neighbour for not helping her child, he told her that there was nothing he could do. I do not know if the woman really did not try to save Celina's child or if it was already too late, but Celina's interpretation of the incident is interesting. Her belief is that the woman decided not to save Celina's child due to Celina's weak position in the neighbourhood. Because she does not have any influential relatives who can help her out if it comes to a conflict, nobody in the neighbourhood cares about what happens to her and her family members. In Celina's view, the social relations in her neighbourhood benefit those with influential relatives and a strong network of support, while those who do not are excluded.

During my follow-up visit, Celina also explained how her sister had died a few years earlier, and her story illustrates how social relations work. Celina's sister used to work in a primary school and according to Celina, a male teacher in the same school went to the *curandeiro* (medicine man) to put a spell on her. The teacher was given a poisonous gas by the *curandeiro* to poison Celina's sister and as a result she became ill. She vomited and had diarrhoea for a long time and had to be taken to the hospital in Pemba. She got better but when she came back to Montepuez it started again. Then Celina went to the *curandeiro* and he said that he would be able to solve the problem if she would pay him 7 million Mt (290 USD). Celina went with her sister's papers to the places where the sister had been working as a teacher before and she managed to get the 7 million Mt. She paid the *curandeiro* but a week later, her sister was dead. Celina went back to the *curandeiro* and wanted the money back, but he said that he could not do anything because she had been poisoned for a long time. He returned 4 million Mt and then he went to Tanzania with the rest of the money. The other teacher had also died and Celina says that people think he died of AIDS. However, Celina does not mention that AIDS could have been the cause also of her sister's death.

Celina's story, like Pedro's case, contains a belief in superstition. It also contains elements of the relationship between 'modern' and 'traditional medicine'

and that *curandeiros* can use their power to earn a lot of money. In Celina's view, the male teacher poisoned her sister and they took her to the hospital in Pemba to cure her. However, when nothing more could be done for her in the hospital, they decided to try with traditional medicine. Perhaps Celina's sister died of AIDS, which is possible if she had a relationship with the teacher, who had apparently died of AIDS. This illustrates that Celina firmly believes in the *curandeiro's* version of the story and that HIV/AIDS is a stigmatised disease, so you do not want to say that a family member has died from AIDS.

5.5 Self-employed artisans

George is a 24 years old carpenter in Masasi. After completing primary school he was not selected for secondary school and for a while he supported himself by selling firewood. Then he went to live with his sister in Mtwara and she arranged a job for him as a domestic worker for an American missionary. After some time, the American missionary left and a German family came to stay in the house. When they left, George stayed without work for three months, but then the American came back and George got back his old job. This time George asked his boss to pay him less per month in order to save some money for when the boss leaves again. George told him that when he leaves again, he does not want to stay out of work again like last time and that he would like to study to become a technician. After some time, his boss said that he would pay for George's school fees if he wanted to study and after advice from his boss and his father, George decided to study carpentry.

George studied in Nachingwea at a mission college for two years and then he did a third year in Tunduru. When he finished the course, he and his classmates were given working tools, but he found it difficult to get a workshop in town. For a while he had a kiosk where he sold tomatoes, oil etc. and then he managed to rent a place which he turned into a carpentry workshop. His profit per month, after he has paid the rent for the workshop is 60 USD. In addition, he makes money for taking on apprentices. Each apprentice pays 50 USD per year and right now, he has six apprentices. Some of them pay him at once, while others pay in instalments or by giving some of the profit to him when they have started working.

A problem that George sometimes faces is that customers complain, saying that the furniture is not to their satisfaction. He usually solves this problem by returning the money to the customers, because if he tries to adjust the furni-

ture to their liking, according to George they would most likely complain again. Another problem he has is that the landlord is jealous of him.

He sees me doing big business and earning a lot of money at his place, so he is not happy at all. He has come to me many times and said “I see that your business is growing, so I need to increase the rent”. Sometimes the rent is higher than your profit, but if you disagree with him, it means that you have to shift from that place to another and moving from one place to another would be a problem. So obstacles like that face us who rent places to work.

George is doing well in his profession and a combination of long term planning, hard struggle and luck has taken him there. If he had not taken the initiative to save up money from his salary for vocational training, his employer may never have suggested that he would pay for his school fees. To get tools from the school at graduation was an asset since tools are expensive. George is now not only self-employed, he is also an employer of other carpenters.

Agnes⁴⁹, 25 years old in Masasi is a young woman with an unusual profession among young woman. She is a self-employed electrician. She lives with her brother, who is a carpenter, in one of the neighbourhoods in Masasi while her parents, who are farmers, live in Nachingwea. She also has another brother, who is a secondary school teacher and she used to have four sisters but they are all dead. Agnes had the idea to become an electrician when she was at home without a job in Nachingwea. She asked her brother to send her for private studies as an electrician apprentice, which he did. The training was for two years in Masasi and she is currently doing the VETA (Vocational Training Institution in Tanzania) exams in Mtwara to get an electrician certificate. Agnes says that it is a problem to earn money as an electrician in Masasi. When she does work for 100 USD the client can only afford to give her a small amount at the time, which is only enough to buy small things. She thinks that if she worked in bigger places than Masasi, she would be able to earn a lot more and her customers would pay the whole amount at once.

It was unusual to find female youth in typically male livelihoods and vice versa. However, some of the girls at the vocational education centres in Masasi and Montepuez were studying carpentry and house construction, which also are livelihoods dominated by men. Gender relations seem to be altering slowly in Masasi and Montepuez and according to my colleagues it is more accepted than before for women to enter male dominated professions. I think this is because it is increasingly accepted that girls study for longer and that more women earn money besides having the main responsibility for the

⁴⁹ Agnes was a respondent in a structured interview but not in a semi-structured interview.

domestic chores and children. This could partly be a result of an increasingly monetised economy rather than relying on subsistence farming.

5.6 Stigmatised livelihoods and irregular or no income⁵⁰

With the increased availability of transport, a new profession for male youth has emerged, namely *piga debe/chamador*⁵¹. *Piga debes/chamadores* are male youth whose job is to make people at the bus station to get on ‘their’ bus. The competition is very tough so a good *piga debe/chamador* is somebody who is loud and persuasive. To be a *piga debe/chamador* is a stigmatised profession and they have a reputation of being troublemakers and unreliable lads who live on the margin and who do what it takes to convince passengers. A quote from Ms Mijindo, neighbourhood leader in Masasi illustrates a common view of the *piga debe/chamador* livelihood:

Really, the job to *piga debe* is not good. First of all, it’s really a nuisance. You get to the bus station and you know where this bus goes and there is a conductor, so there is no reason for this nuisance. A person comes and they [the *piga debes*] take the bag. It’s very much an excuse for stealing. The person [passenger] comes and doesn’t understand where the bag is going and where it will be put. To *piga debe* really is not a good job.

Due to the marginalised livelihood activity of being a *piga debe/chamador*, my colleagues and I thought that it would be difficult to approach them and invite them to participate in an interview. For the same reason, we imagined it to be a low paid activity. We were however proven wrong on both assumptions. The ones we met were easy to talk to and very willing to share their experiences. One *piga debe* we talked to was Sele, an 18 year old primary school leaver in Masasi. As a *piga debe* in Masasi, he gets 2 USD if he fills a big bus and 50 cents for a small bus. Depending on the number of passengers, he earns between 4-5 USD per day. Another *piga debe* we spoke to was Leonard who lives about 8 kilometres from town and every morning he gets on the bus to town in order to *piga debe*. He usually earns between 2-3 USD per day.

To be a *chamador* in Montepuez was not as lucrative as in Masasi. Agnaldo was an 18 years old *chamador* in Montepuez who had studied until class four. He

⁵⁰ In this section only two respondents, Thomas and José, participated both in the structured and in the semi-structured interviews. The other respondents only participated in the structured interviews.

⁵¹ *Piga debe* literally means “beat a big tin” in Kiswahili. In order to be the most successful *piga debe*, you have to be the loudest drummer. *Chamador*, which is the Mozambican equivalent to *piga debe* can be translated to “caller” in Portuguese because they call the customers to enter their bus.

gets between 1-2 USD when he manages to fill a bus, but there are not as many buses in Montepuez as in Masasi. Montepuez is not located at a big junction like Masasi and therefore there are also fewer buses. Aginaldo is lucky if he manages to fill two buses per day. A difference between Tanzania and Mozambique, which I noticed from my travelling experiences, is that there is more of a '*piga debe* culture' in Tanzania. Here, the *piga debes* are very loud and try to attract the customers with all sorts of means, while the process of calling customers in Mozambique is calmer and less confusing. In fact, when you hear very active and loud person attracting customers in northern Mozambique, for example in the provincial capital Pemba, they are often Tanzanians who have come to Mozambique to make a living.

An expression in Kiswahili is *kijiveni*, 'jobless corner' in English and refers to a group of male youth who are seen sitting around, seemingly doing nothing. The *kijiveni* youth have a reputation of being lazy with bad behaviour, such as smoking marijuana and using abusive language. We interviewed so called *kijiveni* youth in both Masasi and in Montepuez. In Masasi, they introduced themselves as *vibarua* (day labourers) and in Montepuez as *estivadores* (*estivar* means to load/unload in Portuguese). They were often hanging around the bus stations, outside warehouses or by places where they could easily be seen, waiting for an opportunity to carry goods, luggage or for casual labour at construction sites. Two *estivadores* in Montepuez were Carlos and Mustafa. They were both 22 years old and had dropped out of primary school due to lack of resources, Carlos in class 3 and Mustafa in class 6. For the livelihood activity loading and unloading trucks they usually managed to earn 40-70 cents per day, which they used for their own expenses and for family food expenditure. The significance of their livelihood activity should therefore not be underestimated.

Thomas, 16 years old in Masasi who dropped out of Std 4 could be categorised as a *kijiveni* youth. When we met, he was mainly hanging around the shops by the bus station and occasionally he helped his friend who is a shop keeper. In return, his friend gives him some money. Thomas used to sell dried fish for his father's business, but now he does not do this business anymore because there was no more fish and Thomas had used all the money for food. A few months later, Thomas was doing petty business and had a large frame of beauty products which he walked around with on his back. He had been given 15 USD by his father to conduct fish business, but he had started the beauty business instead. The following year when we met again, Thomas was helping his friend in his shop again. He had let his uncle take over his business for a while but the uncle had used the money to buy food and the business had died. I do not know the story behind why Thomas had given the business

to his uncle and why the uncle had used all the money from the business to food, but it is probably due to the small margins. Sometimes priorities have to be made between buying food and investing in new goods. Some young people who have limited means to support themselves through their livelihood activities do not come from poor families but circumstances have prevented them from succeeding with viable strategies. Thomas moves between different businesses and helping his friend and has not been able to build a stable livelihood. I think that in his case, the combination of small margins and limited business skills are contributing factors to his current life situation.

Like Thomas, José 18 years old in Montepuez does not have a regular livelihood activity. He usually hangs out at the bus stand and sometimes he helps his mother on the *machamba* in a village outside of Montepuez. José lives with his older sister who is a farmer and she also studies in an alphabetisation class. José started school a long time ago, but after a year he left due to lack of money. José says that if he had money, he would enrol in school and do business at the market and he would sell *bhajia*, (bitings), toast, bread and cigarettes. When he helps his mother with the harvest and they manage to sell some products, he receives some money for which he buys cigarettes and sells by the piece. The following year when I returned to Montepuez, José was not around. A friend of his informed us that he had gone to Pemba to stay with his uncle and to herd goats.

Some girls do not have a livelihood that brings an income but they are doing chores at home. One girl who we met at the market in Masasi when she was buying vegetables was Hadija, 17 years old. She is staying with her maternal grandparents and aunts. She moved to live with them when her father started a new family and chased her and her siblings away. At this time, her father also stopped paying their school fees and because of this, she dropped out of school in Std 3. Hadija does domestic chores in the household and her daily activities are to sweep, to wash dishes, to draw water, go to the market to buy vegetables for cooking and to prepare food.

5.7 Employed youth

At the different markets in both Montepuez and Masasi there are stalls of different sizes. The ownership varies, from small scale locally owned shops to stores owned by big businessmen who own shops at markets in several towns. The shops in the inner part of Montepuez town, *bairro de cimento*, are mainly owned by Mozambicans of Indian origin. The people working in the shops are family members (male and female) and employed Mozambicans, mainly

men. In Masasi, many of the shops are owned by civil servants, such as people working in the district administration, who have started the business as an extra source of income. Many of the people working in these shops are men, but there are also female employees.

Furaha in Masasi is 21 years old and a secondary school Form IV leaver. She got a job in a stationary shop after taking a computer course in Masasi for six months. Furaha comes from a relatively wealthy family. Her father is a retired government officer and the family has a farm where they grow food for household consumption. They also have a cashew nut *shamba*. Like Furaha, her siblings also have secondary school education. Some of them are still living at home, like Furaha, while others do petty business in other towns. Furaha has now been working for six months and she really likes her job, especially typing on the computer. She earns 30 USD per month, which is less than the government regulated minimum wage in Tanzania of 45 USD, but more than the earnings of other respondents employed in Masasi and Montepuez. Furaha's income is her own and covers expenses such as clothes and transport to work. When I came back the following year, Furaha had bought a mobile phone from her salary. She was still working in the stationary shop and every month, her employer cut 10 USD off her salary as a down payment for the phone.

Respondents with secondary education like Furaha often had sisters and brothers with secondary education and parents who were relatively well off compared to other families in Masasi and Montepuez. Furaha is the only respondent who, in addition to secondary education, has undertaken some form of professional training. For Furaha, the computer training had been a good investment since she had been able to get a job she liked, which was relatively well paid. However, it was through the assistance from her parents that she had been able to realise such an investment.

Another type of employment in Masasi and Montepuez is to work in a guest-house and as a barmaid, a livelihood activity dominated by female youth. One of the respondents, Zawadi, works in one of the more popular guesthouses and bars in Masasi. She is 22 years old and was expelled from primary school in Std 5 because of her pregnancy. Her son is now 6 years old. Zawadi used to work as a *Mama Lishe* and for a while did business selling rice. At that time she was renting a house. However, it was difficult to make a profit and she could not afford to pay the rent so she had to return to her parents' house. Her mother is a farmer and her father is a nurse at the hospital. Zawadi has got six siblings. Two of her sisters do petty business, one in Masasi and one in Dar es Salaam. One brother has a small shop in Songea and three brothers are driv-

ers, two in Dar es Salaam and one in Songea. Zawadi works everyday, from 7 am to 12 pm, seven days a week. Her salary is 8 USD per month and at the end of the month, broken glass and bottles are deducted from her salary so it often less than 8 USD. However, Zawadi also makes some money through tips and a strategy to get extra money is through ‘offers’:

For example sometimes customers say “have a beer!” and you say “OK, thank you”. Then you take the money, but instead of drinking it you use the money to buy food, clothes, soap, body oil and other things.

Another source of income is to agree to have sex with customers who come to stay in the guesthouse. Zawadi takes on ‘boyfriends’ two to three times a week and they usually stay for a few days up to a week. She says she hates to do it, but that she does it due to poverty. To be a barmaid is a stigmatised livelihood in Masasi because it is often associated with prostitution. Zawadi is frustrated that she has not yet managed “*to build a life*” for herself and says that the financial situation is difficult. The money she earns is enough only to eat and to solve small problems such as to buy clothes and food. It bothers her that she still lives with her parents and states that she should have her own house by now, or at least be able to contribute something to her parents. Especially to her mother who is taking care of her son while she is at work.

Since my child stays with my mother it’s good if I bring a pair of kanga (piece of material used by women for clothing) to my mother as a gift so that she can keep on taking care of my child.

The following year when I came back to visit, Zawadi no longer lived in Masasi. We were told that Zawadi had moved to Tunduru where she has relatives and she had found a job again as a barmaid. Tunduru is located about 200 km west of Masasi and is easily accessed by bus from Masasi. In the mid 1990s, Tunduru experienced a large in-migration because precious stones were found in the area and since then, Tunduru has become a busy town.

Zawadi is one example of a young person whose life history shows that some transitions in the life course are not necessarily definite. She has a child and at one point she moved with her son from her parents to a house which she rented. However, due to insecure livelihood activities, she had to move back to her parents again and she depends on them both for money and the care of her son. She is still struggling “*to build a life*” for herself. To become an adult is a *process* and sometimes this process can be circular rather than lineal. This may be especially true under circumstances such as in Tanzania and Mozambique where many young people are extremely vulnerable due to uncertain livelihood activities and a limited welfare system. Zawadi is grateful that her

mother takes care of her son, but as the quote above shows, she does not take this support for granted and she feels pressured to contribute something to her mother to show her gratitude.

While some livelihood activities are seen in public places, other livelihood activities are not. This also has gender dimensions. Activities of male youth often take place in public places while activities of female youth often take place in private spheres. Two difficult categories to approach for an interview were domestic workers and young people doing domestic tasks in their own family. They spend most of the time in the house or in the compound, so the only way to locate them is to go to the houses where they work or try to meet them at the market while they are doing the shopping for the house. Due to the difficulty of getting in touch with these categories of youth, their experiences are underrepresented among the respondents and thereby in this thesis.

My colleagues assisted significantly with this because they could ask which families employed domestic workers. However, even though they had the ‘insider advantages’ that I lacked, it was not an easy task to get hold of domestic workers and we realised that we managed to contact only those domestic workers with comparatively good working conditions. One of them is Inês⁵², a 16 year old girl who had come to Montepuez town from a village about 8 km away to work in a family. Her father is also in town working as a domestic worker and her mother is a farmer in the village. Inês main tasks are to wash, iron, take care of the younger children in the house and help with the cooking. Inês goes to school in the afternoons, which is unusual for domestic workers, and she is now in class 4. The mother in the house where she is working is a teacher and she had insisted that Inês would continue to go to school. Her salary is 6 USD per month, which included food and board. For a domestic worker in Montepuez and Masasi, this is a rather high salary. Some domestic workers get half that amount and others do not get a salary at all, only food and board. There are both female and male domestic workers in Montepuez and Masasi. An example of a male domestic worker is Saïde, who was introduced at the beginning of the thesis.

5.8 ‘Real’ employment

Dário, a 23 years old male respondent in Montepuez is one of the few young people we met who has what is considered ‘real’ employment (*trabalho/kazi*). He works for an NGO and his salary is 42 USD per month. Despite being the

⁵² Inês participated in a structured interview but not in a semi-structured interview.

only respondent with ‘real’ employment, he does not have a bank account, which civil servants such as teachers have. He says that he has not yet opened one. At five o’clock when he finishes his job, he goes straight to school where he is studying in class 10. For two years he did not study and took up his studies again in year 2000. Dário lives with his parents but has constructed his own house on their plot. His father is a teacher and for the past few years has also been a secondary school student. Dário’s mother is a housewife and responsible for the family *machamba* where they cultivate products for family consumption. Dário has three younger siblings who are all in primary school. One of the problems Dário faces is that some of his friends are jealous of him because he has a job.

When we met the following year, Dário was still working for the NGO. He had also been selected as one of eight facilitators in a study on malaria, financed by UNICEF. They were going to the rural areas in three districts for one and a half months and would receive 54 USD. Dário had also been promoted in the NGO and was now a programme officer with a salary of 82 USD per month. Dário’s story shows that those who have managed to get a job for an NGO are considered lucky and other people are jealous of him due to his position. Dário’s story also illustrates that once you have made it into the NGO sector, you may be selected for more assignments by other organisations.

As will be shown in the next chapter, education is a popular strategy if it is available, despite limited employment opportunities. Without education, there is no chance to obtain ‘real’ work, but with education, there is at least a remote chance. Zawadi in Masasi explains that she would have liked to have government employment but that this is not possible because she did not continue her schooling. Later on in the interview she says that if you have employment you are entitled to the minimum wage, but otherwise you are not:

Z: If I had studied, I could have gotten a job, like being a teacher, or in the hospital or at the Council, or at the Education office. Yes, I would have liked that.

[...]

De: You said that the government minimum wage is 45,000 Tsh (45 USD) so why don’t you get that amount?

Z: It’s because I haven’t gone to school and I don’t have a job (*sina kazi*).

D: So what you said concerns only government employment (civil service)?

Z: Government workers (civil servants) have a minimum wage but those who are working like us can’t receive more than 15,000 [Tsh per month] (15 USD), that’s the limit.

The conversation with Zawadi shows that without education, you cannot get a ‘real’ job and without a ‘real’ job, you cannot expect to receive the minimum wage.

Furaha from Masasi states that it is very difficult to get ‘real’ employment unless you have contacts, and that these contacts sometimes demand bribes:

When there is an employment opportunity, the employees already know from the beginning who is going to get it. And the person who wants the job already knows it. They announce that there is an employment opportunity only in order to fulfil their responsibility. So that is a big obstacle. [...] those who announce vacancies have their friends, neighbours, relatives or children of relatives, so they select new workers amongst themselves and sometimes they demand a bribe before selection, mmh! They know everything, so they tell them [their friends or relatives] when they will announce the vacancy and they tell them to write a letter. “After we receive your letter we’ll select you, and throw away the other letters, or we will tell them that the posts have already been filled”.

5.9 Conclusion

Many of the respondents are struggling hard to maintain their livelihood strategies in Masasi and Montepuez and their everyday economic situation largely dominates their everyday life. The issue of small profit margins was one aspect which arose in many of the stories about making a living, and as indicated, this can have serious short term and long term consequences. To fall ill can mean that the money supposed to cater for the well-being of the family has to be spent on hospital bills and medicine. In addition, the illness may prevent the person from engaging in his or her livelihood activities for a long time, both due to the illness and because of lack of access to start-up capital. The neo-liberal policies of self-employment and a free market, promoted by institutions such as the World Bank, clearly influence what life strategies it is possible to have. To be responsible for your own *non*-wellbeing is hardly an empowering experience. This neo-liberal interpretation of ‘empowering individuals’ results in disempowerment and individualisation, because it does not challenge the existing power structures, as Mohan and Stokke (2000) point out.

As shown in this chapter, some of the respondents are under substantial pressure to support themselves and their families, but small profit margins mean that you have to think about survival for today and tomorrow. It is difficult to create a cushion against economic hardship when economic hardship is the everyday reality. As discussed in relation to vulnerability in Chapter 2, lack of resources and insecurity limit the space of action and provide few opportuni-

ties to act strategically, which limit the possibility of taking further risks. Some of the respondents had organised themselves in rotating savings systems to occasionally receive a larger sum of money. One of the respondents who mentioned the existence of micro-credit organisations thought that it was not worthwhile getting a loan through them because the sum was too small. Very few respondents had access to a bank account where if they had some extra money they could save up for a larger investment.

Lack of employment opportunities was highlighted as a problem and it was said that there are no companies in these towns. To work for a company was attractive and considered a 'real' job, as was working as a civil servant or for an NGO. As shown, most respondents were engaged in informal economy activities and a dichotomy of informal and formal was expressed when they made the distinction between 'employment' (*kazi/trabalho*) and other livelihood activities. Some respondents had more secure livelihoods than others did and the incomes varied, but only one respondent had managed to obtain 'real' employment and reached minimum wage. Several other respondents were also employed, but these were not considered as 'real' employment. They often had small wages and some of them lived with their employer, which put them in an equally vulnerable position as the self-employed youth. One remarkable feature was the rapid changes I witnessed when I came back for the follow-up visit after one year. While some had adjusted their business due to the market as a result of a bad harvest, some had changed livelihood. Others had migrated and one respondent had become confused and was referred to as '*um louco*' (a madman).

As mentioned above, government employment as civil servants was attractive, but respondents expressed that this was very difficult to obtain if you lacked social capital in terms of a relative or a friend already working there. In addition, you may also have to have paid bribes, which implied a combination of economic capital and social capital. Government institutions play regulatory roles. As shown in this chapter, the government is making efforts to formalise informal economic activities, for example by providing free business licences. In some cases, the respondents were critical towards government actions, displayed for example in the narrative of businessmen having to change their location to a place where there are no customers. This also shows the regulatory role which the government has and as discussed by Tranberg Hansen (2002), a 'free' market may involve more institutional control. Also individual actors in control interfered with the business, such as the man in charge at the market in Montepuez who took goods from businessmen without paying, thereby exercising his power. Therefore there are actors within the informal

sphere who act as regulators, as indicated by research from Lourenço-Lindell (2002).

Gender differences could be seen in terms of livelihood activities. More young men than young women were involved in business and livelihood activities were also gendered. Fewer female respondents than male were engaged in economic activities of their own. Girls often had large responsibilities for the household and due to a gendered business culture they were confined to businesses where the profit margins are low, such as selling snacks. However, there are also exceptions, such as girls entering typically 'male' livelihoods, which according to my colleagues had become more common. As a result, changing gender relations may be underway.

As has been shown in this chapter, many respondents are struggling hard to make a living and the engagement in different livelihood activities constitute an important part of their everyday life. Some of these livelihoods are related to agriculture and several young people combine different livelihood activities. However, few respondents have agriculture as their main livelihood activity, in comparison to their parents among many whom are farmers. This suggests that a process of deagrarianisation, as put forward by e.g. Bryceson 1996 and 1997 and Mwamfupe (1998) is ongoing also in Masasi and Montepuez. As discussed earlier, the life of youth in towns is a little researched topic and that what constitutes urbanity is an empirical question. This chapter has shown that the engagement in different livelihood activities, some of which are perceived as 'rural', comprises an important element of urbanity in the towns Masasi in Tanzania and Montepuez in Mozambique.

6. STRIVING FOR EDUCATION - OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

6.1 Introduction

For many of the respondents, education was a preoccupation, both among the respondents who were in school and those who were not. For a young person to be in school, investments in terms of money and time have to be made and education could therefore be seen as a *strategy* to improve the life standard of an individual or a family. If and how education can be a strategy depends on many aspects, which emerge in the interviews with the respondents.

When building the post-colonial nations of Tanzania and Mozambique, education was perceived as one of the key strategies to achieve development. However, the implementation of the structural adjustment programmes in both countries in the 1980s and the destabilisation war in Mozambique had severe effects on the education system. There is currently a renewed emphasis on education in both countries. Education is recognised as a strategy for poverty reduction and the Tanzanian and Mozambican government, in partnership with international donors, NGOs and the private sector are all actors in the revitalisation of the education sector, as illustrated for example in quotes by leaders in Chapter 4.

In this chapter, the respondents' stories around education form the basis of my analysis. I provide narratives from respondents for whom education is seen as a self-evident continuation, respondents who regard education as one of their life strategies and respondents who perceive education as desirable but not within their horizon of possibilities.

6.2 Education in Montepuez and Masasi

In **Montepuez town** it is possible to study up to class 12, which is the highest secondary school level. This was made possible a few years before I conducted the fieldwork in 2003. Until then, class 10 was the highest level which had been provided. There is also an industrial school (*Escola industrial*) and a teacher's training centre. Both primary education and secondary education have three shifts: morning, afternoon and evening. The evening classes, defined as adult education, were made available when electricity was installed in the schools in the town centre a few years prior to my fieldwork in 2003.

As Table 6.1 illustrates for the district as a whole, there were many more students in EP1 (lower primary school) than in the other levels, which means that few continue to study after EP1. As also can be seen, there were almost as many girls as boys who study in EP1, but in EP2 (upper primary school) and in secondary school, there were many more male students than female. This could be explained by factors such as that girls are more needed at home than boys, the initiation rite, marriage and families being more reluctant to send their daughters away for studies than their sons (e.g. Helgesson 2000b). Also in vocational education, there were fewer girls than boys, while there was almost gender parity in teacher's training. Concerning alphabetisation and adult education, there were more female students than male, which is related to the fact that girls tend to drop out of the 'ordinary' primary school earlier than boys and if they continue to study, they often do so in adult education classes or alphabetisation classes. A girl who becomes pregnant in Mozambique can continue with her education, but according to the regulations, she should continue her studies in the evening shift, i.e. in the adult education classes.

Table 6.1: Number of students enrolled at various levels of education in Montepuez district in 2003.

Level	Female	Male	Total	% Female
EP1 (Class 1-5)	13360	13669	27029	49.4
EP2 (Class 6-7)	1318	2586	3904	33.7
Secondary school I & II (class 8-12)	832	2414	3246	25.6
Vocational education	48	298	346	13.8
Teacher's training	325	343	668	48.6
Alphabetisation & adult education	2033	1560	3593	56.5

Source: DDE Montepuez (2003).

The ages of the students vary and it is therefore difficult to estimate the ratio of young people who are studying. However, children are often between 7 and 9 years old when they enrol in class 1 and between 15 and their early 20s when they are in secondary school. To give an indication, the population between 7 and 24 years old in Montepuez district in 2003 was estimated to 66,126 (INE 1999a). It should be noted that the table does not show the rural-urban differences but the tendency was that it was more common for young people living in town to study than those who live in rural areas. This was also reflected in the sample of respondents, many of whom were students.

As can be seen in Table 6.2, many of the respondents in Montepuez were students. In fact it was difficult to find young people who did not study. Several of the male and female youth we selected at the market while doing petty business, or whom we had identified as domestic workers or barmaids, turned out to be students in addition to their other activities. Also young people who

previously had dropped out of school, for example due to pregnancy or because of business, were now studying again. Four of the respondents had dropped out of school and come back again and a few had waited several years between finishing primary school and starting secondary school. Twelve respondents had dropped out of primary school and had not come back again, some as early as in class two or three, while others had dropped out at a later stage. A few of the respondents were studying in upper secondary school, some were attending vocational training at *Escola industrial*, which provides artisan education such as masonry and carpentry. Some of the respondents were also undergoing training at the teacher's training centre.

Many respondents had repeated several classes. As will be shown, one of the reasons cited by the respondents is that there are teachers who demand bribes in order to pass the students and those who cannot afford this have to repeat the class. The pattern of repetition is common in Mozambique. The age variation in the classes becomes wide and resources are wasted, as highlighted by e.g. Palme (1993). Due to repetition and drop-out, some respondents were over 20 years old but were still in primary school.

Table 6.2: Educational level of the Montepuez respondents who participated in the structured interviews.

Level of Education	No of respondents
In primary school	17
Completed primary school, but no further education	1
Dropped out of primary school	12
Primary school+ vocational training	3
In the teacher training centre	2
In secondary school I (class 8-10)	13
In secondary school II (class 11-12)	2
Completed secondary school (class 12)	1
TOTAL	51

It should be emphasised that the situation of many young people studying in primary and secondary school was the situation in Montepuez town. As will be shown in Chapter 8, some respondents state that the biggest difference between youth in town and in the villages is that youth in town study more. One of the reasons why youth from other parts of the district or from neighbouring districts migrate temporarily to Montepuez is in order to study because in their home places, some levels of education are not available. In some districts in the Cabo Delgado province, it was not until recently that the first years of secondary education became available and in the whole Cabo Delgado province, advanced secondary education and vocational education is only available

in Montepuez and in the provincial capital Pemba. Although the educational opportunities in Montepuez are extensive, there are other places where it is more attractive to study. Several respondents said that they would like to study in the city Nampula in the neighbouring region and there appears to be a hierarchical order in the education provision and reputation, which is dependent on the size and importance of the town.

In **Masasi town** it is possible to study up to ordinary level (O-level) in secondary school (Form I-IV) and there is a Folk Development College which provides vocational education in carpentry, masonry and cooking. There are differences between Masasi and Montepuez regarding how education was organised. In Masasi, there is one education shift, in primary school as well as in secondary school, which starts early in the morning and finishes late in the afternoon. Unlike Montepuez, there were no public adult education facilities available for primary and secondary education and if you dropped out of school, you were not permitted to enrol again. Therefore, a young person who has dropped out of school and who would like to take up her or his studies again could not, unless it was a private school. A private alternative was available for secondary education at Masasi Day secondary school, but not for primary education. Whether pupils should be expelled from school due to pregnancy has been under discussion for many years in Tanzania, but there is no official policy. As Rajani and Robinson (1999) state, there is no law in Tanzania supporting the expulsion of pupils due to pregnancy, but on the other hand there is no legal directive that explicitly states the right of girls to continue with their education. In practice, girls are expelled from school and are not allowed to come back after delivery.

An opportunity for children and young people who are up to 18 years old and who have missed primary education, due to for example school costs, business engagement and pregnancy was created in Masasi in 1999. A programme called COBET (Complementary Basic Education for Tanzania) was initiated, implemented by the Ministry of Education and Culture through the District Council with support from UNICEF. Masasi was one of the five pilot districts where COBET was initiated and at the time of the fieldwork in 2003, 10 COBET centres were operating, each with space for up to 30 students. The district administration had plans to expand the programme with more centres. One of the differences between COBET and ordinary primary schools is that there are no costs involved for books and other material and COBET students are in school for only half day, which makes it possible for them to have livelihood activities besides school. After a three year cycle in COBET, the students are mainstreamed into a formal primary school. The older students

are offered to write the primary school leaving exam (PSLE) and if they pass, they may be selected for secondary school (Helgesson 2001a and 2001b).

During the follow-up visit in 2004, I was informed that a non formal secondary school had recently opened in Masasi under the Institute of Adult Education. This school would be available for those who had not been selected for public primary schools as well as those who had dropped out of secondary school. However, this depended on their ability to pay the school fees of 55 USD per year. A year later, in 2005, yet another secondary school had opened in Masasi. This was a private secondary school run by a district administration employee with school fees of 150 USD per year.

Table 6.3: Number of students enrolled at various levels of education in Masasi district in 2003.

Level	Female	Male	Total	% Female
Primary school (class 1-7)	37118	36776	73894	50.2
Secondary school (Form I-IV)	1066	1066	2132	50.0
Secondary school (Form V-VI)	87	160	247	35.2
Vocational Education	24	23	47	51.1
COBET	139	366	505	27.5

Source: DEO Masasi (2003) and MOEC (2004).

Table 6.3 shows that there is gender parity both in primary school, secondary school Form I-IV and Vocational Education in Masasi district, while there are fewer female students in secondary school Form V-VI and in COBET. Other studies have shown that despite gender parity, girls tend to perform less than boys do. Explanations cited factors such as greater household tasks causing tiredness and less time for homework, and that boys are encouraged to be more outgoing than girls which gives them an advantage in the classroom (Helgesson 2001a). The table does not provide information concerning the ratio of each age group in school, but to give a rough comparison, the population aged between 7 and 24 years in Masasi district during the census in 2002 was 127,440 (NBS 2003b).

As Table 6.4 shows, many of the respondents in Masasi have already completed primary education. In Masasi, there is automatic progression between the classes, apart from Std 4 where there is an examination. Most of those who stay in school finish within 7 years and therefore often younger than primary school students in Montepuez. Another explanation as why students in Masasi are likely to be younger than their peers in Montepuez is because it is not possible to drop out and then come back to school again. Nine of the respondents in Masasi had dropped out of school and a few were enrolled in COBET. A smaller number of respondents in Masasi than in Montepuez were

in secondary school. This could be a coincidence, considering the small sample, but it could also be due to the less flexible education system in Masasi compared to Montepuez. Another explanation could be that the secondary school fees are higher in Masasi than in Montepuez. For a public day secondary school (i.e. not a boarding school), the school fees in 2003 were 40 USD per year in Masasi compared to 10 USD in Montepuez. In 2004, the Tanzanian government decided to reduce the secondary school fees in the public secondary schools and instead of 40 USD it now costs 20 USD. As in Montepuez, a few respondents were undergoing or had undergone vocational training to become carpenters, electricians etc. No respondents in Masasi were however studying at advanced secondary school level (Form V or Form VI) or studying to become teachers. This is not surprising as there are no such institutions in Masasi.⁵³

Table 6.4: Educational level of the Masasi respondents who participated in the structured interviews.

Level of Education	No of respondents
In primary school	4
In COBET	2
Completed primary school	23
Dropped out of primary school	9
Primary school + vocational training	5
In secondary school (Form I-IV)	6
Completed secondary school (Form IV)	2
Dropped out of secondary school	3
TOTAL	54

6.3 To continue to study is self-evident

Paula in Montepuez who is 17 years old says that she has never had any problems with her studies and she is now in class 9 in secondary school. She was born in Montepuez town and lives in the central part of town together with her parents, siblings and three domestic workers. Her father is a successful businessman and her mother works with the family business and goes to adult education classes at night. Paula has three sisters and a brother. The oldest sister studies in secondary school in Maputo and the rest of her siblings are studying in primary and secondary school in Montepuez. For Paula, it is self-evident that she will continue to study and she does not see any obstacles

⁵³ Within Masasi district, advanced secondary school (A-level), i.e. up to Form VI, is available, but these schools are not located in Masasi town.

along the way. She says she would like to become a medical doctor and her dream is to live abroad, maybe in America.

Paula studies in the afternoon shift from 12 to 4.45 pm and in the evenings, together with her siblings she receives private tuition in English. She is free in the mornings and on Saturdays and during this time, she usually spends time with her friends and goes to 'the ring' (*o ringue*) to play basketball. She also prepares for the lessons and goes to the market to pass time with her friends. She explains that the reason why she goes to the market place is because there are no other places in Montepuez where you can go and enjoy yourself. Sometimes, if her father allows her to go, she goes to the disco, for example when there are performances at the disco Matchikichiki.

Oswaldo, 16 years old is a secondary school student in class 10 in Montepuez. Like Paula he comes from a relatively privileged family. His family originates from Zambézia in the centre of Mozambique but Oswaldo was born in Montepuez and has lived there all his life. He lives with his father, who is an engineer, his mother who is a housewife and two of his siblings. The siblings are a younger sister who is in primary school and an older brother who is in secondary school. He also has three other brothers and they are all in different universities, two in Nampula and one in Pemba. In the future, Oswaldo would like to continue with his studies at the Economic Institute in Quelemane, the provincial capital of Zambézia where his family is from. After that he would like to work as an economist for a company in Inhambane or Maxixe, towns that are located on the south coast, north of Maputo. The reason why he wants to work there is because he has heard that they are beautiful places.

Oswaldo goes to school during the morning shift and in the afternoons he goes to the library to study. In the evenings and weekends, he meets his friends and plays basketball at 'the ring'. He is also active in the organisation *Geração Biz* (the youth to youth programme which was introduced in Chapter 4). Oswaldo tells us that they have set up an office in his school so sometimes he works there as a volunteer and informs young people about HIV/AIDS.

Both Paula's and Oswaldo's biographies show that it is not a coincidence they have continued to study at secondary school and plan to continue their studies. Paula and her siblings take English tuition and Oswaldo has siblings who are studying at the university. High education is a valued asset especially in urban areas and if you can afford to send your children to school you do. Both Paula's and Oswaldo's families seem to have sufficient financial assets to send all children to school and as all their siblings are in school, they have ob-

viously been brought up in a home where education is valued. To value education is part of their habitus.

Despite a privileged family background and educational situation, Osvaldo sees some obstacles which might prevent him in his studies. The obstacles have to do with corruption.

L: Are there any obstacles that may make it difficult to realise your dreams?

O: There are some. For example in education here in Mozambique, people do not study so much and sometimes you have teachers who, well, don't let somebody pass, so these are obstacles which prevent me from realising my dreams.

L: Why do the teachers do like this?

O: In other places, I don't know, but here, that's their habits.

L: Do you have to pay or?

O: Yes, you have to pay. If you don't bribe or have a brother who is a teacher, that's it, they fail you.

L: Could this happen this year?

O: It can. Yes, it can happen.

L: Can you have good grades and still fail?

O: Yes, you can have good grades but you have to repeat.

L: Do you know how much you have to pay a teacher?

O: I know. Sometimes a teacher wants to have 300 *contos* [12 USD], others want you to take them to a bar and let them drink. And for some, it's enough if you just have an uncle or a brother who is a teacher who can talk to them.

I ask Osvaldo if girls face the same problems as boys do and he says that a girl may sleep with a teacher to pass the exam and then she might get problems if her boyfriend and the wife of the teacher discover this. Why did Osvaldo face the problem of bribing his teachers while Paula did not tell such a story? There can be a number of reasons for this. Perhaps Paula's performance is so good that the teachers cannot take advantage of the situation. If a student is not doing very well, the teacher may be in a more powerful position, which could be the case with Osvaldo. Another explanation could be that also Paula has to give the teachers something, but she does not have to worry about this because the money is available through the assistance of her parents, or that bribes are so self-evident that it is not worth mentioning.

“*O cabrito come onde está amarrado*” (“*The goat eats where it is tied*”) is an expression in Mozambique and was used by one of the students at *Escola industrial*, when he explained about the corruption among teachers in his school. They ‘eat’ as much as they can and according to him, *all* teachers demand bribes from students in order to let them pass. For the students, the bribes to the teachers at

the end of the year are expenses to be expected.⁵⁴ Jacinta told me that one measure against corruption in the education system had recently been initiated in the whole Cabo Delgado province. The secondary school exams written in Montepuez in 2003 were sent to Pemba to be corrected and vice versa in order to make corruption more difficult. More than 70 percent failed the exam, which according to Jacinta is a significantly higher percentage than the previous years when the exams were corrected in the towns where they were written.

In Masasi, no respondents mentioned having to bribe the teachers, but corruption was an issue brought up as an obstacle for secondary education. Respondents in Masasi claimed that the district council has a lot of money to pay for students who cannot afford to pay for their secondary school fees. They suggested that this money goes straight into the pockets of officials, or that the scholarships are given to students whose parents know somebody in the district council. That there are such rumours, true or not, might imply that if you do not have the right connections and not enough money, you do not even consider secondary education. Rumours about impossibilities can therefore be just as important as actual impossibilities.

6.4 Vocational education with a possible continuation

Augusto, 14 years old, was born in Montepuez. When his parents separated, he stayed for a while with his aunt in Montepuez but then moved to Nampula and stayed there for a few years with his mother. His mother's income is from a bar which she runs by the house and sometimes he helps her with the business. Now he is back in Montepuez again because he has enrolled in *Escola industrial* and he stays in the boarding facility on the school compound. When he has concluded his third year, he would like to go back to Nampula to study at the Institute for Industry and Commerce where he wants to continue to specialise in house construction. Augusto, like many other respondents, raises the issue of money as a constraint and says that he hopes to continue studying to the highest level that his parents can afford. In ten years, Augusto would like to work with his profession of house construction, either for the government or for an NGO. He would like to work somewhere in Mozambique, like in Nampula or Maputo, or "*if the means permit at that time*" outside of Mozambique, such as in Europe.

⁵⁴ A teacher in Mozambique and Tanzania earns around 100 USD per month and after tax and pension deduction, take home salary is about 80 USD. In Tanzania, the salary is regulated by length of service, while in Mozambique the salary varies according to the level of education of the teacher.

The following year when I came back to visit, Augusto was in his third and last year at *Escola Industrial*. He still had his plan to continue to study at the Institute for Industry and Commerce in Nampula, or perhaps in Beira or Maputo. However, he said that he would prefer to get a job and study at night so he would not be dependent on his parents. Unlike Paula and Osvaldo, Augusto sees the financial situation of his parents as a constraint and is aware that his parents may not be able to pay for his education. However, it is possible that also Augusto will manage to continue with his education since he will try to get a job and study at the same time. In his family, vocational education seems to be valued. Both his father and brother have vocational professions, which is the route Augusto will also pursue.

According to Augusto, a big problem at the boarding facility is the food situation. Augusto describes what they eat in his school and says that the problem is difficult to solve because they depend on World Food Programme (WFP) to deliver the food.

In the morning there is no breakfast. At lunch it's rice and beans which is not enough for a normal portion for everybody. Especially the beans, 4-5 kilos for more than 100 and something people, about 160 people. Often there are no beans and almost no water, which brings a lot of problems. Many get diarrhoea and various illnesses. For dinner it's the same food, everyday the same food. [...] I think that the problem with food in school would be a bit difficult to solve because until this moment, the school depends on World Food Programme, which comes and delivers food. Now we are even grateful that we get food because the beans [from WFP] are finished, and there is just a little bit oil left. So the beans that the people eat now is from money from *chefe de lar* (the head of the boarding facility). It was *chefe de lar* who distributed some money to buy these beans in order to mix with the rice. They don't even separate the beans and the rice, they mix it to last since there is just a little beans.

Augusto's narrative shows that the living conditions at the boarding facility are tough. Augusto does not see a solution to the problematic food in school because the school is depending on WFP for food delivery. From Augusto's narrative, we do not know if the problem is that an international agency is providing the food, or if the problem is simply that the food situation is out of the control of the school, regardless of the provider. It is possible that he would have told a similar narrative if the school depended on the government for food provision. Nevertheless, I think it raises important issues. International donor agencies and NGOs provide service in the area of education. However, as the quote by Augusto shows the food is either not enough or has been delayed, which implies that the assistance is either insufficient or unreliable. Dependency on an external agent in this case has created a sense of

powerlessness. Another important part of the story is that the head of the boarding facility contributed with money for food. This is an illustration that not all teachers are corrupt, some can be the opposite.

6.5 Back in school after having a baby

Selma, 22 years old in Montepuez studies in class 8, the first year of secondary school. Selma grew up with her grandmother and two sisters in one of the neighbourhoods in town. One sister is in primary school and the other is in secondary school. Her mother lives in Pemba where she is working in a shop by the beach and her father lives close to Pemba where he is a peasant. A few years earlier, when Selma was in class 6, she got pregnant and dropped out of school. However, the following year, she was back in school and continued as usual in the afternoon shift. Selma wants to continue to study until she has finished secondary school and then become a midwife. She and her two year old son live together with her grandmother and sisters and Selma takes care of her son without assistance from the father.

As mentioned, according to the education regulation in Mozambique, girls who become pregnant can continue to study after delivering the baby, but they should study in the adult education shift in the evenings. Selma's attendance during the day illustrates that this regulation is not always applied. It is interesting to compare the situation of girls who get pregnant during their studies in Mozambique with the case in Tanzania. Selma could continue with her education after her son was born and the aspiration of becoming a midwife is therefore a possible strategy. However, for Zawadi in Masasi, who was introduced in the previous chapter, this would not be a possible strategy even if she wanted it to be one. Like Selma, Zawadi got pregnant in primary school but she was expelled and was not allowed to come back to school. The father of Zawadi's child was also a primary school student, but he continued with his primary education. It is rare that actions are taken towards the father of the child, although a boy also may be expelled if it can be proved that he is the one who has caused the pregnancy. Selma's and Zawadi's stories show that whether a pregnancy influences educational strategies depends on the country's regulations on the issue.

6.6 Education as an opportunity and a struggle

Moussa, 18 years old dropped out of primary school in class 6 because after his parents had separated, his mother was not able to pay the school costs.

After a while, he enrolled in COBET where he completed the three years and then he sat for the primary school leaving exam (PSLE). Moussa was selected for secondary school. The district council pays the school fees for Moussa and the other students from COBET who had been selected for secondary school, but Moussa and his family are still struggling hard to get him through school. Moussa estimates that the school fees, paid for by the district council, are only about half of the actual costs for going to secondary school. School materials and uniforms have to be covered by the student and Moussa states that in order to succeed in your studies you also need to participate in the extra tuition sessions held during weekends and school holidays, which is an additional cost. When Moussa tells us his life history, he concentrates on education, his greatest concern right now.

Well, I was registered in Std 1 (class 1) when I was 8 years old at X⁵⁵ primary school. I was in school up to Std 4 in 1996 and then my parents took me to the initiation rite. That year, in 1996, I came back and then I went on with school up to 1997. I was then in Std 6 and a miss-understanding occurred in our family, so my parents separated. This led to different problems for me because my mother didn't have enough means to support me since her work was just farming. I dropped out of school and after that I stayed at home helping my mum with different development activities. In 1998, I was supposed to be in Std 7 but I wasn't since I had stopped going to school when I was in Std 6. My colleagues who remained at school did the exams. Some passed while those who didn't came back home. In July 1999, COBET started. This was a programme that wanted to get children who had missed their education or who had not finished Std 7. They said they wanted those aged about 8-18 years. And I was thinking that since I hadn't finished Std 7 and I also had a big ability to study, I went. I registered my name and in July 1999 we started school under the COBET programme. We went on with education and we co-operated with other centres because there were about 10 centres in Masasi, and in Kisarawe (the other initial pilot district in Tanzania) there were also about 10 centres. We cooperated and later on we succeeded. In September 2002 we did the National exams for those who had finished Std 7. Then we waited for the results. On the 17th of December 2002 the results came out and I was informed that my name was there. So I had passed and I was selected to enrol in Form I. I went to see the results for myself and I found my name so I went to inform my parents about it and they said that they would look into it and that they would help me. After that we went [to the District Education Office] to ask because in the very beginning, UNICEF themselves said that if a student from COBET would pass the exam they would get assistance from the government with school fees and other things, but that small things would be taken care of by the parents. So we went and they told us that it's true that they will pay school fees for us but that clothes and other things would be provided by the parents. They gave us a letter and we went with it to Y secondary school where they accepted me and in 2003 I started Form I. Now I have completed the first term at Y secondary school, which is in Masasi District.

⁵⁵ The names of schools have been left out in order to protect the respondents.

The COBET programme is quite well known, not least through UNICEF which has supported the programme. In a number of visits by representatives from ministries and donors, Moussa and the other COBET learners have been given the role of COBET ambassadors. This can be seen in Moussa's narrative in the thorough explanation about the programme. It is also interesting that he refers to UNICEF as the one who sets the rules, despite the rhetoric about ownership, in this case ownership by Masasi District Council and the Ministry of Education and Culture. It should be said that I had met Moussa before, during a study which I conducted on behalf of UNICEF (Helgesson 2001a and b), which may be another reason why he mentions UNICEF. Moussa's narrative also illustrates that the fact that he passed the PSLE, and was selected for secondary school was a very important event for him. He even remembers the date when the results came out and after being informed that he had been selected, he went to see for himself if his name was on the list. Another interesting aspect of the story is that Moussa mentions the initiation rite, which shows that it was an important event in his life.

About his life right now, Moussa says the following:

My life right now is not very good because when somebody is schooling he can have many problems in school and in his home environment with the parents who are trying to help you to get education. Also, when you are a student you don't have any extra time to go somewhere where you can do something to get money which will help you with your needs. So for the basic things you depend on your parents and if anything is needed at school then you have to inform your parents about that. And also parents are... for example my parents are peasants and they depend on farming, seasonal farming. The crops they grow are not to for sale in order to get money, which would help. Also it's seasonal, so it is somehow difficult in life.

Moussa's quote shows that it is not an easy task to be a student in Masasi when you come from a peasant family, where the crops are for family consumption and not for sale. They may have enough food from their *shamba*, but schooling demands cash. At times, Moussa needs new exercise books, a new uniform, tuition and every now and then the students are asked to contribute to the school. His parents find this is difficult to afford and as the quote shows, he does not have much time for economic activities. In order to get money for Moussa's schooling expenses, he and his family members sometimes work as day labourers on other people's *shambas*, for example owned by teachers or employees who can afford to hire casual labour.

The following year when I came to visit, Moussa had completed his first year in secondary school and was now in Form II. However, he and other students from COBET who had advanced to secondary school were facing a major

problem, namely school fees. The district council had paid the school fees for them for the first year, but they had not yet paid for the second year. What was an even more urgent issue was that an additional cost of 10 USD to write the Form II examination had been requested. Moussa and his colleagues from COBET had taken for granted that when the district council had agreed to pay the school fees, this would mean all the school fees, including exam fees, while they were aware that the family had to pay for additional expenses. However, although the district council said that this was not in their budget, they agreed to investigate and see the possibilities to assist. I met Moussa and the others outside the education office where they were waiting for the response from the district council. This was the last day to pay the examination fee and if it were not paid on time, another 5 USD would be added to the fee. Moussa said that maybe if the district council would have told them earlier that they had to pay the 10 USD for the exam, they could have managed to arrange for this but that this was impossible with such short notice. This event clearly demonstrates the small margins that some families have, which puts them in a very vulnerable position. It also shows the urgency of the matter, indicated by the fact that they were waiting outside the office for the decision. Moussa and his colleagues decided to take collective action to push the case and would not leave until a decision had been taken. Fortunately their action was successful and the district council agreed to pay the examination fees.

After Form IV, Moussa hopes to be able to continue to study, but that it will be difficult due to lack of resources:

My dream in life is that after completing Form IV, I hope to continue to study and go on with my studies until I reach the end. But because my parents don't have any means, those who can let me go on with my studies are those who pay for my school fees now (the district council). When they don't do that anymore, it will be the end of my studies. But I hope to get enough education and to get a job so that I can help my parents. I hope to help them after completing my studies. [...] One obstacle which can prevent me from succeeding is my parents' situation. Their life condition is not good and the means of getting money are not very great. And in our family nobody has gone to school so what has happened to me is just luck. Since nobody is educated, there is nobody who can help me and say "after you have passed the exam, we will assist you with money until the end of your studies". No, there is nobody like that in the family.

Moussa's narrative shows that he is dependent on assistance from the district council to continue his studies. If they failed to provide this assistance it would mean the end of his schooling and after Form IV, they have not made any promises to assist Moussa and colleagues. Moussa states that because nobody in his family has studied, this means that nobody has the money to assist him. This is interesting because it shows his perception that human capital

and financial capital are related. To interpret this, one could say that without education, it is difficult to secure an income which enables you to assist others.

Moussa dropped out of school due to financial constraints. According to Moussa, it was pure luck that he was enrolled in COBET and without the scholarship from the district council for the secondary school fees he would not have been able to enrol. An additional cost of 10 USD to write an exam is not easily found for a family like Moussa's, which means that he has to spend days by the district council pushing his case instead of going to school. The insecurity of not knowing if he will be able to find the money or not, whether the school fees will come through this year, next year and the year after, makes it difficult to plan. Moussa's story also shows that your abilities to lobby for your school education are probably more decisive than your performance in the different school subjects.

Another respondent who used to be a student in COBET and who had been selected for secondary school is Sharifa, 18 years old. Unlike Moussa, she had never been to school before enrolling in COBET. Instead of going to school, she had been taking care of the younger children at home. Sharifa grew up with her aunt in a village in Mtwara, the regional capital. When she was 10 years old she moved to her parents in Mikindani, a small town located about 10 km from Mtwara. When Sharifa's father died she moved to live with her paternal uncle who is a peasant in Masasi. Her mother is a peasant and still lives in Mikindani, as do two of her sisters. One is a businesswoman selling coconuts and the other sister is married, implying that she is a housewife, possibly combined with farming. Sharifa also has a brother who does business in Dar es Salaam. A few years after she had moved to Masasi, when she was around 15 years old, COBET was initiated, and she and her cousin who also never had been to school, enrolled. When they had completed the three year programme, both of them sat for the Primary School Leaving Exam and both were selected for secondary school. Attending school has made a difference to Sharifa's life:

L: Can you tell us about your life right now?

S: Yes. My life now is good. It's not like before because then I didn't know how to read and to count. I felt very bad when I was among my friends and they were reading because they were able to read and to count.

L: Mmmh, but now you can read and count?

S: Now I can and I feel good in any group because what my friends know, I know as well.

That Sharifa felt ashamed in the company of her friends for not being able to read and do maths, and this highlights the social pressure for these skills. The norm is that you should be able to read, write and do maths and if you cannot, you will be regarded as ignorant. The fact that Sharifa has acquired these skills is not only about the skills themselves, it is also about self-esteem. As she says, now she feels comfortable in any group. This implies that education is not only about learning things, but linked to identity formation, as emphasised for example by Hagberg (2002).

When I came back to visit the following year, Sharifa and her cousin had been selected for a government scholarship. This is different from the scholarship she used to have from the district council. The government scholarship covers all the school costs, including books, uniform and bus fares to and from school, which makes Sharifa's schooling situation in terms of finances less difficult than Moussa's and puts her in a less vulnerable position than before.

6.7 In school through networks of support

Sharifa and Moussa are two young people who have made it to secondary school through the assistance from Masasi district council, UNICEF and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Other respondents had benefited from networks of support through relatives and family contacts.

Rosalina from Mueda is 22 years old and studies in Montepuez in class 12, the last year of secondary school. Rosalina does not have family in Montepuez, so she stays in a boarding facility by the school. Her father used to be a soldier but now both her parents are peasants. Rosalina has an aunt in Maputo and she is the one who pays for Rosalina's education, although her parents also contribute with some money. A while ago, Rosalina was worried that she would not have enough money to pay for the final exams, but her aunt in Maputo "*sacrificed herself*" and sent Rosalina some money and also her parents were able to send some money. Rosalina is happy that she has been able to continue to study but she says that many other young people are unable to due to lack of funds:

Many don't have this possibility to study because of lack of educational support, to not have the means to get money to be able to study. I am grateful to have this chance through my family, which has the means to make it possible for me to continue to study a bit. I think that many young people face this type of problem of lack of money, and this is why many young people engage themselves in bad things in life. Yes, these are the problems that youth face.

Rosalina has thought about a solution to the problem, namely an education fund for young people from poor backgrounds:

My idea is that if there were a fund to assist poor people, many more young people who don't have the possibility would be able to study, yes. If there would be such an organisation to help youth, yes.

Rosalina raises an important issue. The government scholarships are few and difficult to get. Apart from the government scholarships, there are very few options if you do not have parents or a network of support through relatives or friends with enough money to pay for the school costs. It is however easier in Montepuez than in Masasi to finance your studies on your own, through economic activities besides school. This is made possible through the relatively short school days in Montepuez compared to in Masasi, as well as the lower school fees. As shown in the previous chapter, some of the respondents in Montepuez are engaged in economic activities besides school.

When I came back to Montepuez a year later, Rosalina had completed secondary school and was not in Montepuez anymore. I went to look for her at the boarding facility to deliver her photographs, which I had taken the year before but a student informed me that she had probably gone back to her family in Mueda. To my surprise, Rosalina showed up in Montepuez a few days later. It turned out that she was staying temporarily with a relative in Pemba. She and many other students who had completed advanced secondary school had applied to work as secondary school teachers and they were now waiting to see if their names would appear at the provincial education office in Pemba. While in Pemba she had heard I had been looking for her at the boarding facility so she took the bus to Montepuez to meet me.

When we met, she asked me if I could arrange a university scholarship for her. Rosalina and one of her friends explained that it is extremely difficult to get a university scholarship through the government. They described the process, which appeared to be both long and expensive. First you have to go to the provincial education office to register for the disciplines you would like to study at the university. Most students apply for two disciplines and the registration for each discipline costs 4 USD. Then you have to register to write an exam (6 USD) where you can get up to 10 credits. In theory, the students with the best results are the ones who get the scholarship, but according to Rosalina and her friend, this is not always the case. They expressed that those who end up getting the scholarships may not have written the best exams, but that they have parents with influential relatives.

Rosalina and her friend also informed me about the funding of the scholarships. According to them, the World Bank had given 65 scholarships to be distributed through the provincial education office last year and that representatives from the World Bank would come this year for an evaluation. If the evaluation was positive, they would distribute another 6-10 scholarships this year for studies at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo. Rosalina and her friends said that apart from the World Bank scholarships, Caritas (the development organisation of the Catholic Church) and Helvetas (the Swiss international development agency) distribute scholarships in the Cabo Delgado province for university studies.

Rosalina and her friend seemed to know a lot about the availability of different scholarships and where the scholarships come from. This indicates both that they have checked every scholarship opportunity as well as their awareness of the presence of different donors. Rosalina's story implies that finding funding for university studies is very difficult, unless you have the right contacts. The journey from Pemba to Montepuez which Rosalina and her friend undertook to see me could be seen in this light. To maintain contact with me, a foreigner from Sweden, could by them be perceived as a chance to a scholarship.

The fact that the World Bank has started to fund scholarships for university studies is in line with the poverty reduction strategies. Some bilateral donors have begun to support scholarships in a similar way. For example Sida which in 2003 began to distribute funds for university scholarships to the Niassa province through the Ministry for Higher Education, Science and Technology in Mozambique. These scholarships can be used both for government universities and private universities (Sverkén 5 September 2003). When Rosalina asked if I could help her to arrange a scholarship, I said that the only Swedish funded scholarships I knew about for students in Mozambique were those mentioned above, and that they are distributed through the Ministry for Higher Education, Science and Technology.

Another respondent who has continued to study due to networks of support is Clara in Montepuez. Clara is 16 years old and studies in class 9 in secondary school. She stays in a boarding facility for girls run by Catholic nuns. Her sister is a nun and she took Clara and her younger sister to stay in this place when their mother died. Clara narrates her life history up to the present day:

I was born on the 31st of January in 1987. When I was in class 3, my father divorced my mother and we stayed with my mother. After that, we had many difficulties because my mother was by herself and we were many. It was only my sister, the one who is a religious nun, who was working. But still, because my mother was working

at the health post, she assisted us a lot and we even studied, until 2001. In 2002 we came here. She (her mother) died on the 23rd of June 2002. When we came here to live at the boarding facility we also had difficulties. It was my first year to live in the boarding facility, it was in the yard of nuns and we didn't know the rules. We were already used to play at home so therefore this was difficult. This year these difficulties, most of the difficulties, are already overcome. I'm living well with my sisters here and I am already forgetting a little bit about my mother. It's not like before when I thought about her a lot.

The fact that Clara and her sister got the possibility to continue to study after their mother died was attributed to the network of support through Clara's sister. Being a nun, she has connections with the religious boarding facility in Montepuez. Clara has two brothers in Montepuez who study in secondary school. They rent a house in one of the neighbourhoods and manage on their own. It is regarded as more legitimate for boys than for girls to rent a house or a room, which can explain why Clara's sister wanted Clara and her sister to stay in the boarding facility instead of staying with their brothers. Previous studies show that some families hesitate to let their daughters rent a place to live because they are afraid that the freedom to live alone might tempt them to engage in relationships with boys. Families also consider the risk of exploitation of the girls by the landlord, either through labour or sexual abuse. Therefore, they prefer their daughters to stay with relatives or in a boarding facility where there are strict rules concerning when they are allowed to go out (Helgesson 2000b and 2001a).

6.8 Dropped out of school

As shown in Table 6.2 and 6.4, many of the respondents in Montepuez and Masasi town had either finished their primary education or were still in school. However, as the tables also show, some respondents had dropped out of school and the major reason behind leaving school for the female and the male respondents in both Masasi and Montepuez was lack of financial means.

Isac, 19 years old in Masasi has been working as a wood carver since he was a child, a profession he has been taught by his father. Isac was born in Mueda district in northern Mozambique and moved to Tanzania with his father after he had gone through initiation. Isac has never been back to Mozambique and he has not had any contacts with his mother since he left. Isac lives in the same neighbourhood as his father and stepmother, but in a different house which he is renting for 2 USD per month. He has two younger brothers who live with his father and stepmother and they are both in primary school. Isac also has a son who is 1.5 years old, but the baby lives with the mother. Isac

dropped out of school during the first year and says that the reason for this was that he was more interested in hunting birds with his friends and doing wood carvings than in going to school. Frequently during the interview, Isac emphasises that it is a problem for him that he has not gone to school:

I: I would like to be more educated because I haven't gone to school so I try to follow up on things with my friends who went to school you see. And if possible, I would like it to be the way it is for my friends. So if I follow what my friends do, well, things will go well.

L: If you would get a chance to study, would you do it?

I: Yes I would study because I get difficulties, especially when I get a letter because I fail to understand what it says.

R: You don't know how to read at all?

I: No I don't know. I can't read as other people can and I can only read when the letters are not mixed. I can only read a few words and I do it with a lot of problems. If I start reading one word, it can take me ten minutes until I understand, or five minutes, so it bothers me a lot.

Isac's narrative, like Sharifa's above, shows that he lives in a society where reading and writing skills are necessary in order to handle everyday life and it is perceived as a problem if you do not possess these skills. Isac has heard about COBET, but had thought that it was for younger people. It was too late to enrol in COBET now as it is only for young people up to 18 years old. Isac wants to suggest to leaders to start adult education classes in Masasi:

What I want to say is that they could begin with adult schools. If I would enrol in a course for adults, I want to know at least how to read and write. That's what I really would like, because we don't have it here in our place.

Another respondent who had dropped out of school was Joseph in Masasi. He dropped out of secondary school due to his father's inability to pay for the school costs, even though Joseph's father is a big businessman in Masasi. Joseph's mother cultivates cashew nut trees and she is also working in the cashew nut processing factory in Masasi. Joseph explains what happened with his schooling:

I finished primary school in year 2000. In 2001 I went to see the results and I found out that I had failed. But my father didn't lose hope with me and said it's better that we find another school, even a private school. So I went to Songea X secondary school. I studied there for one year and then I studied for another year, until Form II and I wrote the exam. So I studied there for two years, until Form II. But then my parents... I don't know if it was resources or if they forgot, but he used to pay half the fee, first in January and then in June. Then the school stopped in September and when I prepared myself to join Form III, my father didn't come with the school fees so I had to quit school. I wrote to my father but he said that I should come back to Masasi and that they would find me a school there. But when I came back, my father

got problems because a car hit his house and you can see now that the construction is still going on. Due to this I had to wait and unfortunately my father himself got a bad accident so there was no hope for school this year. So my father gave me some money and with that capital I started over there [with petty business] and that is how my life is now.

Joseph's narrative shows that even families with apparently enough money to pay for the school costs may have financial problems, which directly or indirectly lead to drop-out. The beginning of the story shows that because his father arranged for Joseph to study in a private school, Joseph was able to continue with secondary school although he had failed his primary school leaving exam. However, despite this luck in the beginning, he started facing problems due to circumstances related to his father. A bit later in the interview, Joseph says that he is renting a house because he does not get along with his stepmother. Perhaps his stepmother is part of the reason why he dropped out of secondary school. As shown by Joseph's quote below, she does not want him to study:

My mother and father don't live together. They divorced so my father is living with my stepmother. My stepmother isn't good at all. She is evil with the children and she doesn't want to stay with the children out of marriage. So she gives me problems and even when my father wants to send me to school, she is against it. Other times when I come to visit, she doesn't let me eat and if I tell my father about what she does, he doesn't believe it and he says I'm just trying to cause trouble.

Many of the respondents had parents who had separated and were living with new partners and new children. Several times I heard similar stories to the one Joseph told above, i.e. that the children born into the new family are favoured and that this creates tension. One reason for such conflict could be caused by the harsh economic reality of many families, which forces people to differentiate between their children because they cannot support all equally.

6.9 Difficulties in pursuing education

When Judith, 17 years old in Masasi, had completed primary school in her village, a friend of her father came to the village and brought her to Masasi town to assist with the household chores and this is where she is staying now. Her father is a peasant, but used to work in a bank in Pemba in northern Mozambique, where he met Judith's mother who is a peasant. Judith was born in Pemba and started school here, but soon after that, her parents separated and her father took her with him to Tanzania to live in the village where he is from. Since she left Mozambique, she has never been back to see her mother.

Judith had been selected for secondary school the same year as she participated in the interview. In the first structured interview she said that she really would like to go to secondary school, but that she would not be able to because her father does not have the means to pay for her school fees. She had therefore already excluded secondary education as an option and was now seeing her future as either a nun or a peasant in her home village.⁵⁶ However, when we met for the second interview, Judith had been to the district education office to ask for financial assistance to go to secondary school, perhaps encouraged by our previous interview where Delaide and I had mentioned that the district council distribute scholarships for students from economically poor families.⁵⁷ At the district education office, she had been told that in order to qualify for a scholarship, she has to go back to her village and tell her father to explain to the village leader that he is unable to pay for Judith's school fees. After this, the village leader has to inform the ward officials concerned and then the ward officials have to write a letter to the district council.

Judith followed the advice from the education office and took a bus to her village. She explained to her father what needed to be done and he talked to the village leader. However, then the process halted. She did not manage to get the letter from the ward official because he had travelled for a meeting in Masasi town. I was impressed that Judith had had the courage to go to the district education office to investigate the possibilities for a scholarship. However, Judith's story illustrates a gloomy picture of the long bureaucratic process to claim support. It is a heavy task for a primary school leaver to go through such a process without moral and financial support for journeys and follow-up. In the end, Judith did not manage to get the scholarship from the district council and could not continue with her secondary education despite being selected.

The following year when I came to visit, Judith was still staying with her father's friend in town, doing household chores. This time, she had her hopes up for secondary education again because a private secondary school had opened in town.⁵⁸ Judith had gone to the village to talk to her father about this

⁵⁶ To live in a rural area as an alternative if life does not work out in town is discussed by Andersson (2002) who refers to rural areas as exit options.

⁵⁷ In 2003, 93 girls and 84 boys in Form I-IV in secondary school had financial support from Masasi District Council. In 2003, the government supported 48 female and 23 male students from Form I in Masasi district, which was channelled through the Ministry of Education and Culture; a support which had been initiated the same year. 2003. Benjamin Mkapa, who until 2005 was the Tanzanian president, privately supported 11 girls and 6 boys who enrolled in a new secondary school in his homeward Lipumburu (DEO Masasi 2003).

⁵⁸ The non formal secondary school mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, which was going to operate under the Institute of Adult Education.

new school. Her plan was to continue to stay with the lady because in return for carrying out domestic chores, she could contribute towards the costs for her education but a decision had not yet been made.

While money was a problem for Judith in pursuing her studies, Maria's biggest problem is the unwillingness of her husband to let her study. Maria in Masasi is 23 years old and a secondary school leaver. She is an activist in a youth group which fights HIV/AIDS (referred to in Chapter 4) and she devotes a lot of time to the group as a volunteer, which sometimes involves allowances for training and workshops. Maria really wants to study to become a teacher, but her husband does not approve. Maria becomes very emotional when telling us about her life situation and says that her husband has changed a lot since they met:

M: My husband has become a person who... he doesn't want me to work you see. For example when I have been at the youth centre, sometimes he is so angry and sometimes he beats me.

L: He beats you?

M: Yes, he sometimes beats me and he uses discouraging language you see. He also says that he doesn't want me to go for further studies or to have my own job. And we are at the stage where he says that he doesn't love me like he used to because "you, you really like to look for a job but I don't want you to have a job. I want you to just stay here and be a housewife. That is what I want, I don't want you have a job", you see. "And if you would get a job, I would leave you and find another woman". I have applied for Nachingwea TTC (Teacher's Training College) but he doesn't like it. To tell the truth, he just doesn't like it and he is not ready to pay for any school fees. So now, he doesn't give me any money to use and he is buying everything and brings it. He is so worried that if he will give me money, I will store them for paying fees next year. He has also said that he will not buy anything for here [the house] because he is planning to leave me any time. So, I'm worrying about my life now and I blame myself for getting married.

Although Maria is very sad about the whole situation, she would prefer her husband to divorce her and she has started to look for a job. Maria thinks that the source of the problem with her husband is her dependence on him, a situation which she refuses to accept:

You know, all these problems have come because he has realised that I depend on him. He gives me medicine when I'm sick and I can't eat without him. These problems then force me to find a job and I'm really trying. Apart from that, I have seven chickens. I kept money for a long time and I bought them for 500 Tsh (50 cents) [each]. They were very young, yea, but now they are about to lay eggs. If this project will be going on, if all chickens will be laying eggs, I can pay fees by using this as well as by embroidering.

The following year when I met Maria, she was a student at the teacher's training college. The chicken business had not materialised because her husband had eaten them all. Instead she had managed to raise the funds through the allowance from a seminar in Masasi about HIV/AIDS. Her husband had given her an ultimatum when he found out that she had been accepted to the teacher's training college. "Do you want to study or not?" he had asked her. "Yes!" she had replied. After that, he divorced her and he is now living in their house with another woman. When he divorced her, she did not get a single shilling although she had contributed a lot to the house with her seminar allowances from the HIV/AIDS training that she had undergone a few years ago. However, right now she does not want to get involved in a court case to claim her rights because she wants to concentrate on her studies. Maria's commitment to the youth group and her struggle for education led to divorce, but Maria does not regret the change.

6.10 Conclusion

The stories by the respondents show that there are major differences in terms of educational opportunities and educational experiences. Some of the aspects that determined if and how education is a life strategy, related to economic resources, traditions of education within the family, social class, social capital, gender, corruption, administration and the organisation of education on a national level. While some are sure of pursuing with their studies, others face problems related to their education.

Concerning social class, Paula from a relatively well-off family says that she faces no problems in her studies, receives English tuition and all her siblings are studying on various levels. Moussa on the other hand, suggests that the fact that he is in secondary school is due to luck, because schooling demands cash, which is difficult for his peasant family to arrange. Moussa also refers to the problem that nobody in his family has studied. This indicates the demand for both economic and social capital as well as Bourdieu's concept of habitus as facilitating factors. Some respondents have continued to study because of assistance from relatives and other connections, illustrating the importance of social capital. Others, who seem to be relatively well-off have dropped out of school due to family circumstances such as accidents or frictions due to new family relationships which may result in difficult economic conditions forcing families to differentiate between their children.

When education was discussed by the respondents, aspects of gender were evident in several ways. Some girls do not continue to study due to pregnancy,

but while the school system in Mozambique allows school girls to come back to school after delivery, this is not the case in Tanzania. While Clara and her sister stay in a boarding facility, the brothers stay in a rented house, which can be explained by families being particularly protective of their daughters for example due to risks of exploitation by landlords (Helgesson 2000 and 2001a). Another gender related issue is illustrated by Maria's story, where she links her husband's unwillingness to study, with her efforts to become less dependent.

Issues linked to corruption and education administration were brought up by several respondents as constraints in pursuing education. The respondents were frustrated about the corruption taking place within the education system. Corrupt teachers were referred to in Montepuez, while corruption in relation to scholarships was mentioned by respondents in both Masasi and Montepuez. However, corruption was seen as difficult to deal with and as some of the respondents' stories show, those who do not suffer are those with social capital, such as a brother who is a teacher. Another administrative aspect is that some respondents personally had to deal with misunderstandings and a bureaucratic system. In Judith's case, she did not manage to go through all the administrative steps in order to apply for a scholarship, but Moussa and his friends succeeded to get the examination fee covered by the district administration, possibly through their collective action. These cases also show the importance of, and sacrifices made for education.

The influence in education by international donors was present in the respondents' stories. Moussa presented his narrative as a 'COBET representative' and UNICEF was referred to as setting the rules for COBET, despite the district being the implementer of the programme. Augusto was concerned about the food situation in his school, which raises questions about dependency on external actors and the sufficiency and reliability of those actors. Respondents were also well aware of the influence of donors, displayed for example in relation to the availability of scholarships.

This chapter has also shown that while both Masasi and Montepuez town have greater availability of education compared to in rural areas, access to education differs between the two towns. The disparities are however linked more to the national scale than to the individual towns themselves. In Montepuez, young people can drop out and enrol again while this is not possible in Masasi. The shift system in Montepuez also allows time for other activities, such as petty business or domestic tasks, which for the family often are necessary contributions. Another divergence was that different education levels were emphasised by the respondents in Masasi and Montepuez when difficulties in pursuing education were discussed. While secondary education was the

main concern brought up in Masasi, university education was put forward in Montepuez. An explanation for this could be that secondary education in Montepuez is both more available and more affordable than in Masasi, while university education is out of reach in Montepuez. To continue with further education in Masasi at a secondary education level and in Montepuez on a tertiary level, was ruled out as a life strategy for most respondents. This contradicts the rhetoric of revitalising the education sector beyond primary education. Those with contacts and resources to pay for private education have access while the rest are left with few alternatives. Thus social division is exacerbated between the 'haves' versus the 'have nots'.

Interviews with the respondents indicate that non-enrolment in school means that you are unable to handle everyday life situations such as reading letters. There is also a sense of stigmatisation when you do not know what your friends know, and the fact of learning boosts self-esteem. Hagberg's (2002) point that education is not only about the knowledge in itself, but that it is linked to identity formation is relevant here. Also some young people who are doing business are students at the same time. They may be in school due to the learning process, but I think that another important explanation for their continued interest in schooling is related to a sense of self, of being educated, and this combines with a higher status in society for educated people.

As shown in the previous chapter, if one possesses no primary and secondary education, it means exclusion even from the *chance* of getting 'real' employment, particularly when 'real' employment opportunities are scarce. In the light of the strong education discourse, one can ask what effects increased education will have if no employment opportunities are created? Ishumi and Malekela (1996) discuss the relevance of education in the Tanzanian context and they suggest a demand rather than supply driven education. In their view, because employment opportunities are few, education should prepare young people for self-employment. However, given the vulnerable position of many self-employed youth, self-employment seems unrealistic as *the* solution to young people's livelihoods. If education would be directed towards preparing young people for self-employment, this has to be accompanied with resources in order to make self-employment more secure. But young people who have participated in this study demand more secure livelihoods such as 'real' employment in the public and private sector. The current revitalisation of the education strategy at the national level should therefore be combined with a greater effort to increase opportunities for 'real' employment.

7. MOBILITY, SENSE OF PLACE AND THE LOCAL-GLOBAL INTERFACE

7.1 Introduction

Global influences are present in the lives of young people in Masasi and Montepuez. Global goods and information are available and provided not least through informal economy activities, in urban as well as rural areas. The deregulation of the economy in Mozambique and Tanzania, enhanced through the implementation of the structural adjustment programmes has therefore facilitated globalisation, and changes can be seen in urban as well as rural places.

A number of youth studies have been conducted where local-global relations are central. Global economic restructuring has been found to influence young people in diverse spatial contexts such as New York and rural Sudan (Katz 1998). Fuglesang (1994) shows how Western, Indian and Middle East cultures are creolised in female youth cultures on the Kenyan coast and Liechty (1995) states that global tourism, development aid, and production for a global commodity market have formed a new urban experience for young men in Kathmandu. While many studies focus on large cities, town contexts have been less researched. In this chapter, I examine how global processes are involved in young people's daily lives in the towns of Masasi and Montepuez, and how the young people relate to these. I also examine how young people perceive their town in comparison with observations about other places through mobility experiences and other sources of information.

7.2 Young people in Masasi and Montepuez – going global?

7.2. The capital cities and the small towns

There have been big changes in the capital cities of Tanzania and Maputo during the last ten years. There are now internet cafés, several mobile phone operators, new shopping malls, exclusive shops, bars and restaurants have opened and new houses and hotels are being built. Those who frequent these places are professionals from Tanzania/Mozambique and other countries, many who work for international companies and aid organisations. Many of the jobs that have been created are in the service sector and to some extent in other sectors such as in construction and mining. However, compared to countries in Asia where transnational corporations have located manufacturing industries, this has not been the case in Tanzania and Mozambique.

Some people have benefited from the economic development but the gap between ‘the haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ has increased and many people have become marginalised. While some people make thousands of US dollars per month, many people make less than one dollar per day. The geographic division of the world into rich and poor countries has been replaced by a social division which cuts across geographic regions, as put forward both by Castells (1998) and Hoogvelt (1997). Castells (1998) makes a distinction between *space of flows* and *space of places*. While the elite spends time in a space of flow that follows a global logic, the people who are off the global network live their life in a space of places, which follows a local logic. According to Castells, physical and social bridges between these types of spaces are needed. If not, the distance between the elite and the ordinary population will grow even wider. Mr Alí, District Executive in Montepuez, states that there is a new kind of illiteracy, namely information technology illiteracy:

[...] education is the sector which absorbs the category of youth the most, as teachers but also through training to have a level of being capable to control technology. The technology in the world, today the world does not feel bad only about illiteracy because there are various types of illiteracy. A person may through education break away from the traditional illiteracy and know how to read and write but not have any education in terms of being able to control technology, today’s information technology (Mr Alí, district leader, Montepuez).

Mr Alí’s quote raises questions about a global world and to what extent Montepuez and Masasi are part of global processes. What can be seen in terms of information technology in Masasi and Montepuez and in what ways are processes of globalisation part of the lives of young people in these towns?

7.2.2 Mobile phones, global culture and power relations

The access to information technology was limited in Masasi and Montepuez during the time I did the major part of the fieldwork in 2003. In Masasi, there had been a company providing computer courses, but it had recently closed down. It had charged about 50 USD per month and this was where Furaha had attended her course. Internet was not available in Masasi, but in 2005, I was informed by my colleagues that the local NGO umbrella MANGONET (Masasi NGO Network), which is supported by the Irish NGO Concern, had started with internet service for a charge of 1 USD per hour. In Montepuez there was a computer centre located to one of the classrooms in the central primary school, run by the Danish organisation ADPP. They did not have internet connection, but gave courses in how to use the internet and the fee was 42 USD for a three months’ course. At the teacher’s training centre in

Montepuez, there was a computer room for the students, a project realised through the NGO Africa Groups of Sweden. Regarding the availability of internet for the public, one computer with internet connection had recently been installed at TDM (Telecomunicações de Moçambique) and they charged around 2 USD per hour. If the fees for the computer courses and the internet are compared to the daily income of many young people, shown in Chapter 6, they are very high.

During the fieldwork in 2003, the first mobile phone network became available in Masasi as well as in Montepuez. In May 2003, Celtel, arrived in Masasi and in October the first mobile phone provider mCel became available in Montepuez. In a very short time after the launch, many people could be seen walking around with mobile phones and refill phone cards became big business. It is interesting that mobile phone operators established themselves within a few months in both Masasi and Montepuez, towns in different countries. Does this say something about globalisation, i.e. that the time was ripe for small towns to get ‘connected’?

When I came back the following year, entrepreneurs whose livelihood had been to provide landline telephone service had gradually lost their customers due to the arrival of mobile phones. Although not everybody could afford to buy a phone, many people had access to a phone through a friend or a relative for sending messages, which was cheap compared to making a phone call. Some of the respondents had a mobile phone. Mohamed in Masasi had bought one in Dar es Salaam when he had gone there for business and Furaha in Masasi had bought a phone on credit through her office and she was paying off 10 USD every month. Augusto in Montepuez also had a phone and Selemane in Montepuez was carrying around a calculator which looked like a mobile phone.

The arrival of mobile phones clearly demonstrated a rift between those who want to have a mobile phone and can afford one and those who cannot. The following year when I came back to visit, theft of mobile phones was a big issue in both Masasi and Montepuez. Mobile phones are valuable because of the status it confers and it is therefore easy to sell a phone illegally at a lower price than in the shops. One of the young people who had participated in the study had been arrested for mobile phone theft. He told us that a friend of his had stolen a mobile phone from somebody and then managed to sell it for a lot of money. Later when the friend was distributing some money to his friends, the police turned up and they had all been arrested.

Mobile phones were the most obvious means of communication which I related to a global culture. Other expressions were music videos, films and soap operas, many which were produced abroad. Many young people, especially men, also followed international football matches. Real Madrid and Manchester United were popular teams and for the local teams, the names were often internationally inspired, such as Real Madrid and Porto. It was interesting to study how young people were dressed in Masasi and Montepuez. Most people bought their clothes second hand at the market. The chain which these clothes go through is indeed global. The clothes may be produced in Asia, used in Europe and then given to charity organisations. They are then sent to cities like Dar es Salaam and Maputo where they are sold in bales to business people who bring them to towns like Masasi and Montepuez. Here, they are re-sold and re-used. Some young people also buy new clothes in addition to the second hand clothes. In Masasi, new clothes are called “fashion”, which illustrates the distinction made between second hand clothes and new clothes. These clothes have also gone through a global chain. They have been produced in Asia or in the Middle East and come to Masasi and Montepuez often via Dar es Salaam or Zanzibar.

As Massey (1998) points out, power relations are embedded in social relations. Massey’s example of the power relations demonstrated when a working class youth in Guatemala wears a t-shirt with an American logo, compared to when a middle class youth in the USA puts on something produced in Guatemala can be compared to examples from this research. A youth in Masasi or Montepuez who wears something from the second hand shop has a different experience to that of a young person in Sweden who wears a dress made out of material which she or he has bought in Tanzania or Mozambique. Through the clothes, the Swedish youth expresses that he or she has travelled around the world. In contrast, it is the *clothes* of the Tanzanian or Mozambican youth which have travelled around the world, not the person. However, the young person in Tanzania and Mozambique would not just buy any t-shirt in the second hand shop, i.e. they are negotiating their identity by choosing a t-shirt which suits their style. The style may have global influences, through for example music videos, but it is negotiated locally. It may be a t-shirt with an image of a famous rapper, a t-shirt with an anti-America message, a football t-shirt with the Brazilian players or a t-shirt with a famous logo. But despite the fact that both the Swedish youth and the Tanzanian/Mozambican youth select their clothes, power relations are involved.

Another aspect of the presence of global cultures in Masasi and Montepuez is the occurrence of fashion shows. During my fieldwork, Miss Tanzania⁵⁹ participants were showing fashion wear at the New Millennium Pub in Masasi. In Montepuez there was a fashion show with dance performances. These were exclusive events because the entrance fee was several US dollars and outfits shown on the catwalk were typically associated with Western style such as short skirts, bikinis and gala dresses. However, while global cultures are present in Masasi and Montepuez, the towns are disconnected from the production process of globalisation. Young people are consuming global goods and selling products produced on the global market, but as shown in Chapter 5, respondents state that they wish that foreign companies would invest in their town to provide employment opportunities. This implies a feeling of exclusion from the process of globalisation in terms of work. While consumption patterns are increasingly becoming homogenised, ‘the global shift’ of production has been concentrated to some regions (Dicken 2003). Like Mozambique and Tanzania, most Sub-Saharan African countries have so far largely been excluded from this process.

7.3 Migration and travel experiences

7.3.1 Mobility experiences quantified and summarised

Many of the respondents have migration experiences and there is a similar migration pattern among the respondents in Masasi and Montepuez. Figure 7.1 and 7.2 show how many times the respondents who participated in the structured interviews have moved. About half the respondents in Masasi and almost half the respondents in Montepuez have migrated once and the second largest group of respondents in both towns has never moved. Ten respondents in Masasi as well as in Montepuez have migrated twice and a few have moved 3-4 times.

⁵⁹ Miss Tanzania is a yearly competition where representatives from all over the country participate. The girl who is awarded the Miss Tanzania title wins a sum of money, a car and other things and for a year she participates in various events. Miss Tanzania represents Tanzania in the Miss World competition.

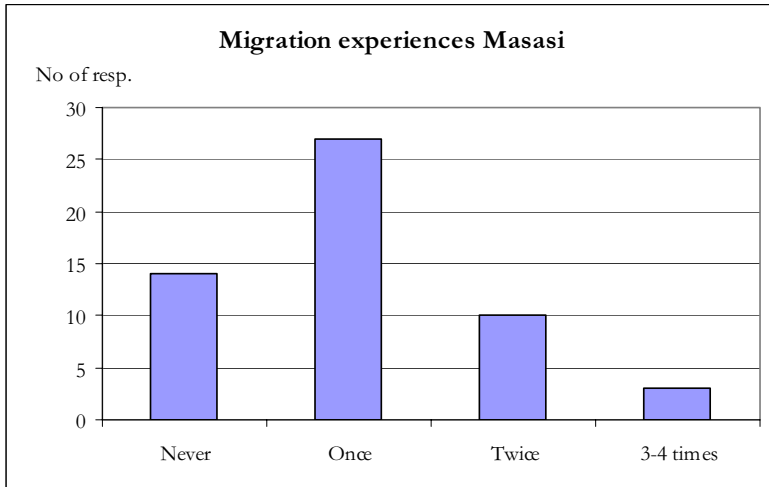


Figure 7.1: Migration experiences among the 54 respondents in the structured interviews in Masasi.

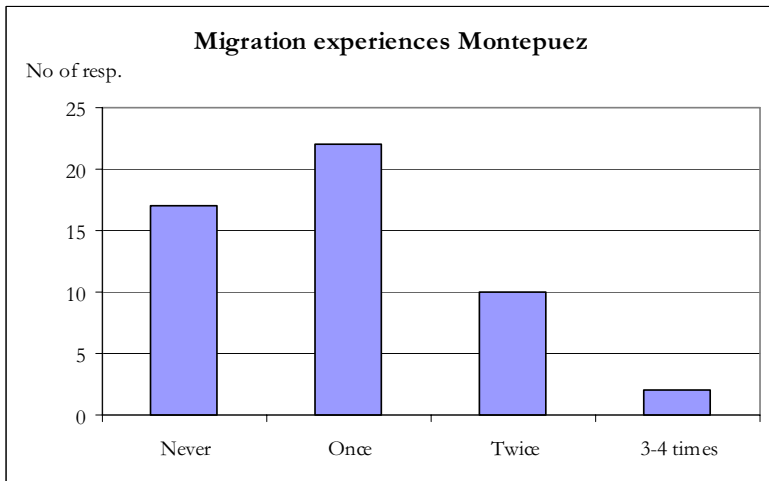


Figure 7.2: Migration experiences among the 51 respondents in the structured interviews in Montepuez.

Also the character of the migration is similar between Masasi and Montepuez. Most migration experiences are local, either within the district or within the region. There were few cross-border experiences among the respondents. Two of the Masasi respondents had moved to Masasi from northern Mozambique and one respondent in Montepuez had moved from Tanzania.

Among the 40 respondents with migration experiences in Masasi, 14 had made their latest migration experience together with family members. The rest had moved alone to stay with family members, to study, to work or to search for livelihood opportunities such as business. Among the 34 respondents with migration experiences in Montepuez, half of them had made their last move together with family members and half of them had moved alone. Among those who had moved alone, a majority had come to Montepuez to study but some had also moved to work or to do business. In some cases, in Masasi as well as in Montepuez, the respondents had been called for or been fetched in the village by a relative in town who needed somebody in the household or help with their business. Some had also been fetched people who were not relatives, such as one of the respondents who had been fetched from the village by a lady she did not know in order to come and work in her saloon. This shows that people who live in town go to the villages, typically their home village, to look for employees.

The migration pattern that many respondents demonstrated within the district and region was valid also for travel experiences. The most common reason for travelling to other places was to visit relatives. Some had gone to other places due to their livelihood activities, e.g. for business or to cultivate on the family *machamba/shamba*. A few mentioned that they had travelled for sports events through school and to participate in youth meetings. Some journeys of the respondents had taken place because they had something important to tell their family members. To travel for tourism was mentioned by very few respondents and these were young people from middle-upper-class backgrounds in Montepuez.

7.3.2 Sense of place through mobility experiences - buildings, functions and livelihoods

Through their mobility experiences, they are able to compare Masasi/Montepuez with the other places they have been to. Thus, mobility experiences contribute towards forming a sense of place. Zawadi in Masasi and José in Montepuez compare their towns with other places in terms of buildings. Zawadi has been to the regional capital Mtwara many times and travelled to Tunduru, a neighbouring region to visit her sister. When comparing Tunduru to Masasi, she says that they are similar but that “*In Mtwara they have built a lot, different from Masasi*”. Mtwara is a large, planned town with many official buildings and I think that Zawadi is referring to the structure of the town and these buildings when she says that they have built a lot. José often goes to a village where his mother has a *machamba* in order to help her with the cultivation. José has been to Namuno and Balama, two neighbouring dis-

tricts many times and he knows Namuno very well because his father lives there. When José compares Namuno and Balama with Montepuez he says: “*There, [in Namuno and Balama] they don’t have electricity, and the markets are not of iron sheets, they are of hay, that’s it.*” Electricity and iron sheets are indicators of higher standard and are seen more often in town than in rural areas.

Rosalina in Montepuez has migrated several times because her father used to be in the military and had to travel a lot within the Cabo Delgado region. The last time she moved was to Montepuez to be able to continue with advanced secondary education. Apart from the provincial capital Pemba, Montepuez is the only place where advanced secondary education is provided. Rosalina compares different places within the region in terms of livelihood activities and religion:

There are differences between Balama and here [in Montepuez] of course. Here is a place which is a bit more developed than there, also compared to Mueda (where her parents live). In Moçimboa da Praia people dedicate themselves very much in fishing and the majority of the population are Muslims, yes, while in Mueda many people engage themselves in the field and have *machambas*. In Pemba, the majority relies on work to be able to earn some money to sustain themselves, yes. Here in Montepuez, half the population engage themselves in work while the other half engages themselves in the field, yes.

Maria in Masasi has many mobility experiences. She grew up in a village in Nachingwea which is close to Masasi but it belongs to Lindi region. From Nachingwea she moved to Masasi with her family and then they lived in northern Tanzania for a few years because her father was transferred because of his work. Maria has travelled within and outside the region to visit relatives, for volleyball and basketball competitions through school and to participate in trainings and workshops about HIV/AIDS. In the following narratives, she compares Masasi with the other places she has been to:

M: In Songea, I learnt one thing: manners. [interruption because I first do not understand the Kiswahili word for manners]. And I also learned about women over there, that they really like to do activities. They carry big baskets of tomatoes on their heads, you see, going to the market. The market is full of women who sell things. She is selling coconut, she is selling spinach, she is selling something... You see! I learnt that in Songea. Young people too, all the time they are doing activities, using their strength to find money. Here in our place, many young people just sit and wait for the cashew nut season to do their business, in October to December. At this time you can find youth over here working hard. This is the time to find money and this is the time to find development. This is different from in other places. And in other places you can find that a woman has a big shop and she says “this is my shop” and she has a big house, maybe a guesthouse, and cars and she says “these are mine”. You see? so I learn that.

L: What about in Arusha?

M: In Arusha, I saw it too, very much in town, people are working very hard and if you pass by a bar, you can find a girl or a woman in who is making *mshikaki* (meat on a stick, which is a male dominated activity) to get money.

M: I learnt many things in Dar es Salaam. For example I visited many places and I went to one place... in Temeke where there is some kind of council... It's a women's group, you see, the way they were working together! You could find a group where members paid 5,000 Tsh (5 USD) and when you have a problem, they help you. For example, let's say that I'm staying in Dar es Salaam but my home is Masasi and I get a message that my mother is dead. They will help me with money to travel to Masasi to attend the funeral and go back to Dar es Salaam. This made me very happy, this kind of women's group. Then they have many many businesses, for example they have rice which they fry and colour and then sell for 10 Tsh to get money and they put it in the basket for their group. In Dar es Salaam I saw women staying together making embroidering and then they sell it and get good money.

L: What about at Mtwara?

M: I have seen women cooperating in their business. I can see that women are waking up now. If you go to the beach you'll find many women from for example Nachingwea and other places who go there to buy fish. Then they get on the bus and go back to sell it. But also women from Mtwara buy and sell fish in the street and at the market and they make good money. This made me happy, different from Masasi. If it exists here in Masasi, I haven't seen it.

As Maria's narratives shows, she emphasises aspects of gender and generation in her stories and finds other places more progressive. In her view, young people and women are more economically active in other places and she gives examples of women's empowerment, e.g. they organise themselves, own shops and cars and they engage themselves in traditionally male livelihoods. The places she refers to are larger urban places but she states that women in smaller towns like Mtwara "*are waking up now*", which suggests that she finds a transformation is taking place towards greater participation of women. For Maria this has been a strengthening experience which she may use to try to achieve change.

Joseph in Masasi studied in Songea for a few years and he has travelled to Mtwara many times to help his father transport cashew nuts and he has also been to Dar es Salaam to visit relatives. He makes the following comparisons between Masasi and the other places he has been:

L: What's the difference between Masasi and for example Mtwara-Masasi, Dar es Salaam-Masasi, and maybe Songea-Masasi?

J: If I start with Dar es Salaam and Masasi, there is a big difference. Dar es Salaam is a big city with a lot of people, while Masasi is just a district town, so there are a lot more people, business and factories in Dar es Salaam. It's easy to get a job because it is the capital and not like here in a district.

L: What about between Mtwara and Masasi?

J: In Mtwara, life is much better compared to Masasi. Maybe because of the ocean, which attracts tourists, so big hotels are being built. For instance when you go to Mikindani, you'll find the ruins where the slaves were put. So things like that.

Joseph refers to Dar es Salaam as a place of opportunity, while this is not how he describes Masasi, which is "*just a district town*". In Joseph's view, Mtwara has a comparative advantage because of the beach and its history because both these elements attract tourists. Mikindani is an old town about 10 km from Mtwara which used to be an important port for trade from as early as the 14th century.

7.3.3 *Business as a driving force for mobility*

Some male respondents have travelled a lot due to their business, like Mohamed in Masasi and Selemane in Montepuez. No female respondent said that they had travelled for business and I think that one of the reasons for this is that women often do other kinds of businesses, such as cooking food rather than conducting business with commercial goods. Mohamed was born in Masasi town and his family lives on the outskirts of the town. Through his business, he has been to many places. For example he used to go to Songea and Mbeya for business to buy beans and potatoes and he frequently goes to Dar es Salaam to buy goods, mainly second hand clothes. Therefore, his business is the driving force for his mobility. He makes an interesting comparison between Masasi and Dar es Salaam.

L: How would you compare Dar es Salaam and Masasi ?

M: Dar es Salaam and Masasi. Dar es Salaam is nicer, but Masasi is better for business.

L: Aaa, so better?

M: Yes, because a lot of people go to Dar es Salaam to get goods for making business in the regions. So Dar es Salaam is a good place to get business, but not for doing business. You see?

[...]

L: What about for living?

M: Masasi is nicer for living.

At the same time as Dar es Salaam illustrates the bright lights of the city, the competition is tough. Accommodation is expensive in the capital, so it is easier to get a cheap, nice room or house in Masasi. These are possible reasons why Mohamed finds Dar es Salaam good for *getting* business, while Masasi is better for *doing* business.

Selemane was born in Montepuez but for five years he lived with one of his sisters in Pemba. As for Mohamed, his business has taken him to other places. Before Selemane started selling second hand clothes at the market, he used to go to the neighbouring district Balama to buy goats and bring them to the city Nampula. Nampula is the third largest city in the country and reasonably accessible by bus from Montepuez, a journey that takes 6-8 hours. When he compares different places he says:

S: There are many differences because Nampula is city (*Nampula é cidade*). It is city and the businessmen in Nampula go and buy things and they don't suffer. They buy in the warehouse and then they go straight to sell it outside. And we are suffering here because we don't have any warehouses. A person has to get on a bus, pay for transport, go to Nampula, buy his goods, go and sell, bring that money and return there again.

L: What about Pemba?

S: In Pemba, it's not that much. A person goes and buys, there is just one warehouse, which is in the Baixa (an area of town). A person goes to buy and then goes to sell. Many people in Pemba do that. Some people go to Tanzania to buy, those who have more money you know, yes.

Selemane's quote illustrates that it is easier to do business in Nampula than in Montepuez, while Pemba is not as good because there is only one warehouse, which implies more expensive goods and less choice. Selemane's quote also illustrates that there are business people who go to Tanzania to buy goods, but that the business people who do this are those with more money. It is more expensive to go to Tanzania than to Pemba and Nampula, so although the goods are cheaper in Dar es Salaam, a business person has to buy a lot in order to make the trip worth while. Therefore, the more established business people tend to cross the border for trade.

Pedro in Montepuez has never migrated, but for one month a few years ago, he went to the regional capital Pemba to help his uncle with his business. When he compares Pemba with Montepuez, he says that it is easier to make money in Pemba. While Selemane's narrative showed differences between places in terms of getting goods, the quote from Pedro highlights the differences between various places in terms of customers. In his view, people have more money in Pemba than in Montepuez:

There are differences. Here [in Montepuez] there is poverty. It still exists... because there [in Pemba] I can sit down and happily get money. Now, here [in Montepuez], there is no money. If you do business here, you will not get money.

7.3.4 Going on holiday

Only two respondents mentioned that they had travelled for holiday, namely Paula and Osvaldo in Montepuez. Both Paula and Osvaldo are middle class youth, which is also mirrored in their travel experiences. While the other respondents have gone to other places to visit relatives, for business and for work, Paula and Osvaldo, in addition to that, also mention recreational aspects like the beach, cinemas and cafés. Paula often goes to Pemba and Nacala and thinks that there is a big difference between these places compared to Montepuez. *“There is a big difference! There, there is beach, many cars and the city is much bigger than Montepuez.”* Osvaldo says the following about his travel experiences:

I have already been to Pemba. I went there because I like the environment in Pemba, I went to see the beach. I also went to Nacala, also because I liked the environment there. I went to Nacala last year. I went there first of all because my brother was working there. I arrived and I liked the environment and I would like to go back there again. I have also already been in Nampula, for many years, many years and there are always times when I go there. I like Nampula a little bit, the environment there. I don't like it very much because what attracts me more here in society, a little, is the beach!

When Osvaldo compares the places he has travelled to with Montepuez, he says that Montepuez is less well developed and he uses recreation as an example.

L: These places that you already know about and have been to, how are they different from Montepuez?

O: For example about development, Montepuez is very little developed and there, they are more developed. I also liked... Here in Montepuez there is little entertainment, it's very little entertainment. For example for me, it's just sports and a few times to drink, and a few times also to go to the disco. There is no café, there is nothing to amuse oneself with. No cinema or anything, it's just to sit at home. While outside, for example when I arrive in Pemba, I go to visit the beach, and there I play basketball, I play volleyball. For example, I usually participate in a volleyball championship and basketball, which we don't have here. There I have... I go to cinemas, to cafés, I usually go and here there is none.

As illustrated in this section, the respondents often compare places in terms of livelihood activities, structure, size and development. In their stories, larger towns or cities are perceived as places with more opportunities in terms of businesses or jobs. Towns of a similar size to Masasi and Montepuez are similar in function and livelihood activities, but when compared to more rural districts, Masasi and Montepuez are considered to be more developed.

7.4 Information about places where you have never been

7.4.1 “It’s better to see than to hear”

This section covers images of places which the respondents have heard about but never been to. What I found especially striking was that many respondents said that they *know* only the places where they have been to themselves, i.e. the places from where they have had first hand experiences. Other places, they have “*just heard of*”. Even if they listen to information about other places or countries on the radio or watch it on TV, they say that they do not know them because they have not been there. I had the same experience concerning this in both Masasi and Montepuez. This is interesting because this is connected to mobility, or perhaps the opposite, immobility.

“*I don’t know because I have never travelled much*” says Selma in Montepuez and a bit later during the conversation:

S: I use to hear about South Africa, America, Europe, Tanzania, Japan...

L: What do you know about these countries?

S: (silence)

L: What do you know about America?

S: I don’t know anything, I just hear them talking on the radio, but I don’t know because I have never been (*nunca chegeti*).

Mohamed in Masasi thinks that to see for yourself provides more reliable information:

M: I hear but it’s better to see than to hear.

L: What have you heard?

M: I’ve heard that Europe is a very nice place, you see, but I don’t know if Europe is nice because I haven’t been there, you see. But I know that life is good. If only you have money, then every place is nice. We here have no money, so we say that the place is not good. But if we had money, Tanzania is not a bad place.

Mohamed’s discussion about a good life is interesting. He relates a good life with money and life would be good in Tanzania if people had money, or perhaps, Tanzania is a good place for those who have money. Another respondent, Irene in Montepuez, also says that she does not know anything about the places she has never visited, but her narrative shows the opposite – that she in fact has made an analysis of the situation of marginality in Maputo. While comparing Maputo with Montepuez she touches upon issues like the anonymity of the big city versus a more intimate atmosphere in Montepuez and states that in Maputo, they would only try to find out what has happened if an important person has been killed:

I: I've heard that Maputo is full of marginality. I even watched this thing, the Carlos Cardoso⁶⁰ trial, and I saw that there is really a lot of marginality, yes.

L: How do you know about this?

I: Because I saw things which were on TV. For example, people beat somebody up in the city and stole jewellery, earrings, but nobody, like, came to help, and these people they were doing this in the open. Nobody helped, passed by, didn't assist, no nothing. But here [in Montepuez], if for example somebody here is being robbed of their jewellery, somebody would come and help, they would ask the person what happened, but there [in Maputo], they don't do this. Somebody could have been killed, but they would just leave it, just like that. But if it was somebody important, like this Carlos Cardoso, they would try to find out, yes.

An interesting aspect of globalisation was put forward by Isac in Masasi:

L: Is this the first time you hear about Sweden?

I: Well, it's not my first time to hear that there is a country called Sweden. It's not my first time, but I don't make a deep follow up about that *bwana* because I don't expect to go there in my life. To go there you need money so I can't say that I will go to Sweden while there is no money. That's why I don't think about that. [...] When I watch ITV⁶¹, I go to watch specific programs, like the news. I want to know about things that have happened in other countries. After that I go away. Some things I catch but some things I forget right there, so things are like that.

Isac has heard about Sweden, but because he knows he will never afford to go there, he does not really bother to get to know things about it. However, at the same time, he is interested in finding out what is happening in different countries. We learn through experience and interaction, but the difference between Isac and for example youth in Sweden is that many Swedish youth can afford to travel to other countries. The possibility of travel to a place may make it more relevant to search for information about it. Isac has access to information about many different places through for example radio and TV, but while the information about different places is within reach, the actual places are not.

7.4.2 Somebody who has been – a valid source of information

While some young people said that you have to have been to a place in order to know about it, others think that a valid source of information can be ob-

⁶⁰ Carlos Cardoso was a well-known journalist and editor of *Metical*, an independent newspaper in Mozambique, who was murdered in year 2000 while investigating a case where millions of US dollars disappeared from a government owned bank.

⁶¹ ITV is a TV channel in Tanzania.

tained by talking to somebody who has been to a place. Selemene in Montepuez has heard about Malawi and Tanzania through fellow businessmen:

L: What do you know about other countries, outside of Mozambique?

S: Outside of Mozambique, I don't know well. Just that Malawi, I use to send for things when... it's a businessman who usually goes there, Hussein, I think you know him, right? Yes, he usually goes to Malawi and we give him money to buy things for us and he returns. He says that when he goes to Malawi, he is suffering, you see? To bring goods to Mozambique is a problem.

L: What about other countries that you heard about?

S: Not yet, because I usually just hear. And I haven't met anybody who has talked to me well.

L: But which countries have you heard about?

S: I just hear. They haven't spoken to me yet. I just hear. I use to hear that there, like what I said, in Tanzania... We also send for things in Tanzania, through those people who go there. We send for *capulanas*, bed sheets, trousers, through them who go there and they buy for us and here we buy them and sell. I can't say anything about South Africa, I haven't yet heard things about South Africa, because I just heard people talking about South Africa.

L: What did you hear them say about South Africa?

S: I haven't heard anything yet. I haven't heard anything, because you need to be interested and bring those people who arrived, just tell them "as a friend, in South Africa, do people live well there or?" Yes, that's better.

Selemene has not been to Maputo, but he knows about business in Maputo through his business colleagues.

About Maputo? For us business people, there are good things there, but it's far. A person with 1,500,000 (63 USD), return 3,000,000, it's expensive. Now, a person who has 3,000,000 or 2,000,000, will he reach Maputo to buy things? *Nada*. This person who goes, buys things [in Maputo] and sells here.

Maputo is very far away from Montepuez. The journey takes several days by road and as Selemene's quote shows, it is costly to go there. If you do not have a lot of money to buy goods, you buy your goods in a nearby town or city, even if the profit is less. Selemene illustrated this relationship also in the previous section with Tanzania as an example, i.e. that some business people who do business on a larger scale in Montepuez go to Tanzania to get their goods.

7.4.3 "They are sure about life"

When the respondents talk about places outside of Tanzania and Mozambique, quite a few refer to the USA and some mention countries like South Africa, Brazil and England. The image they have of these places is mainly that

they are developed and different from Tanzania and Mozambique. For example George in Masasi has heard that the living standard is better in other countries:

G: What I know about other countries outside of Tanzania is that the standard of life is high if you compare to our life here. And I have seen that, for example in Europe, they have a good life. People live well, places to sleep are good, transport is good, and drinks etc., and they are sure about life.

L: What countries?

G: (laughs). We here like America very much. What we know is that America is the best place.

That George says that people in Europe are “*sure about life*” is interesting. He is thus stating that people in Tanzania are not sure about life. This could be related to the findings in previous chapters, which highlighted how the life situation of many of the respondents is embedded in insecurity and therefore they are vulnerable. Dário in Montepuez, who would like to live in America or England in the future, says that both America and England are developed countries. “*Yes, I heard [people] saying that there, there are developed countries. Capable of solving an issue, you see?*”

Among the respondents in Montepuez, many referred to ‘city’ (*cidade*) as something which involves opportunities and development. This is illustrated in the conversation with Celina:

C: I hear about there in America, and you auntie are there in Sweden (*Suécia*) (laughs), from Switzerland (*Suíça*).

L: Sweden.

C: I hear just like that, like in Portugal, yes.

L: What did you hear about America and Portugal?

C: City, just that there is city (*Cidade, só que lá é cidade*) over there, there is life, yes.

L: What kind of life?

C: Stay well, have possibilities, that there is life.

L: And how did you find out about this? Was it through people or was it on the radio?

C: They talk about city (*cidade*) on the radio, people who have been there talk, but I never heard about Sweden.

L: You never heard about Sweden?

C: About Sweden, never.

L: And how are... what did you hear about differences between Mozambique, Portugal, America?

C: There are differences because people there in America don’t sit around just like that without working, they don’t sit down just like that without having anything which can help them in life. Here in Mozambique, almost a majority are sitting at home without doing anything. Over there, no. As soon as a child is born, somebody

who is pregnant gives birth and gets registered. Right there starts to receive money from the government. Here I've never heard about that, I don't know about others.

Celina's comparison between America and Mozambique is interesting, both because she says that people in America are working while many people in Mozambique do not, probably referring to employment. It is also interesting that she compares the countries in terms of government support for children, something which she has never heard about in Mozambique.

Moussa in Masasi compares Tanzania with other countries in terms of resources and development. America is one of the examples:

Differences with those countries are that some countries are very rich and many of their citizens are working and they have good resources for development, like in America where the country is developing. For example in America, there are many industries and many people over there are employees and the farmers use tractors and good tools for cultivating. So I have come to realise that there are countries who don't cultivate using hoes like in Tanzania, they use tractors. So that's a difference between Tanzania and other countries.

Joseph in Masasi watches music on Channel 5 (music channel in East Africa) and says that this is how he knows for example about South Africa and America and he would like to be famous like American hip-hop artists such as Nelly. According to Joseph, it is not possible to compare Tanzania and South Africa:

South Africa and Tanzania, you can't compare them, because first of all, their economy is very strong. Also the environment and life is very different from Tanzania, because Tanzania is a small country compared to South Africa. In South Africa, they have a modern life style (*maisha ya kisasa*), different from us in Tanzania. People go to school and they have their education, so things like that.

Many respondents appear to have internalised the image of Tanzania and Mozambique as poor, underdeveloped countries compared to countries like America, England and South Africa. An event occurred during the research which illustrates that some young people see themselves as inferior in comparison with youth in other countries, such as Sweden. This event took place when I asked Deborah in Masasi if she would like to take part in a video filming session together with some of her friends. She was positive about the idea, but when she asked her friends they said that they did not want to participate because they were afraid it would be shown on TV and that people in Sweden would laugh at them.

However, it is not only in positive terms that the respondents talk about countries like America. The fieldwork was conducted when the war in Iraq had just started and some of the respondents brought up the war when they talked about other countries, like Irene in Montepuez:

I: There outside of Mozambique there has been *a lot* of war until now. We here are resting from war from one side to the other, but there in other countries there are a lot of things that they up to now are fighting about.

L: Which countries?

I: For example I watched a matter there in America, where they are going to war and until now they are fighting just as hard.

As shown in this section, many respondents glorify life in the USA and in other western countries. What is signified by young people's perception of a good life as a western life? In times of globalisation, when access to information about other spatial contexts is greater than before, what are the possibilities of developing different futures in relation to the context space in which young people act? What does it mean in countries that are largely dependent on so called 'developed' countries through development aid? It could mean that they distance themselves from organising their life in other, locally specific ways.

7.4.4 Far away but close – and close but far away

Many young people in Montpuez have a closer relation to Brazil and Portugal than to countries geographically closer to Mozambique. An important explanation to this is the colonial legacy for example in terms of language and food culture. Many of the TV programmes shown in Mozambique are produced in Brazil and Portugal. The question of language seems to regulate the relations with the world beyond the experienced place.

Paula in Montepuez knows about Brazil through TV: "*Other places... they say that Brazil is beautiful and that it is a big city, it has beautiful houses and beach*". I think that when Paula refers to Brazil as a big city, she may refer to the large cities in Brazil, i.e. Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo where some of the soap operas take place that are shown in Mozambique. However, she may also use the term 'city' (*cidade*) to mean large or developed, as illustrated in Celina's quote in the previous section.

Oswaldo in Montepuez knows about other countries through TV. In a similar way to other respondents, he mentions America and South Africa, but he also

refers to Portugal and Angola, which like Mozambique has a colonial past with Portugal.

For example from America I know a lot because of the people who live there, those North American rap singers. And Portugal I like, I hear people talking on TV. And more... neighbouring countries, for example South Africa I already know about and I was also looking into to go there. Another place that I've heard about and which I like is Angola. I've already heard a lot and I just liked it, that's all.

Mozambique has many relations with other Portuguese speaking countries, which is indicated by the level of international cooperation. In 2003 when I was conducting fieldwork in Mozambique, the Brazilian president Lula came to visit Mozambique and in the media it was announced that Brazil would assist Mozambique to build a factory for the production of HIV/AIDS drugs. Also, representatives from Brazil and Mozambique discussed increased trade between the two countries. Another example of exchange between Mozambique and Brazil is an HIV/AIDS programme for youth supported by UNESCO where Brazilian youth in 2003 were invited to Mozambique to exchange experiences (Zambeze 27 February 2003).

When respondents talked about places abroad, few respondents in Masasi mentioned Mozambique and few respondents in Montepuez mentioned Tanzania. Apart from the three respondents who had migrated across the border, only one other respondent had travelled across the border. He had done it once, while helping his brother, a businessman who frequently goes from Montepuez to Tanzania to buy goods. A reason why few respondents had crossed the border could be related to the pattern which illustrated how most migration and travel experiences took place within the district or the region. There is also another explanation. The fact that different official languages are used in Tanzania and Mozambique is something that has contributed to the limited interaction between the countries, despite being neighbours. The infrastructure between the countries is poor and it is expensive to travel, especially if you take the legal route through a migration post. This was something our research team experienced when we travelled from Montepuez to Masasi and back. We paid between 80 and 90 USD per person to go from Montepuez to Masasi and to come back. This included a visa which cost 20 USD, which was a higher price than some other people we travelled with, who said they had paid much less.

There may be more interaction between southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique in the future. Since Mozambique gained independency in 1975, a battle fought with assistance from Tanzania, there have been discussions between the two countries about building a bridge across the River Ruvuma.

In November 2004, talks about the ‘Friendship Bridge’ were reinitiated when president Chissano of Mozambique met with president Mkapa in Dar es Salaam. It was stressed that a bridge would be important in the development of the ‘Mtwara corridor’, which would link northern Mozambique with Dar es Salaam (The Guardian, Internet 24 November 2004).

7.5 Urban and rural – relative concepts and relational places

7.5.1 “*We people from town*”

One day in Masasi on my way into town, two young men asked me from a distance in English: “*Where to?*” I replied in Kiswahili: “*Naenda mjini*” (“*I’m going to town*”) and they expressed, in English: “*but in Masasi, there is no town!*” This was an interesting event because it shows a common perception about small towns as rural places where nothing happens and that they are so small that they are not even worth being called towns. The young men knew that I was a foreigner, which is probably why they decided to speak English. By saying that there is no town in Masasi, they welcomed me to ‘Boringville’.

The quote also illustrates another important aspect, namely the interaction between the different actors who participated in the research. The young men constructed a story through the interaction between them and me, and in this context it was significant that I was a young, white woman and that I decided to reply in Kiswahili, although they preferred to continue in English. They knew that I was not from Masasi and perhaps they wanted to tell me that they also know other, more exciting places. In our conversation, a narrative about Masasi had been constructed where we all played active parts.

Rural and urban are relative concepts. As the event above suggests, a common image of Masasi is that it is not a town, at least not when Masasi is compared to other, larger places. However, when the respondents compare village life and town life, Masasi is a town and the respondents refer to themselves as “*we people from town*”.

Mohamed includes himself in “*we people from town*” but does not think that there are big differences between town and villages.

L: Are there any differences between villages and towns?

M: There are differences, but they are very small. Life in town and life in villages doesn’t differ very much.

L: How?

M: The difference is very small.

L: Mm

M: Yaa

L: But you said that there are small differences, what are those differences?

M: Some in villages they farm but they sell all their crops in town. And we people from town go to the villages to buy their crops. So there are no big differences because we go there and they come here.

Masasi is a town with rural areas just around the corner. As shown by Mohamed, there is mobility between Masasi town and the surrounding villages and they depend on each other economically. I think that Mohamed's illustration captures what I think is a significant character of both Masasi and Montepuez, namely that there is a continuum between the urban and the rural, maintained through the frequent interaction between urban and rural places.

7.5.2 *Different life in town and in villages*

Joseph in Masasi also defines himself as a town person, but unlike Mohamed, he emphasises the differences between town and villages rather than the interaction.

In town, the activities are different from in the villages. In the village you sustain yourself through cultivating, weeding, harvesting and hard work like that. But in town, our activities are to buy and sell products, so life in town is much easier than in the villages. It's also different because in villages it's difficult to get things. Like salt and second hand clothes is hard to get or are very expensive, so you go to town to get it cheap.

As shown, Joseph states that life in town and villages are different in terms of livelihood, hardship, availability, and price of consumer products. Sharifa in Masasi further elaborates on the issue of prices. Her quote illustrates that there is more competition in the villages around town than in the villages far away.

[...] if you go to buy some crops in villages around Masasi they can reduce the price for you but when you go to the remote villages they don't reduce the price.

José in Montepuez makes a similar comparison to Joseph in Masasi in terms of prices. When he compares Montepuez with the situation in the smaller district centres Balama and Namuno, one of the differences he mentions is the price of goods.

Yes, it's different because here in town the things are cheap, but there [in Balama and Namuno] it's really expensive. For example a *capulana* here is sold for 30 *contos* (1.25 USD) and there for 60 *contos*.

Maria in Masasi shows that there are differences between Masasi town and villages in Masasi in terms of food availability.

You can hear that people are dying of hunger in Masasi, but it's not in Masasi town, here nobody is starving. It's in Masasi villages people can be starving.

Masasi is often portrayed as a poor district, but as Maria's quote suggests, it can be problematic to talk about districts as units, without considering the differences within the district for example in terms of towns and villages.

When Judith in Masasi compares town life and village life for young people, she brings forward several aspects:

L: Do you think there is any difference between the life of youth in town and in the villages?

J: Yes, here [in town] young people are doing different kinds of work, such as business and in the villages they don't like education.

L: In villages they don't like school?

J: Mmh!

L: Are there any other differences?

J: For girls, they give birth before their time [in villages]. Some are 16 years old when they give birth. And young people become thieves.

A similar story is put forward by Celina in Montepuez.

L: How is the life of youth in town and in the villages?

C: The life of youth in town and in the villages?

L: Mm.

C: There, these young people in the villages don't think about studying, they just think about going to the forest to catch birds. When the day begins they go there, that's their life, just going to the forest, and to find somebody to get married to. Almost a majority of young people thinks about getting married. As soon as they turn 15 years old, they start to compete for marriage, but the young people here in town don't think about this. They just think about studying, that's it. They think about working and they think about getting things through skills, yes.

As shown in the quotes by Judith and Celina, they contain aspects of education, livelihood activities, when to have children, getting married and marginalisation. Irene in Montepuez suggests that if you live in town and do not go to school, you feel embarrassed. Her narrative shows that education is more valued in town.

Yes there are differences, there are many differences because in town, here in town there are no *machambas*... and people there in the villages, many times it is not about studying, they just want to have their *machambas*. But among people who live in town there are not many [who don't go to school]. Many go to school and study and if

somebody [who don't study] sees a friend who goes to school he feels ashamed: "I will also go to school", but there in the villages it's not... many times there are not many who come to school and there are even those who grow up without coming to school and without holding a book, yes.

While some respondents state that in rural areas, life is just about farming and people living there do not want to go to school, Selemene in Montepuez gives a subtle description of differences between the living conditions in rural and urban areas, focusing in particular on education.

There in the rural areas there are young people who are doing business and there are young people who are at the *machamba*, just cultivating all the time. And there are young people who are studying there in rural areas. Now, the difference that exists between rural areas and town is that they [have to] leave the rural areas and come here. If a person is in class 8, you come and stay in the boarding facility, without your family. And there, there is sufferance, right? A person cannot live in the boarding facility as a person who is at home. One day you eat and the other you don't. So, there are differences for people in rural areas and people in town.

Selemene's narrative shows that because secondary education is not available in the villages, the students who have studied at primary school in the village have to move to town in order to continue their secondary education. This is not so easy because, as the quote shows, there are more problems than for somebody who studies from home and continues to live with their family.

7.6 Development and modernity - "Let's go with time"

In addition to the comparisons with a *place* dimension, the respondents also made comparisons with a *time* dimension. A question in the semi-structured interview was asked whether they prefer to be young people now or if they would prefer to live in the time when their parents were young. Most young people interviewed in Masasi as well as in Montepuez preferred the present time. The main reasons given were that nowadays, there are more possibilities to study, to work, to go to different places and to get information.

7.6.1 Mobility, freedom and development

"*I go for the modern youth*" says Isac in Masasi, who brings up aspects of mobility and information:

For example, a long time ago (giggling) as my parents told me you see... They stayed at home at one place, they didn't make follow up to know what was happening in

different groups. They just stayed in one place, so their mind was also stagnant. They didn't know what was happening in other places, for example in Mkuti (a neighbourhood in Masasi), so news at that time was very difficult.

Isac emphasises that young people nowadays are more mobile than before and more interested in finding out what is going on in other areas. He thus relates mobility to being modern. Access to information and transport has become more available, which has made mobility and access to information easier. Isac's quote may also imply that there is a greater demand for mobility now than before. The economy demands cash rather than subsistence farming and as shown in the previous section, people from rural areas go to town and vice versa. The combination of a cash based economy and increased access to information about other places has enhanced mobility.

Selemane in Montepuez, prefers the present situation because now people are free to do what they want, which was not the case in the past.

In those times, a person did not do his own activity. The labour was forced and after that, if a person could get a radio to listen to at home, there was no time to listen to the radio. Now, nowadays, a person does an activity, has radios and listens in his house. To have something and to do his activity, in a normal way. Now, if a person is not doing his activity, well, that's up to him.

The Portuguese colonial power used forced labour, a system called *xibalo*. However, it should be emphasised that even after independence, labour was controlled. For example, Frelimo grouped people into large communities for cultivation. It is not possible to say what time in the past Selemane refers to, but the quote shows that he thinks people have more freedom now than in the past. José in Montepuez indicates the element of freedom in terms of mobility. Both before independence and during the destabilisation war, people could not move around freely.

There is really a difference, because during that time they were controlled when they were moving around. Now, during this time we are moving around more freely.

Augusto in Montepuez states that a big difference between the colonial days and now is freedom in terms of education.

Because during the time of my parents, life was much more difficult. There were no means for studying. To study was very difficult at that time and there was colonisation, so the studies just favoured the Portuguese. That's why I prefer the present time.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, and also reflected in the quote above, a major strategy at independence was to reduce illiteracy as most people had not been allowed to go to school during the colonial times. Many of the respondents in Montepuez referred to the colonial time when they talked about the past, while the respondents in Masasi did not talk about the colonial period at all. I think that part of the reason is that the colonial system was more repressive in Mozambique than in Tanzania and people therefore brought it up more in their comparisons. Northern Mozambique was also an important location for the struggle for independence, which could also explain why in their narratives respondents in Montepuez refer to the differences before and after the colonial period.

Some respondents put forward issues of development, like Deborah in Masasi who expresses her belief that there is more “*development*” now. She gives an example of what she means by development:

In that period [in the past] they said that women were not allowed to eat eggs when they were pregnant, and not to eat liver and other things. But this was not true because now we eat eggs and get babies with their hair but they said that a baby would not have hair (gigging). This was so because there were no experts so if it happened, a woman would fail to have the baby and she could not get an operation, so she would die. So in order for the baby not to be too fat they said so. But now they have tools and there is no problem to give birth.

For Deborah, development is symbolised by better healthcare, such as being able to deliver babies through caesarean section if the baby is too big. Her analysis of what was said in the old days is interesting because in her opinion it was not superstition that encouraged people to say that women should not eat certain things during their pregnancy, but that superstition was used as a precaution.

Also Mohamed in Masasi is of the opinion that medical treatment is better nowadays than in the past.

You see, in the past they used traditional things, but now things are modern (*mambo ya kisasa*). For example, we go to the hospital for treatment while in the past our parents used traditional medicine, but not now. So life for youth now is good. You can get many examinations at the hospital and it's easy to find out what you are suffering from right away. If you go to the hospital you can get the result, but in the past there was none.

Furaha in Masasi states that tools for agriculture are better nowadays than when her parents were young.

During my parents' years, there were not many scientific things. For example, there was no television and many people cultivated using a hand hoe, but now people use a tractor. I mean, a job which by that time could be done by ten people can now be done by one person. In those days, let's say 20 people could cultivate for a whole day but not finish, while now one can use a tractor to cultivate the same amount and finish within two or three hours.

Furaha appreciates the technological advancement, but it should be pointed out that not everybody has access to tractors and many people cultivate using hand hoes. Furaha comes from a relatively wealthy family and her mother is a farmer who hires a tractor for cultivation.

7.6.2 Problems of the presence and problems of modernity

In the comparisons between past and present, some respondents put forward elements which they regard as problematic in the present society. Maria in Masasi highlights problems such as diseases and modernity.

L: What big differences are there, between life in the past and now?

M: Big differences?

L: Mm

M: A big difference nowadays are the diseases. The diseases are a very big difference, and modernity (*"usasa"*). Modernity is very associated with youth. Videos (*mambo ya video*) and discos (*mambo ya madisco*) for sure has brought youth a lot of information, yaa. Nowadays tight trousers have spread all over the country. But in the past things like these were not here.

L: And you...[Maria goes on]

M: By now you can find a girl who is dressed in a very tight thing, you see, shorts, mini skirts and if you look at it in relation to the environment [in which she lives], it is not good. Youth are now affected by this. That is the big difference. Diseases and modernity.

L: This modernity, where does it come from?

M: What?

L: For example wearing.....

M: Wearing trousers.

L: Yaa, wearing trousers.

M: You know, they say that is to be educated, yaa, educated and modern. Things like video you see.

D: Up to date.

L: Mm

M: Up to date, *"tuende na wakati"* ("let's go with time"), so things like video, and visitors who are coming here introduce this. We imitate this. If we see you Linda wearing trousers and the style of your hair, you look nice, white. So then tomorrow I go to the shop and buy cream (skin lightening cream), put chemicals on my hair and put on trousers (giggles and illustrates).

L&D: (giggling)

M: Yaa, I don't know if that's development. I don't understand if it's development or what (giggling).

It is not visible from this part of the interview, but one of the diseases Maria, who is an HIV/AIDS activist, is talking about is HIV/AIDS. Maria puts HIV/AIDS in relation to the negative aspects of modernity. Whenever she says diseases, she also mentions modernity. It was a new fashion in Masasi among women to wear trousers and jeans were becoming high fashion. In the quote, Maria also mentions skin lightening cream and hair chemicals to straighten her hair. Whiteness as an ideal reflects the world order dominated by western countries. However, Maria questions the concept of development by asking if this really is development. “*Modern things*” (*mambo ya kisasa*) and expressions like “*let's go with time*” are frequently referred to in everyday conversations and in the media, in some contexts in a positive sense and in others in a negative way.

Oswaldo in Montepuez states that young people behaved better in the past than now.

Because young people during the time of my parents were more controlled than today. Today, they are not controlled, they have a behaviour which is very different from in the past. For example, there are young people who smoke although they are not allowed to smoke, and there are young people who start to have sexual relations early, although they are not allowed to, while during that time, this did not exist. There are even those who get married when they are very young, although they do not have the age to get married. There are young women who get pregnant who don't have a fiancée or a husband.

According to Oswaldo, a result of lack of control is that young people do not do as they are told, they start sexual relations early and girls get pregnant although they do not have a partner. Moussa in Masasi says that young people's habits have changed and when I ask him how, he expresses the following:

They have changed because youth nowadays have a habit of imitating. They imitate people, for example when they go to town. In town nowadays they say “going with time” so they leave old things and imitate what they say are new things. This is especially in town. For example they see girls wearing very short dresses and when they come back to the village they continue wearing the same dress even to their parents. They induce this to others, because they say that she is a girl like me so I can also dress like her and she notices that she has just arrived from town. The same happens with boys. So youth are getting lost because of that “let's go with time”, yaa.

That women wear ‘indecent’ clothing is according to Moussa a problem especially in town and as Maria's, Oswaldo's and Moussa's narratives suggest, the

discussion may have been reinforced in times of globalisation. The bad influence of town life is however not a new topic. In Tanzania where rural development was a cornerstone in building a postcolonial nation, the notion of 'modern' was contested. This is shown in Ivaska's (2002) analysis of 'Operation Vijana' (Operation Youth), launched in Dar es Salaam in 1968 by TANU Youth League (TYL), i.e. the youth wing of Tanzania's then only recognised party. Mini-skirts, wigs and other 'indecent' items that were seen as a threat to Tanzania's 'national culture' were banned. In Ivaska's analysis, Operation Vijana illustrates that the ideal image of youth in rural production for building an independent nation had been challenged by urban youth. The fashion debate thus became a debate about rural contra urban and moral contra immoral (Ivaska 2002). As shown in Chapter 4, the discourse about young people leaving the rural areas, put forward by leaders in Masasi as well as in Montepuez, contain similarities with this debate. Leaders suggest that the time when young people were engaged in rural production is gone and that youth of today want to enjoy an easy life in town.

7.7 Conclusion

Global processes are involved in young people's lives in Masasi and Montepuez in different ways. Information about other places is available through for example music, TV and mobility experiences. The markets have consumer goods from all over the world, but while globalisation is consumed, marketed and sold, the restructuring of the economy has not produced 'real' employment opportunities in these places. Global consumption, such as mobile phones display unequal power relations *within* places. As shown in this chapter, the establishment of mobile phone networks in Masasi and Montepuez quickly made mobile phones a status item. Global consumption also displays power relations *between* countries and regions, such as between rich and poor nations, as illustrated by the example of second hand clothes.

There were similar patterns of migration among the respondents in Masasi and Montepuez. Many had migration experiences, mainly within the district or the region. While some had migrated with their family members, others had moved alone for livelihood opportunities or for schooling. Most of the migration experiences were local. As some of the stories show, many businessmen obtain their goods in the larger cities and then return to sell them in the smaller towns, which suggests that not all young people find living in the large cities a preferable option. Aspects of anonymity and marginalisation were also brought up as counter narratives to the bright lights of the city.

Mobility is more than migration, as has been recognised by for example de Bruijn et al. (2001) with examples from various African contexts. Concerning mobility in terms of travel experiences, the respondents had mainly made such experiences within the district or region, i.e. the same pattern as for the migration experiences. To visit relatives and to purchase goods had been the main driving forces behind the journeys. Only a few young people said that they had travelled for 'tourism', which evidently was linked to middle-class status. Tourism was also mentioned by other respondents, less in terms of their own mobility but more in relation to tourist attractions. Very few respondents had cross-border mobility experiences and even those who had migrated from the other side of the border had never gone back, even to visit. Those who cross the border are mainly larger scale business people i.e. those for whom it is worth the investment of travelling a long distance and who can buy a lot of goods at once. Those with small margins are not able to travel far for their business and are confined to buying their goods at a closer distance and at a higher price.

Through their own mobility and other experiences, the respondents have built a sense of their own place in relation to other locations, which in turn have implications for how they develop their strategies. Larger towns were associated with development and perceived as providing more opportunities in terms of business and jobs, and it was also suggested that young people and women participate more in economic activities in larger towns and cities. These arguments illustrate why some young people may choose to leave for the larger cities. Also images of places where they have not been influenced the life strategies and sense of self. Some young people said that they do not know anything about places where they have not visited and argued that "*It's better to see than to hear*". A related aspect was the perception that there is no use finding out about places that you know you will never be able to visit. This illustrates a position of self-peripheralisation, to use Liechty's (1995) expression. Access to information is much greater than before, but possibilities to utilise what is on display are limited. Another aspect of self-peripheralisation is the perception that in America and in European countries, life is better. The perception is that here, people can be "*sure about life*" and people do not cultivate using hoes. However, counter-narratives were also produced, such as America being a nation engaged in war.

Concerning relations with other countries, it was clear that places are indeed relational. There was a close relationship between Mozambique and other Portuguese speaking countries such as Brazil, Portugal and Angola, despite the geographical distance. These countries are 'far away but close', due to language proximity and colonial legacy. The relationship between Mozambique

and Tanzania is geographically ‘close but far away’, regardless of the cooperation during the struggle for independence, or that similar ethnic groups stretch across the border and that Tanzania was a place for refuge during the destabilisation war in Mozambique. The use of different official languages and the limited infrastructure linking the two countries are contributing factors to their virtual distance.

The respondents identified themselves as “*we people from town*”, but rather than a clear cut border between these towns and rural areas, it is a continuum, maintained through the frequent interaction in terms of mobility and mutual economic dependency. This continuum is in fact an important characteristic of these towns. However, differences between the towns and villages were also emphasised. The respondents said that young people in rural areas tend to have children and get married earlier than in town and that they are more engaged in agriculture, while young people in town are more interested in and have greater access to education. It was also stated that a young person in town who does not study feels embarrassed when meeting friends. This illustrates that education is indeed valued in town, i.e. education is considered as a symbolic capital.

Apart from comparisons between different places, comparisons were also made in terms of time. Most young people preferred the present time, which was given attributes such as education, information, mobility and freedom. Respondents in Montepuez emphasised freedom in terms of mobility and labour, referring to the repressive colonial system with its visible execution of power. Diseases and modernity were suggested as problematic features of the present and the meaning of ‘development’ was questioned, such as whiteness and straight hair as ideals. Resistance against western ideals as universal ideals opens up a space where power relations can be changed.

8. ASPIRATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

8.1 Introduction

When the respondents talked about their aspirations and dreams for the future, interesting aspects such as the role of education, gender relations and rural-urban relations were discussed. This thesis is about life strategies of youth, but could aspirations and dreams about the future be characterised as strategies? Can we say something about the future by discussing dreams and aspirations, considering that many dreams do not materialise in the way we had wished for or imagined? There were respondents who had made detailed plans for the future and they focused on fulfilling this aspiration. Others told us about their dreams, but made a separation between ‘dream’ and ‘reality’. There were also those who said that they had no dreams and that they had not really thought about their future. These aspirations all say something about the present society, what is perceived as possible and what space of action young people feel that they have.

A constructive distinction when analysing dreams and aspirations for the future is to use the concepts *changing preferences* and *changing practices* (Stambach 2000). A similar argument is put forward by Löfgren (1990) with reference to Ziehe, namely that there may be a difference between the actual space for negotiation and the perceived horizon of possibilities in the individual’s mind. A change in preference does not necessarily mean a change in practice, but it is nevertheless a change. An aspiration may be intended to be fulfilled but an aspiration can also be a way to illustrate a wish to be somewhere else, i.e. a criticism of the present. In this chapter, the respondents’ aspirations and dreams about the future are explored. As will be shown, there are similarities, but there are also variations related to social class, education, resources, livelihood, family responsibilities and motivation.

8.2 Future aspirations - overview

Aspirations for the future were discussed in both the structured interviews and in the semi-structured interviews. Figure 8.1 and 8.2 show the future livelihoods desired by the 54 respondents in Masasi and 51 respondents in Montepuez who participated in the structured interviews. As shown in the figures, business is by far the most popular future livelihood among the male respondents in Masasi and it is also popular among the female respondents, although many female youth also wish to be civil servants (such as teacher, nurse and medical doctor). In Montepuez, the most popular livelihood is to be a civil

servant both among the female and male respondents. That business is more popular in Masasi and government employment is more popular in Montepuez can be explained by the level of formal education of the respondents. Most of the respondents in Masasi have already finished primary education but not continued with secondary education, so a job as a civil servant is therefore not a viable option. In Montepuez on the other hand, most of the respondents are still in primary school or in secondary school, which means that to continue to study in order to become a civil servant is still seen as an option.

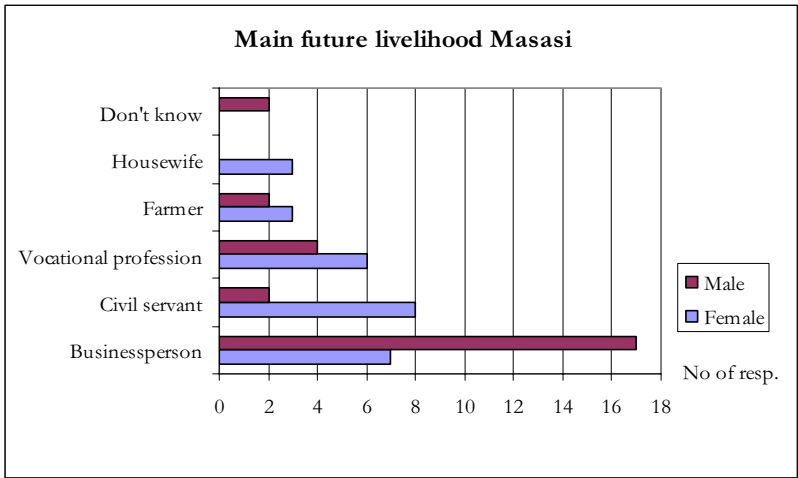


Figure 8.1: Main future livelihood wanted by the 54 respondents in the structured interviews in Masasi.

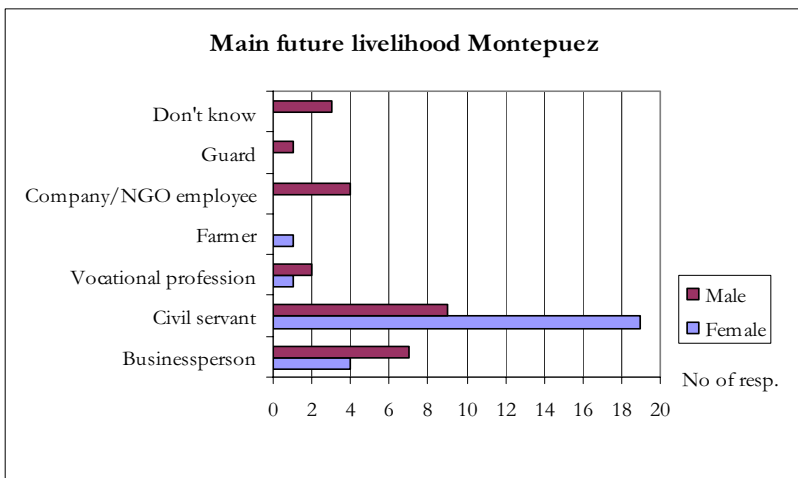


Figure 8.2: Main future livelihood wanted by the 51 respondents in the structured interviews in Montepuez.

Some male respondents in Masasi and Montepuez did not know what they wanted to do for a living in the future, but this was not reflected in the responses of female respondents. To work for a private company or an NGO was an aspiration of some respondents in Montepuez. NGOs and companies were seen by some respondents as identical, possibly because of similarities in terms of high salaries and foreign stakeholders. Farming as a main livelihood was considered as an option for a few respondents in Masasi, while only one (male) respondent in Montepuez wished to be full-time farmer in the future. Most of the female and male respondents, both in Masasi and in Montepuez, do however want to have a piece of land for cultivation, for family consumption as well as an income generating activity, but they do not consider farming to be their main future livelihood activity.

Figures 8.3 and 8.4 illustrate where the respondents in the structured interview want to live in the future. As shown in Figure 8.3, a majority of the 54 respondents in Masasi want to continue to stay in Masasi town, especially among the male respondents. Quite a number also said that they want to live in town, but that it does not matter in what town and a few male respondents would like to live abroad. Only a few respondents want to move to Dar es Salaam, which counters the common perception that all young people want to move to the big cities. Two male and four female respondents want to live in a village, but the overall picture is that most respondents in Masasi want to live in a district or regional centre.

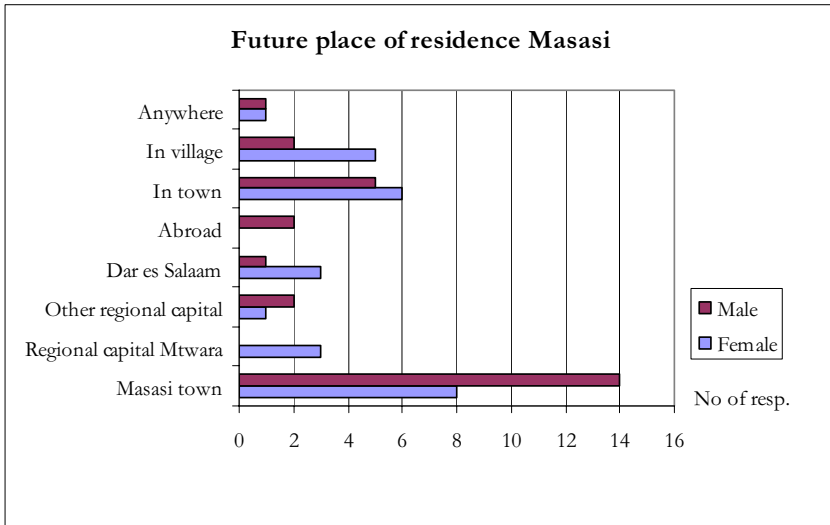


Figure 8.3: Future place of residence wanted by the 54 respondents in the structured interviews in Masasi.

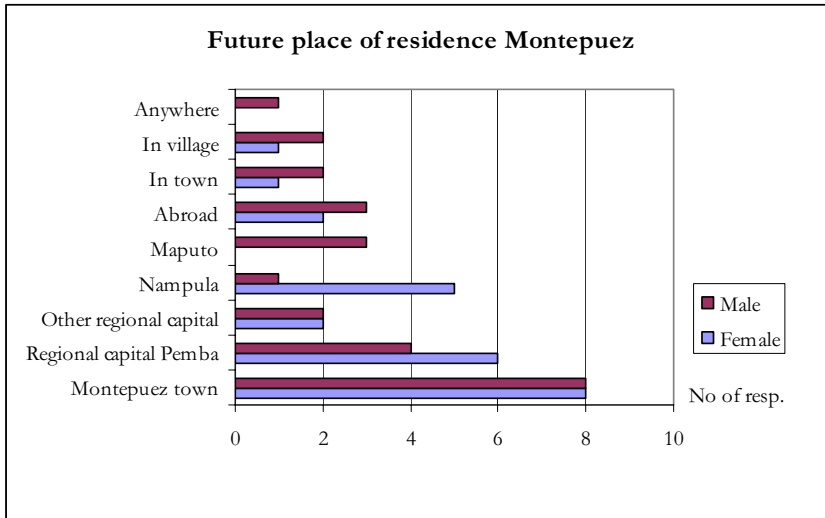


Figure 8.4: Future place of residence wanted by the 51 respondents in the structured interviews in Montepuez.

As Figure 8.4 illustrates, many of the respondents in Montepuez also wish to stay where they are now, but the regional capital Pemba is also pulling quite a few of the respondents. Nampula, the third largest city in Mozambique and located within a reasonable distance from Montepuez is a popular alternative and a few male respondents want to live in the capital Maputo. Some respondents in Montepuez, both male and female, want to live abroad. Like in Masasi, most respondents in Montepuez want to live in an urban area, although a few respondents imagine a future in a village.

Apart from future livelihood and place of residence, aspects of family life such as partner and children were discussed during the structured as well as the semi-structured interviews. Among the 54 respondents who participated in the structured interviews in Masasi, one female and five male respondents were married. In Montepuez, four female and two male respondents out of the 51 respondents were married. Six female and eight male respondents in Masasi had children and in Montepuez, six female and four male respondents had children. All respondents except one said that they wanted to have children in the future. To have two to four children seemed to be the most common wish among the respondents, which is lower than the average number of children per woman of reproductive age in Tanzania and Mozambique. At the time of the research in 2003, the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Tanzania was 5.1 (children/woman of reproductive age) and 5.6 in Mozambique (UNICEF 2004). These statistics are valid for the countries as whole, and does not show differences between rural and urban areas.

The remainder of this chapter is based on the interviews with the 12 respondents in Masasi and 12 respondents in Montepuez who participated in semi-structured interviews.

8.3 Livelihoods and place of residence

8.31 Successful business or employment in Masasi and Montepuez

As the Figures 8.3 and 8.4 show, a number of respondents believe that they will stay in Masasi and Montepuez. Mohamed in Masasi, who is deeply engaged in his business, is hoping to open a big shop in Masasi in the future.

M: Yaa my hope is that I will get money and when I have the money, I will open a *very nice* shop!

L: Where?

M: Right here because if you have capital here, there is money. There is good money circulation. Capital is the problem, but if you have big capital, you can get good money.

When I ask Mohamed about what his life will be like in ten years time he first laughs at the question, but then says that he wants to build a house and run his business in Masasi.

(Laughing) Ok, ok. (*sawa sawa*). After ten years, it depends, but if I will have money I will build a house. You see, I will stay even right here in Masasi, only that. What I want is to have a place to do business and I will stay here in Masasi. You can get money right here so no problem, I will stay here. I don't need to go to other places to start looking. There is no reason for that. If I will manage here I'll stay here because this is our home (*bapa ni kwetu*). If I'll go somewhere it is to visit and then I will come back here. But my main place will be here. My main place to work will be here. Not elsewhere.

Like Mohamed, Pedro in Montepuez, would like to continue with his business and not move to another place. Also Pedro raises the issue of capital as a possible obstacle.

L: What would you like to do in the future?

P: I would like to do a lot of business to get money.

L: Are your dreams and hopes realisable? Will you succeed?

P: I will succeed, yes.

L: Are there any obstacles that may prevent you from realising your dreams?

P: Money could be one such thing.

Maria in Masasi also wants to continue to live in Masasi. She is determined to find employment in order to support her family and she has applied for the teacher's training college in the neighbouring town Nachingwea.

I really would like to be a teacher in my life. If I will not be a teacher I would like to have a job, employment, so that I can help my family because my family is poor, my parents are poor. My husband doesn't like to help my parents, but if I will have a job then my child and I will be fine and my parents as well. I will be helping them. Yeah... I really would like to study.

In ten years time, Maria thinks that she will live in Masasi and she will complement her employment with business:

M: [pause] I'll live here in Tanzania [pause]

L: Where in Tanzania?

M: Right here in Masasi and I will have... for example my project of keeping chickens will go on. I hope to get a big profit after ten years and that I will be able to show something from this profit, yaa anything like a bicycle or a cupboard. I hope that I will get something like that. I also hope that at that time I will have a job. I will be a teacher or if I will have studied more I will have become perhaps a school inspector, yaa. After ten years I must have all these things.

8.3.2 *A bright future, perhaps abroad*

Joseph in Masasi, who does petty business and is a musician, wants to continue to do business in the future, but not in Masasi. He wants to move from Masasi to get away from his family.

I pray to God that he will help me with my business. This year during the cashew nut season if I get enough money, I will move from this place. Maybe I will go to Mtwara or Songea. I know Songea very well because I used to go to school there and that will be a nice place for me since there will be nobody from my family to disturb me.

Joseph's plan is to sell second hand clothes and "*fashion*" (new clothes) and he is confident that he will succeed.

Aah there will be no problems there because I will have enough money. I expect to get some money from my mother and some from my father. I will go to our village where our cashew nut farm is and I will hire casual labour to harvest and sell. Then I will go to my mother and show her how much I got and then I will go away. I need money to be able to go to Songea, but then it will be easy.

While the business in Songea is something that Joseph aspires to do in the near future, he has other dreams for the more distant future.

J: Eeh, all these things will depend on the environment I'll be living in. I don't know what the environment will be like in Tanzania and if I will have money etc. [...] It's very hard. You know, the environment in Tanzania is not good. In Masasi for instance, the population is not big, but if it would be big the flow of goods would also rise as a result and it would be easier. But now it's difficult because the money people are getting is just seasonal, so it can be used to live for two or three months and then there is nothing. So it's hard for me to say where I will live. But I can guess of course, or should I leave it?

L: Maybe you can tell us about your dreams in ten years to come?

R: You may say that I hope to do this or that without knowing if you will succeed or not.

J: I have got lots of dreams, everyday in my head. I want to be a big businessman there in Songea and if my business will grow I'd like to go out of the country. Maybe after seven or eight years, I won't live in Tanzania. I'll go to live maybe in South Africa, America or England. America is so far though. But I have planned to go to one of these countries one day. If the Almighty God will plan so that I will have good money for visa, fare and everything I'll need, I will go to for example England or Sweden, yes it's possible that I will go.

R: What would you like to do when you go to those countries?

J: First I want to develop my music talents, for example by going to a music school. I will also continue with my business, for example to sell second hand clothes, or any business. I'll also take English courses, tuition and things like that, eeh.

As Joseph's narrative shows, he makes a distinction between plans for the near future and the more distant future. There is an interrelationship of the 'realistic' scenario and the 'dream world' because he clearly states that his future will depend on what the situation will be like financially. If he has the money and everything he needs, he thinks he will be able to go.

Furaha, who works as a secretary in a stationary shop in Masasi, would like to be employed and live in a regional capital or abroad. However, to live abroad was not something she mentioned in the first interview, which may suggest that she has been thinking about her future since the first interview and has added alternatives.

L: Imagine 10 years ahead. What do you think you will be doing and where will you be living?

F: After 10 years? I don't know what I will be doing and where I will be living, but I would like to live in the regional capital (Mtwara) or in any other regional capital. Or abroad, out of Tanzania.

L: Where?

F: Kenya for example or Uganda, and I must be employed.

L: Why Kenya or Uganda? Do you have relatives there or did you hear...?

F: No, I just would like to go outside of my country. I just want to experience a different environment.

L: You said you'll be employed? What kind of employment?

F: This job, secretary, but in an organisation or in a company.

By saying that she would like to work for a company or an organisation rather than the way she is working now, illustrates that she makes a distinction between working for a private company and for private people. To work for private company or an NGO was by the respondents considered a 'real' job with a generous salary and high status, in contrast to being employed by a private person in the informal economy.

Furaha thinks that in ten years time, she will be married, employed and have two children. When imagining her future daily life routines, her narrative shows that she has internalised herself as becoming a working mother rather than a housewife.

Because I will be working and not a house wife, I will find somebody who will be looking after my children. So in the morning I will direct her where to get the food and how prepare it. I will direct her about everything concerning the house. I will tell her how to look after the children and to take them to school and what she should do when she comes home. When I come home from work, I will continue with some other housework (mmh!).

Paula, secondary school student in Montepuez, like Furaha, wants to live abroad and be working. Both Furaha and Paula come from relatively wealthy families.

L: What are your dreams and hopes?

P: My dreams are to study, work and have children

L: What kind of work?

P: To work in... to be a doctor and work in a hospital.

L: And where are you hoping to live?

P: Outside of Mozambique.

L: Where could that be?

P: In America.

L: Do you think your dreams can come true?

P: They can.

Dário in Montepuez who is both a secondary school student and an employee at an NGO would like to continue to study at the university and then live abroad, perhaps in England or America.

D: My dreams... are to continue to study. That's the main thing that I am thinking and dreaming about. How will my life be if I would not study? Because nowadays, a youth who hasn't studied honestly doesn't have a good environment for the future. Because now when you don't study, you can't do something with skills. My dream now is to continue to study.

L: Where and what would you like to study?

D: My idea is to... if I really will continue, what I'm hoping for in life, is that I would reach more or less to university.

L: What would you like to study?

D: I have an idea to... because I'm learning a bit of English now, so my idea is to study English (giggles).

[...]

L: Imagine yourself in ten years, what will you be doing and where will you be living?

D: I would like to live outside of Mozambique.

L: Where?

D: Well, it could be in America, or England... but outside of Mozambique.

L: What would you do?

D: If I am there, I would like to work. Be there, working.

L: This will be in ten years right? Now you are 23 years old and in 10 years you will be 33 years old. Do you think that you will be there then?

D: I really would like to. If there would be possibilities I would like to be outside of Mozambique.

L: Why America or England?

D: Because they are countries which are a bit developed, a bit no, developed countries. Because my idea is that I would like to develop as a person.

Dário has a less privileged background than Furaha, Joseph and Paula. However, he has managed to get employment with an NGO and he is studying at secondary school at night. While for example Paula sees no problem in succeeding with her education and going abroad to work, Dário is more hesitant. Dário's narrative is interesting in his suggestion that developing as a person, is placed within the context of developed countries. If he went to a developed country, he would develop as a person.

8.3.3 *"If God wishes, my life can be good in the future"*

Some respondents put their future in the hands of God, as illustrated by the following excerpt from the interview with Deborah in Masasi.

D: If God wishes, my life can be good in future.

L: Can be good?

D: Mm

L: How?

D: I will start doing something during the cashew nut period. I will sell food in the villages, or maybe I can get money by selling things like this *kokoto* (small stones) and by going to the village to buy maize and sell it here in town. Life then can be good.

L: Great! Do you think you will succeed?

D: If God cares about me, I will succeed.

L: Mm. Why do you think so?

D: Because they say that if you believe in God you can succeed with everything, mm.

L: Are there any obstacles?

D: The only obstacle that I have now is my baby. He is too young. If he would have been a bit older, I could get even a small job to do.

L: Ok.

D: So that I could work.

Concerning her life in ten years time, Debora says the following:

D: I don't know... if I'll be alive or dead. This century, to reach 30 years old is very difficult. So I don't know where I will live, with whom and what I will do.

L: But if you think about your hopes for the future, what would you like to do and where would you like to live?

D: If God wishes, I can live anywhere because I know that there is life anywhere. I could also get married in the future, but I don't know to whom I will get married and where I will go to live.

L: Mm.

D: Mm.

L: But what would you like to do and where would you like to live?

D: (Giggling) If I will get married I could be a housewife, or one of my uncles [in Dar es Salaam] could bring me to stay with them.

L: Mm. What about your business, will you continue with it?

D: I will stop.

L: Why?

D: (Laughing) I'm selling alcohol just because of my problems. It is not my wish to sell alcohol, but I could continue to sell food.

When Deborah refers to the difficulty of reaching 30 years old in this century, it is likely that she is referring to the threat of HIV/AIDS. However, she could also be referring to poverty and that people are living a difficult life in general. I think that Deborah's narrative shows that when life is hard, it is difficult to plan, but one way to manage is to put faith in God. Deborah's narrative also illustrates that selling alcohol is a stigmatised livelihood activity which she does out of necessity, in contrast to the food business, which she would be happy to undertake.

8.3.4 Limited space of action without education

Respondents suggested that the space of action concerning livelihood activities decreases if you do not have enough education. Celina in Montepuez is frustrated that she does not have enough income from her petty businesses to feed the family, as she is responsible for her dead sister's children and for her sick mother. She wishes that she could find any job where she can do chores to get some money to feed her children. In ten years, Celina would like to live in Pemba with her family and she would like to work, but she says that she cannot choose any profession because she has not studied enough:

L: What kind of work?

C: I don't know. Can I wish to work in an office without studying? And work? (she says rhetorically) Can I wish to work in the tribunal without studying?

L: But what kind of work do you think that you will manage to get there in Pemba?

C: There in Pemba?

L: In ten years, maybe you have studied?

C: Yes.

L: So...?

C: If I will have studied, I would like to work in an office, like in the tribunal, or in the Municipality council, could be... a good place like that.

L: Mm.

C: Yes.

L: And if you won't manage to study, what kind of job?

C: If I won't manage, ah! They can send me to sweep, but they should give me work in a company, not just anywhere, a company yes. Send me to sweep and to grind but it cannot be in a house that I know, go there to grind for 5 *contos* (20 US cents), no I won't accept that. A proper place, a company like that can call me: "What's up, you don't have anything to do?" "No, I don't" "Go there and do that, and I will give you 5 *contos*" I will, yes.

The way this narrative is told shows Celina's frustration with her situation. She would like to get employment in the future, but this is not possible without education and to continue to study is something which she doubts she will be able to do. In her view, she therefore has to make do with whatever job she will be offered. However, although she is prepared to do any job, she would prefer to work for a company rather than in a house of somebody she knows. For Celina, this appears to be a matter of dignity.

While some respondents talk about future livelihood activities other than the ones they are currently engaged in, Isac in Masasi says that because he did not go to school, he will continue to do his carvings. The fact that he has not attended school is something which he returns to several times during the interview.

L: After ten years, what do you think that you will do?

I: I really haven't gone to school you see, so I can't get the maximum for the future. My life is that I'm just a carver.

R: So you will continue with your carvings?

I: Yes, because if I had studied, I could have planned other things to do.

Isac wants to live in Masasi and most of all wants to get a house and the material things he needs in order to live a comfortable life. While the education train has already passed, a well-furnished house is something which he wants to achieve.

The first thing I want is a house to live in, that's the first thing. Then I want to have a motorbike and other things in my house, like TV, sofa set and all the things that are needed in the house. I want to have them and then I will know that my life is good.

8.3.5 The future depends on education

Two students who against all odds have made it to secondary school are Moussa in Masasi and Rosalina in Montepuez. They both said that their future livelihoods will depend on how far they will be able to continue with their education. Concerning livelihoods and a future home, Moussa who is in his second year of secondary school, says the following:

M: After ten years, I hope that I will already have enough education and, depending on my education, I think I will work as a civil servant or work for a company. I think then I will be living in a town environment.

L: Mm. Which town?

M: Anywhere, but in town.

L: Mm.

M: Yaa.

L: What kind of work?

M: There are different kinds of jobs, but a job in which you will be employed and can depend on your salary. Like to be a soldier or a teacher or a policeman, these are jobs which will give you a salary. Or you can work for a company like a telephone company, or for an electricity company. And if you work in places like these, you have to live in town and you will get money which will provide for your needs in life.

For Moussa, to be employed is very important because employment means a salary and salary implies security. However, as the narrative shows, it does not matter if it is public sector or private sector employment. Moussa prefers to live in town:

[...] if God cares about me, I will be employed by the government and this job will let me stay in town. Because it will not be a job like being a teacher, in which you have to move from one place to another and maybe you have to go to the village. But you can get another job which will let you move from one town to another - these are good jobs. This is so because people who stay in town get the necessary needs and they are looked after by the government. This is important.... It is important for them to stay there in town because the government cares for you and all good things can be found in town.

It is interesting that Moussa states that he would like to be employed by the government and live in town. His argument is that people who are employed in town are looked after by the government. This implies that he feels that the government does not care for you as much if you live in a village. Moussa is

here possibly comparing urban and rural areas in terms education and health facilities, which often are more easily accessed and of better quality in town.

Rosalina in Montepuez, who is about to conclude advanced secondary education, would like to become *Técnica da Medicina*, which is a profession in between nurse and medical doctor. However, whether she will be able to achieve her goal depends on the possibility of continuing her studies:

L: What are your dreams and hopes?

R: My dreams, I think I have already told you that my dream is to be *Técnica da Medicina*, if I will complete. This year I have to complete, yes. My dream is this but I don't know if it will be possible, if I will have the resources to continue anymore from here.

Rosalina is hoping that she in ten years time will be working in Beira, the second largest city in Mozambique, where she once went to visit:

L: Imagine yourself after ten years. What will you do and where will you live?

R: I would like to settle down in Beira and work there, yes.

L: Work where?

R: Work at the health department, that's my dream.

L: Mm.

R: Yes.

L: Why Beira? Do you know some people there?

R: No, it's just that I like the place.

L: Did you visit?

R: I visited, but it was not a very thorough visit, it was just a visit for two days.

For Rosalina, to realise this dream depends on several aspects. First she must pass the secondary school exams. It also depends on whether her aunt in Maputo, who now pays for Rosalina's education, will be able to pay for her to continue. Rosalina has talked to her aunt about this, but she has not yet replied. Rosalina thinks that she is waiting with the reply until the results of the exams are out.

8.3.6 Farming as a complementary livelihood

Some respondents already have a piece of land which they cultivate and many are also cultivating at the family *machamba/shamba*. Most respondents want to have their own farm in the future, but not as their main livelihood. The preferred location of the farm is either in a village close to town or in their 'home village', i.e. where they or their parents grew up. To farm themselves is not something that the respondents want unless they have to. While some are sure

that they will pay casual labour to farm for them, others say that they will hire people if they get money.

José in Montepuez was one of few respondents who preferred farming to be his main livelihood in the future and said that he wants to live in the village. At present, he does not have a livelihood activity of his own but he sometimes helps his mother at her *machamba*.

Besides her stone breaking business and alcohol business, Deborah in Masasi is cultivating on her mother's *shamba*. In the future she may, apart from her wish to be a housewife or engage in the food business, enlarge her mother's farm or buy a farm from somebody.

If my life continues, it's possible that I will continue to farm. When I have grown up I might increase the *shamba* or buy a *shamba* from somebody and go on with farming on that *shamba*.

Like Deborah and José, Moussa in Masasi, who is a secondary school student who would like to become a civil servant in the future, is currently farming on the family *shamba*. All family members are peasants and sometimes they work as day labourers at other people's *shambas* to get cash, for things like Moussa's schooling. In the future, Moussa will get his own *shamba* in the village in the outskirts of Masasi town where he is living now and he will grow crops like cassava, peanuts and maize. Moussa says that he will farm himself but that he will also hire casual labour.

Mohamed, who for the future is planning to continue with business, says that he will buy a *shamba* somewhere close to Masasi town.

L: Who will farm? Will you hire people or will you farm yourself?

M: I will hire people, I will be in charge.

L: What will you grow?

M: I will grow maize... Sesame, groundnuts, cassava and if I will get an open space I will plant cashew nut plants.

The quote indicates that Mohamed is sure that he will hire people to farm for him, under his supervision. It also shows that the crops he plans to grow are not only crops typically used for family consumption, such as maize and cassava, but also cash crops such as sesame and cashew nuts.

Celina, who conducts business in Montepuez has a *machamba* of maize, cassava and beans. Now when her mother is ill and cannot work anymore, Celina cultivates herself and she does not want to have any more *machambas*. Unlike

some of the other respondents, she does not imagine herself employing people to work for her at the farm, which can explain why she thinks that one *machamba* is enough.

Furaha, who is working in a stationary shop and who wants to be employed as a secretary for a company or an organisation, expects to have a *shamba* in the future and she already has a strategy for where, why, what she will farm and how:

- L: Do you think you will get a *shamba* in the future?
F: Eeeh! I expect to have a *shamba*.
L: Where?
F: ... In Nandombo. There is a village called Nandombo, along the road to Tunduru.
L: Do you have relative there?
F: No.
L: Why do you want to have a *shamba* there?
F: Because it is near the road so it will be easy in terms of transportation.
L: What will you farm?
F: First of all cashew nuts, and I will also grow maize and rice.
L: Who will farm?
F: Do you mean by what means or?
L: I mean, will you do the work by yourself or will you hire casual labour?
F: I will use casual labour.
L: Will you sell the maize?
F: The maize and rice is for food and the cashew nuts are for business.

Dário in Montepuez, who would like to study English at the university and live abroad, says that if he does not succeed, he wants to have several *machambas* in Montepuez. While a few respondents perceive a life in a village as an exit option if life in town is not successful, Dário looks at Montepuez in a similar way. If he does not succeed in his desire to go abroad, Montepuez is his exit option.

While most respondents say that they would like to have a piece of land in the future, a few respondents did not. Rosalina in Montepuez, who would like to become a *Técnica da Medicina*, says that she does not think that she will have a *machamba* because it will not be necessary:

- L: Will you have a *machamba* in the future?
R: I don't think I will.
L: You don't want to?
R: I don't think I will.
L: Mhum?
R: Yes.
L: Why?

R: Because I will sustain myself from my bread (work), yes, so it will not be necessary to have a *machamba* anymore.

This section has illustrated that there are different driving forces behind farming. While a few see farming as their main livelihood activity, most see it as a complementary livelihood activity, both in terms of family consumption and as a source of income. Others, as the quote by Rosalina shows, are confident that they will manage without a piece of land for cultivation.

8.4 Getting a partner

8.4.1 Preferences of male respondents

One of the themes during the interviews was the future family, including a future partner. When to get married, the importance of the partner's education, religion, ethnicity and rural-urban background were discussed.

Moussa in Masasi wants to get married, but not for a long time (*mbele sana*). As he said earlier, his education will decide what his life will be like in the future, and this includes when to get married.

L: Do you think that you will be married in 10 years time?

M: I think... but it will also depend on what the situation will be like. Maybe I won't yet have finished my studies by then, but I might also have finished my studies and be working somewhere. If I have finished my studies and I'll be working, then it will be important to marry, but if I still will be going on with my studies and I don't have a job, then it will not be very important to marry.

Many respondents want their future partner to be from a town environment. Moussa, who lives in a village outside Masasi town, is one of the few who would like his wife to come from a village.

I want her to be from a village environment because girls from villages often have... they have the tradition to follow customs of their parents because their parents have told them about it, so they have good habits in general and they don't behave like prostitutes.

Moussa would like his wife to have gone to school, preferably up to Form IV because in his view, a person without education faces difficulties in planning and having visions in life. For Moussa, ethnic group is not important but religion is and he explains why:

Religion is important. She should be Muslim because you can find somebody who is Christian and you will tell her to change religion. Later on you might find that she didn't want to be a Muslim, but she was forced to because she was in love with you, so she had to change her religion. So that's not good because you forced her to join you.

Pedro in Montepuez thinks it is important that his wife should be a Muslim like him and his motivation is different from the reason Moussa above put forward. He argues that it is important that they can eat the same things:

Muslim, she should be a Muslim. A Christian is not possible. You buy a thing and she doesn't eat, for example I eat goat, now if she doesn't eat...

Dário in Montepuez wants to get married, but like Moussa, he does not think he will get married until he has finished his studies. Dário who has a girlfriend in class 7 also wants his girlfriend to conclude her education before they get married.

I use to tell her that we cannot expect to get married now. For example she has already said that she would like to do *nível médio* (advanced secondary school), and then, if there will be possibilities, continue with her studies. So, it's from there we will get married, each one knowing that now I can get married.

For Joseph in Masasi, religion and ethnicity of his future wife is not important and states that if he happens to meet a Christian and his parents agree with his future wife being a Christian although they are Muslims, he will not force her to change her faith. What is important to him is character and habits. Also the level of education is important for Joseph, who would like his wife to have studied at least to Form IV, despite the fact that he dropped out in secondary school after Form II. He says that it is important that his wife has studied so that she will be able to help the children with their homework. Joseph does not mention if he wants his wife to be working or not.

Many of the male respondents were not satisfied with their financial situation and this was one reason why they had not yet married. It is regarded as difficult to get married until you have enough money and a good life. Since many respondents have livelihoods which enable them to get through the next day but not much further, this is difficult.

José in Montepuez has a girlfriend but says that he will not marry her. Marriage is simply not possible the way his life situation is right now because he does not have any money. He says rhetorically: "*What would I give her if I don't have anything?*" However, José would like to get married one day. When we discuss what he considers important in his choice of wife, he says that religion

and ethnicity are important, but that education is not, which was an unusual response among the respondents. Few regarded ethnicity as important but emphasised education. This may have to do with José's own educational background. For him, ethnic identity may be more important than education identity because he has not gone to school himself. However, other respondents who have not gone to school make different priorities, such as Isac in Masasi who would like to have a wife who has gone to school because he has not:

You see *bwana*, as I didn't go to school myself, I will find a woman who has gone to school so that she can help me with many things. [...] It will depend on who I will fall in love with, but I won't choose someone who hasn't gone to school like me. No, I will find someone who has completed at least Std 7.

8.4.2 Preferences of female respondents

Some of the young women who were not in school said that they were ready to get married, while the young women in school wanted conclude their studies first and get a job before they get married.

Deborah in Masasi would like to get married now and said that she would marry anybody. For her it is not important if he is a government employee, businessman at the market or a farmer. "*Also if he is a farmer I would accept. We can farm together and live a normal life?*". Ethnic group is not important either, but she would like him to be Christian like her.

Paula in Montepuez does not want to get married until she has concluded her studies.

L: You said before that you want to get married?

P: Yes, after completing [my studies].

L: From what environment would you like your husband to be? For example, is religion important or not?

P: It is.

L: It's important that he has the same religion as you have?

P: Yeah, he has to have the same religion.

L: And you are?

P: Catholic.

L: Catholic. What about ethnicity, is that important or not?

P: No.

L: Is education important or not?

P: It is. To be well educated, not badly educated (*não ser mal educado*)

J: You said education, but what level of education? Would you like to get married to somebody who studied or who did not study?

- P: With one who studied! (giggles)
 L: Until what level?
 P: Until completing the studies.
 L: Conclude what year?
 P: Until 12^a (advanced secondary school level).
 L: So it could be a level of education which is lower than yours?
 P: It could be. It depends on the liking.

Furaha in Masasi thinks that education is important. She is a secondary school leaver herself and the lowest level of education she would accept for a partner is Std 7, i.e. that he is a primary school leaver. That he belongs to the same religion as her (Islam) is important to her while ethnicity is not. For Furaha, it is also important to get married to somebody from town:

I am from town myself so I want a husband from town because we will already be used to the town environment.

While Furaha does not mind a husband with lower education than herself, Rosalina in Montepuez states that it is important that her husband has a higher education than she has, which illustrates some of her views concerning gender relations in a marriage:

- R: Ah, it has to be more than I have. If I conclude with *nível médio* (advanced secondary education), he should have more than *nível médio*, yes.
 L: Why is it important that he has a higher level than you?
 R: It's important that there is inequality (*desigualdade*) between us. Yes, I cannot get married to an inferior person, he should be able to give me good advice.

Celina in Montepuez used to have a husband but they got divorced and now she has a boyfriend who has come to Montepuez to study. She does not expect them to get married.

- C: [...] he is a student, studies there at *Escola industrial*. That's why I don't count him as my husband. He came to study here and when he concludes he will go back to his area.
 [...]
 L: Would you like to get married to him?
 C: Yes! I like this guy, but because we who haven't studied... People who have studied don't need somebody who hasn't studied, and that's why he will leave me, yes. But I like this guy.

Celina does not see him as a husband because she is sure that he will leave Montepuez when he is finished with his studies. Another reason why she thinks he will leave her is due to her limited education. For Celina, the fact

that she has not studied is deciding both her future livelihood and who she will get married to.

8.5 Children and their future

8.5.1 *Changing practices of initiation*

Another aspect which was discussed during the interviews in regard to the future family was the future of their children, including initiation, education, livelihood and place of residence. As mentioned in the overview in the beginning of the chapter, some of the respondents already have children while all but one respondent want to have children in the future.

Most respondents said that their children will go through the initiation rite, but the discussions suggest that the practice of initiation is changing. While some respondents said that their children would go through the initiation rite the way they did, others said that they would stay for a shorter time and/or in a different way.

Deborah in Masasi says that her sons will be circumcised in the hospital but she is not sure if after the circumcision she should send them to an initiation rite. Her daughters will be initiated the way she was, i.e. they will be 'inside' for two weeks together with some other girls and receive teaching from elders.

Celina in Montepuez states that of course her children will go through initiation. "*Yes, it's our tradition!*" But it will not be done the way she was initiated. It will be shorter and finish after only one week compared with her initiation which lasted several months. She will not allow anybody to beat her daughters during initiation, as they had done to her.

Paula in Montepuez, is the only respondent who had not gone through and would not go through the initiation rite, and said that her daughters would not do it either. However, if she has sons, they will go through initiation, first with circumcision in the hospital and then a few days of guidance at home.

Furaha in Masasi says that she might send her children to the initiation rite:

If they go through it or not, it's all the same. So if I will send them it will be just for the ceremony. I will put them inside for two or three days and that's enough.

In Furaha's view, initiation is not so important and if she does allow her children to do it, it will be only for a few days. Instead, she sees it as her role as a mother to teach them about respect. Female respondents with secondary education, like Furaha and Paula, seem to think that initiation is less important, at least for their daughters. The middle-class, urban background clashes with the role of initiation as a traditional practice for girls, while for boys there is a medical consideration regarding circumcision.

Also Maria in Masasi says that her sons will be circumcised in the hospital, while her daughters will not go through initiation at all. She will teach them herself about discipline and respect and they will not be taught how to live with a man until they are about to get married.

Isac in Masasi wants his sons to be initiated "*the modern way*", which means circumcision in the hospital. Then they will stay inside for a period of time, but not in the bush as he did. For his daughters, it will be up to their mother if they will go through initiation or not and how it will be done.

For the girl, I will ask her mother if she wants her daughter to go through initiation. If she wants to, then she will go. But for the boys, I want them to do it the modern way.

Mohamed in Masasi wants his sons to be initiated the way he was. First they will be circumcised in the hospital and then they will stay in a house, not in the bush. He will have them circumcised when they are about five to six years old. If he gets a daughter, she will go through initiation when she is six to seven years old and she will stay inside for a while at home. Exactly how this will be done he does not know because "*that's women's work*". Both Isac's and Mohamed's stories show that initiation is a gendered practice where the fathers are responsible for the sons' initiation and the mothers for the daughters' initiation. However, the female respondents feel free to talk about their sons' initiation.

8.5.2 Preferred education, livelihoods and place of residence for their children

When the respondents were talking about how many children they want to have in the future, there was no preference for boys or girls. The respondents wanted their children, both sons and daughters, to study for as long as possible and then to become employed. Most respondents said that they would prefer their children to live in an urban area and while some preferred a larger town, others preferred Masasi and Montepuez. Some also wanted their children to live abroad.

Maria in Masasi, who already has a son, wants to have another son and two daughters and she wants them to live close to her in Masasi. She wants one of her children to become a medical doctor, one to become a Member of Parliament and one to do business. Concerning who will do what, she says the following:

This Member of Parliament I want the Member of Parliament and the doctor to be girls. This is so because I want her to fight for women's rights there. If my daughter will be a member of parliament, maybe laws that will be initiated will protect women and we will get our rights. One of the sons will do business because men are more flexible to travel around, yaa.

At the same time as Maria is challenging gender roles by giving girls the role of the doctor and member of parliament, she is also reproducing them by saying that one of her sons can be a businessman because men are more mobile.

Isac in Masasi would like to have one or two more children. He brings up his own lack of education in relation to his children.

I: I haven't gone to school so I will make sure that I really educate my children so that they get more education than their father.

L: Which level of education do you want your children to have?

I: If they will pass to continue to study [after completing primary school] I will take them to [secondary] school. If they won't pass then I will take them to an institute to continue to study for a while. After completing there and if they get the chance, they will work. They will know what to do.

L: Mm, where do you want them to live in the future?

I: Aaa, I can't choose for them because my choice is to stay here in Masasi, but they can choose to live in Dar es Salaam, Mozambique or out of Tanzania like Europe or anywhere they want, yaa.

In the following passage, Isac suggests a hierarchy of attractive livelihoods, where business is an alternative if his daughter does not manage to get employment.

If I will get a baby girl, I will want her to work and if not, I would like her to do business. If she doesn't manage to do that, then she can do anything she wants to, but I don't want her to be a thief or a bad person. I want her to do good things.

Deborah in Masasi, who has a son who is 1.5 years old, jokingly says that she does not know if she will have more children. "*I can't say because I haven't phoned God!*" ("*Sivesi kusema. Sijapiga simu kwa Mungu!*"). For Deborah, it is self-evident that her children will go to school and if they pass the primary school

leaving exam, she wants them to go to secondary school. She would like them to become doctors and teachers and live anywhere they want in Tanzania.

José in Montepuez puts his future in the hands of God and that God will decide if he will have a family in the future. José would like to have one child and if God wishes, it will be a daughter.

L: Would you like to have children?

J: Yes.

L: How many children?

J: Maybe one.

L: Why one?

J: If God wishes, he will give me a daughter.

L: Why would you rather have a daughter than a son?

J: Because we have problems with the boys.

L: What kind of problems?

J: More or less this manner... to not think about his father.

As shown, José would like to have a daughter because sons do not care as much for the parents as girls do. It is also interesting that José wants to have only one child, while most of the other respondents mention two to four children. He does not mention why, but it could be due to lack of resources. A few other respondents also living under harsh conditions said that they do not want to have children or only one child and the reason they gave was because they have no livelihood and no resources, they feel unable to raise children. The young people who participate in this study live in town and it is more expensive to raise children in urban areas than in rural areas. Education is more expensive, people often rent a house and have to buy more food than people who live in rural areas where the main livelihood is cultivation.

Like Isac, José also makes a hierarchy between preferred livelihoods, which he relates both to his own means and God's will.

L: Will she go to school?

J: Yes.

L: More or less until what level?

J: Any level that she wants, if I will have the possibilities.

L: And after education, what would you like her to do?

J: To have employment, if God wishes, and if God doesn't wish so, to be a farmer.

L: Where would you like her to live?

J: Anywhere. It could be right here, or in Namuno, or in Pemba or Nampula.

L: And if you could choose, where would it be?

J: Right here in Montepuez.

José himself imagines his future as a farmer in the village. His narrative shows that to be a farmer is an alternative for his child if she does not manage to get employment.

Celina in Montepuez, who takes care of eight children after the death of her sister, does not have any children of her own yet, but she would like to have two or three. Celina, who herself has dropped out of school several times and recently repeated class 5, would like her children to study. As many other respondents, she is conscious about her future economic resources.

I would like my children to study. Even go to university if I had possibilities. Go to university and compete for a job, yes.

Celina differentiates between her 'own' children and her sister's children. While she would like her sister's children to study and complete advanced secondary school (class 12), she wants her 'own' children to go to university. The reason could be that she mentions a level of education that is more within reach for her sister's children because these children are real while her 'own' children are still a fantasy. Another explanation could be that, as has been shown earlier, sometimes one's own children are given higher priority than stepchildren, which can be attributed to limited economic resources, hence the necessity to make priorities.

Dário in Montepuez would like to have a son and a daughter and he wants both of them to study more than him and to live abroad. As shown in Dário's narrative, he wants his children to do better than himself.

D: Two is enough for me. A girl and a boy.

L: Your children, will you educate them?

D: Of course! I could never abandon them and run away. I would never make such a mistake.

L: Until what level of education would you like your children to study?

D: I would like them to study at a higher level than the one I will complete.

L: Both of them?

D: Yes.

L: What would you like them to do in the future?

D: I would like them to become doctors.

L: In the hospital?

D: Yes, they could be doctors in the hospital... I really would like my children to become doctors.

L: Where would you like them to live?

D: Well, I really would like... [them] to be outside of Mozambique. Any country which they would like, you see? But I would like them to settle abroad.

8.6 Conclusion

Many of the young people in this study are breaking new ground and are creating new paths, at least in their imagination and in their aspirations. They want a different future than their parents and they want a different future again for their children. While some present themselves as being in control of their lives, others see themselves as victims of circumstances or put their faith in God. And while some accept their position as given, others expressed anger and frustration. Dreams and images of the future can have different functions in the life of a young person and the stories exemplified different ways of handling the present life situation. Mohamed's ambition to grow as a businessman was for instance presented as a strategy to be fulfilled, while Celina expressed anger and frustration about her situation by rhetorically questioning a dream of working in an office when you do not have the qualifications. "*Can I wish to work in an office without studying? And work? Can I wish to work in the tribunal without studying?*"

One of the similarities in the respondents' aspirations and dreams about the future was the strong desire to become civil servants or employees in companies or organisations. The perceived security, the high qualifications and the good pay make these jobs a kind of ideal job for many young people, and was also reflected in the aspirations they had for their children. Since formal employment opportunities are scarce, the chances of obtaining such employment are limited. Apart from secure employment in the public or private sectors, another prominent dream was to establish and expand small businesses.

Another recurrent theme in the stories was that young men and women wanted their future place of residence to be in the same urban area where they now live, or in a nearby urban centre. Their family networks, the close distance and the perceived opportunities in these places explain why they were seen as attractive places. The places mentioned were often places they had visited, for example to see relatives. Some wanted to live in the capital city or go to America and England but also to the neighbouring countries Uganda and Kenya to "*experience a different environment*". Those who wanted to move further away were respondents with more privileged backgrounds.

Linked to this aspiration was the desire of many young people to maintain farming as a complementary livelihood in the future, both for family consumption and as a means of income. Some wanted to buy a farm close to town or near the road while others wanted to obtain a farm in their 'home village' or continue to cultivate on the family *machamba/shamba*. Agriculture as

a complementary livelihood will probably constitute an important part of the urbanisation process in this region.

Concerning their visions about their children's future, the stories were strikingly similar. All respondents wanted their children to study as far as possible and then to secure employment. They also wanted them to live in an urban area but stated that they would allow their children to choose their livelihoods and where they would live. Although the respondents are young, many feel that their own horizons of possibilities are limited, but express that things could be different for their children. This also suggests that the respondents allow themselves to have different hopes for the more distant future while they are more 'realistic' in the short term perspective.

Despite the similarities, there were also gender, class and educational differences concerning how the respondents looked upon their future. Some of the middle-class girls had already internalised their future as working mothers, and these were illustrated in some of the narratives which stated they would instruct somebody to take care of their children and the house. However, it was apparent that the husband would not be responsible for the children and the household, which was also apparent in some of the male respondents' stories. A division of labour according to gender was also evident when discussing the children's initiation. While the men would be responsible for the sons' initiation, the women would decide what to do with the girls' initiation.

Female respondents living under harsh economic conditions and large family responsibilities were more eager to get married immediately than those who were still studying. They were also less concerned with the educational level, livelihood and rural/urban background of their future husband. Female students wanted to wait before getting married until they had completed school and they wanted to have a husband who had studied and was from town. Although some of the female students said that it was not a problem if the husband had less education than she had, one of the female students said that it was important for her husband to have studied more than she had because her husband could give her guidance. Also male respondents wanted to have a partner who had studied, preferably from town, but there were variations. Some male respondents were frustrated about their financial situation and therefore said that they cannot get married now: "*What would I give her if I don't have anything?*" Like female respondents in school, male respondents who were still studying wanted to delay marriage until they had finished school.

9. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Meeting Saíde who had experiences of living in both Montepuez and Masasi, had raised my initial curiosity about young people living in the borderland of Tanzania and Mozambique. However, Saíde turned out to be an exception. Few of the other young people who participated in this research had migrated across the Mozambique-Tanzania border and few had cross-border mobility experiences related to travel. The thesis therefore told a different story. This thesis has explored in different ways how and under what conditions life strategies of young men and women unfold in the towns Masasi in southern Tanzania and Montepuez in northern Mozambique. These towns are located in regions which in the national context are perceived as peripheral and rural. Life strategies of young people have been examined, with particular emphasis on the central issues of livelihood, education and mobility. Definitions and representations of youth have also been investigated as well as how global processes are involved in young people's daily lives.

In this chapter, I present the main findings of this thesis. First, livelihood strategies and education are discussed and contextualised within the burden of responsibility and harsh economic conditions. Secondly, I examine mobility and the involvement of global processes in the lives of young people. Finally, I discuss the power relations involved between young people and the various actors with whom they interact.

9.1 Economic hardship the everyday reality

Many young people are under substantial pressure to support themselves and their families. To contribute to the well-being of the family could be characterised as one of the most important components of the *youth task*. However, there is a contradiction between the expectations on youth to contribute financially to the household economy and their possibilities to do so under harsh economic conditions when jobs are scarce and the main livelihood opportunity is self-employment. There is currently a strong 'create your own employment' discourse in Tanzania and Mozambique. Young people are told not to 'sit around and wait' for the government to give them a job. Self-employment is promoted as a solution to poverty by the government and by various organisations. However, young people in Masasi and Montepuez contested this discourse. A distinction was made between 'real' jobs (*kazi/trabalho*) and other livelihoods. Employment as civil servants, for companies and NGOs fell into the category of 'real' employment and were attractive future livelihoods, for themselves as well as for their children. These jobs

were perceived as well paid jobs which provide security. Self-employment and employment for private people such as domestic workers, barmaids and shopkeepers were not perceived as real employment. Many young people know that there is a minimum wage but they do not relate this to their own situation because the minimum wage and social security is for those few with 'real' jobs. For them, there is no such thing as social security and demands of any kind may lead to dismissal.

As economic hardship is the everyday reality for many young people, the space of action to develop long term strategies is limited and there is no possibility to create a buffer against unforeseeable crises. Young people's aspirations for the future can be seen in this light since it was clear that they are hoping to acquire more secure livelihoods. For some respondents, the aspirations for the future were actual strategies to reduce economic hardship, while for others they were expressions of frustration about their present situation. The limited support system cannot be analysed without putting it into context of the neo-liberal policies which have dominated the development agenda in both Mozambique and Tanzania since the 1980s. A free market, the responsibility of individuals on the local level e.g. through self-employment, promoted by institutions such as the World Bank, clearly influences what life strategies are possible. This neo-liberal interpretation of 'empowering individuals' results in disempowerment and individualisation, because it does not challenge the existing power structures, as Mohan and Stokke (2000) point out. The influence of neo-liberalism and globalisation has had similar effects on the lives of young people in Masasi and Montepuez while differences in the respective national context seemed to have played a less important role. Conducting fieldwork in two geographical contexts therefore does not necessarily result in a comparison of differences, but an illustration of similarities. However, there was one important exception, namely the differences in the education system in the two countries, which resulted in dissimilarities concerning what life strategies it was possible to have.

Education was for many respondents a strategy to be able to compete for 'real' employment, despite the slim chances of obtaining such a job. To study was also a strategy to obtain higher status in society, which became apparent in the interviews with some of the young men in Montepuez who were studying as well as doing business. They considered business as their future livelihood and were not aspiring for employment. Despite this, they had chosen to continue to study. Those who were sure that they would make it beyond primary school were those with the most privileged background in terms of financial, cultural and social capital. The respondents who studied but whose parents were poor stated that it would be difficult to continue studying

due to financial constraints. There is a dominant discourse in society that young people *should* study, but although some of them *wanted* to continue studying, they knew that they *could not* because of the financial constraints on the family. This illustrates the contradiction between *can*, *want* and *should*. The different ways of organising the education systems in Tanzania and Mozambique also clearly influenced what educational strategies were possible and whether it was feasible to combine education with an economic activity. The way school hours are organised and regulations concerning the right to continue to study after drop-out or pregnancy made education a more accessible strategy in Montepuez than in Masasi.

If one possesses no primary and secondary education, it means exclusion even from the *chance* of getting 'real' employment, particularly when 'real' employment opportunities are scarce. In the light of the strong education discourse, one can ask what effects increased education will have if no employment opportunities are created? Ishumi and Malekela (1996) discuss the relevance of education in the Tanzanian context and they suggest a demand rather than supply driven education. In their view, because employment opportunities are few, education should prepare young people for self-employment. Young people who have participated in this study demand more secure livelihoods such as 'real' employment in the public and private sector. Given the vulnerable position of many self-employed youth, self-employment seems unrealistic as *the* solution to young people's livelihoods. If the demands from the participants in this study were considered, the current revitalisation of the education strategy at the national level should be combined with a greater effort to increase opportunities for 'real' employment. In addition, if education would be directed towards preparing young people for self-employment, this has to be accompanied with resources in order to make self-employment more secure.

9.2 Mobility and global processes in *place*

Migration and travel experiences of young people in Masasi and Montepuez have mainly been undertaken within the district or the region, and livelihood, education or social networks were driving their space. The mobility of young people in Masasi and Montepuez follows a local logic; what Castells (1998) calls a *space of places*, distant from the global logic of the information society. A recurrent theme in the stories was that young men and women wanted their future place of residence to be in the same urban area in which they now live, or in a nearby urban centre. Their family networks, the close distance and the perceived opportunities in these places explain why they were seen as attractive places. The places mentioned were often places they had visited, for ex-

ample to see relatives. Some also wanted to live in the capital city or go to countries such as America and those with such aspirations and dreams appeared to be the more privileged youth.

Most of the respondents wanted to continue farming as a livelihood in the future, both for family consumption and as a means of income. However, farming was seen as a complementary strategy, in addition to other livelihood activities such as business and employment. Some respondents already had a *machamba/shamba* while others said that they would obtain one in the future. Although most young people wanted to live in an urban area, possessing a piece of land for cultivation as a strategy implied that young people were not abandoning rural areas. The relationship between towns and rural areas is therefore maintained and agriculture as a complementary livelihood strategy constitutes a central part of the urbanisation process in this region. This is the current shape of urbanisation in these areas, but the role of agriculture could change for example if migration to the largest cities increased or if changes in the production system occurred. Agriculture as a complementary strategy may then no longer be possible or no longer necessary as a safety net.

Global processes were involved in young people's daily lives and they related to them in various ways. From this point of view, 2003 turned out to be an interesting year for fieldwork. This year was when the first mobile phone network was established in Masasi and Montepuez and mobile phones became a status symbol. This year was also when internet connection became available at the telecommunication office in Montepuez and when the first supermarket opened in Masasi. Global processes are present in young people's lives in terms of consumption of music, television programmes and videos. In addition, clothes produced and used around the world are marketed and sold by youth to youth in these places.

Global processes in terms of *consumption* are present in Masasi and Montepuez. However, the *production process* of globalisation is not linked to these places in terms of industries. Young people are consuming global goods and selling products produced on the global market, but as they said during the interviews, there are no companies in Masasi and Montepuez, referring to foreign industries. The restructuring of the global economy has not produced 'real' employment opportunities in these towns, which among young people has produced a feeling of exclusion from the process of globalisation in terms of work. While consumption patterns are increasingly becoming homogenised, 'the global shift' of production has been concentrated to some regions (Dicken 2003). The consequences of global processes in Masasi and Montepuez are primarily expressed through changed patterns of consumption rather

than a change in the production system through industrialisation. The emphasis is still on agriculture but combined with trade and service. My study thus confirms an overall process of deagrarianisation, as discussed by Bryceson (1996 and 1997), i.e. if industrialisation does not take place and agriculture is not a sustainable livelihood strategy on its own, what remains is the utilisation of a combination of strategies consisting of primary and tertiary activities.

Images of places which young people had not visited influenced their life strategies and sense of self. Related to globalisation and mobility, or rather, immobility was the perception that there is no use researching places that you know you will never be able to visit. Some young people said that they do not know anything about places where they have not visited and argued that “*It’s better to see than to hear*”. This reflects a phenomenon of “self-peripheralisation”, a concept used by Liechty (1995), which is shaped for example by images from global media. Access to information is much greater than before, but possibilities to utilise what is on display are limited. When young people in my study compared their countries with other countries, they stated that their countries are poor and underdeveloped. The perception is that in America and in European countries, life is better and people here can be “*sure about life*”. Foreign aid further intensifies the phenomenon of self-peripheralisation. As has been shown in this thesis, the presence of external actors such as international organisations and NGOs is high in Masasi and Montepuez through HIV/AIDS prevention, education programmes, micro-credit and food provision to schools.

9.3 Actors, power relations and beyond vulnerability

Young people are actors among other actors, such as other youth, family members, leaders and organisations. It is important to highlight that power relations are embedded in the interactions between these actors. Some respondents felt that there was a demand from leaders and other adults for young people’s labour power but that they were not given space to contribute with ideas. There was therefore a conflict between being *needed* and being *trusted*. Another contradiction was between *knowing* your right and *getting* it. You may know what you are entitled to, such as a house or a piece of land, but without social capital through relatives and friends who can support you and push your case, your chances of achieving your rights are limited. This also implies that you may not even bother to claim them in the first place.

The abuse of power by some actors was illustrated through various examples of corruption; such as teachers who demanded bribes to pass students; village

leaders who solved problems only if they got something in return; market leaders who took items from businessmen without paying; and the difficulty of obtaining employment and scholarships without the right connections and money for bribes. Corruption was seen as a problem but there were examples of young people who through self-organisation both demanded their space and collectively challenged corrupt leaders. Some young people have been organised through international organisations and despite rhetoric about ownership, it is rarely young people who set the agenda of the type of activities to be organised, or how and where they take place. Power relations are involved between the participants in the youth groups, district leaders and the international organisations providing the funding. Young people are aware that they are not setting the agenda, for example if money is available for HIV/AIDS activities, then these are the activities which will be undertaken – as long as the funds are available. Another power relation involved here is between ‘the chosen ones’ who were trained to inform other young people about HIV/AIDS and those who were not selected.

Many young people in this study had limited assets and small margins. The economic hardship of young people, together with a weak position in terms of power, makes young people vulnerable. Rather than viewing the vulnerability context as one factor *in addition to* policies and institutions for example, as done in the livelihood framework (e.g. Rakodi 2002), it can be argued that vulnerability is also *created* through the current shape of these policies and institutions and the actors who promote them, as well as actors such as corrupt teachers and leaders. The degree of vulnerability depends on the composition of assets of the individual or the household/family, such as money, social capital, human capital, natural capital and symbolic capital, thus some young people are less vulnerable than others. Vulnerability limits the space for present strategies as well as long term strategies for the future, which has implications for the individual youth, their family as well as the society as a whole.

In Masasi and Montepuez, the rural economy still has an important function as a safety net within the urban landscape. Young people combine different livelihood strategies, involving activities associated with urban as well as rural spaces. The urban-rural continuum and multi-spatiality are major manifestations of urbanity in these towns. The mobility is mainly local due to a local social network and due to limited resources. Those with larger resources are more mobile and the more privileged youth were the ones who aspired to move to the larger cities or abroad. The share of the urban population is steadily increasing in Mozambique and Tanzania, implying that a growing number of young people are trying to live and plan their future in urban areas, in towns as well as in cities. The views and experiences of the young people

who have participated in this study are important. If these were considered to enable the creation of better living conditions for youth, then secure livelihoods and enhanced power of youth would be high on the agenda.

SUMMARY

A rapid process of urbanisation is taking place on the African continent and Mozambique and Tanzania are no exceptions to this trend. When urban contexts are in focus, attention is often paid to the largest cities, but for instance in Mozambique and Tanzania, the three largest cities make up only around half of the urban population. This implies that the other half of the urban population live in areas further down the urban hierarchy, such as in regional and district centres. The settings of this study are the towns of Masasi in southern Tanzania and Montepuez in northern Mozambique, located in regions which in the national context are perceived as peripheral and rural. Young people, who constitute a significant share of the population, are important actors in the urbanisation process. Against this background, it is vital to obtain a greater knowledge about the life strategies of young people in urban contexts, including the small town context.

The aim of this research was to explore how and under what conditions life strategies of young men and women unfold in the towns Masasi and Montepuez. My research questions were:

- How is youth defined and how can life strategies of youth be related to the representations of young people in national and local discourses?
- What are the life strategies of young people and how do the strategies develop in these specific time-space contexts?
- How are the central issues of livelihood, education and mobility included in the life strategies of young people?
- How are global processes involved in young people's daily lives and how do they relate to them?

Fieldwork was conducted between 2002 and 2004 and a substantial part of the empirical material consists of structured and semi-structured interviews with young men and women in the towns Masasi and Montepuez. There were contrasting views regarding the definition of youth, what young people are expected to do and what young people feel that they can accomplish. For example, there was a contradiction between the expectations on youth to contribute financially to the household economy and their possibilities to do so under harsh economic conditions. There was also a conflict between being needed and being trusted. Young people felt that their labour power was demanded, but that they were not trusted in terms of contributions of views and ideas.

Unequal power relations characterised life conditions of young people in these towns, for instance in terms of social class, gender and age. Corruption was highlighted as a problem by the respondents in several contexts, such as teachers, administrators and village leaders who frequently demanded bribes. However, there were examples of young people, when organised, being able to change dissatisfactory social relations such as corrupt leadership.

Many of the respondents were struggling hard in their livelihood strategies and their difficult economic situation largely dominated their everyday life. Jobs are scarce and the main livelihood opportunity is self-employment. Small margins imply having to think about immediate survival needs and it is difficult to create a buffer against economic hardship when this is the everyday reality. This situation, together with a weak position in terms of power, makes young people vulnerable. Lack of resources and insecurity limit the space of action and provide few opportunities to act strategically, which in turn limit the space to take further risks. Self-employment is promoted as a solution to poverty by the government and by various organisations, but young people in Masasi and Montepuez contested this discourse. Employment as civil servants, for companies and NGOs, were attractive future livelihoods, for themselves as well as for their children. These jobs were perceived as well paid jobs which provide security and contrary to other livelihoods, they were perceived as 'real' employment.

Education was a strategy in order to compete for 'real' employment, despite the slim chances of obtaining such a job. To study was also a strategy to obtain higher status in society. However, there were major differences in terms of educational opportunities and educational experiences. Decisions concerning if and how education could be a life strategy were related to economic resources, traditions of education within the family, social class, social capital, gender, corruption and administration. The different ways of organising the education systems in Tanzania and Mozambique also clearly influenced what educational strategies were possible, alongside whether education could be combined with an economic activity. The way school hours are organised and regulations concerning the right to continue to study after drop-out or pregnancy made education a more accessible strategy in Montepuez (Mozambique) than in Masasi (Tanzania).

Global processes are involved in young people's lives in Masasi and Montepuez in different ways. The influence of external actors such as donors and international organisations on the lives of young people in these localities is strong. Respondent youth incorporate international organisations in their narratives and leaders talk about the government and its partners. International

organisations support and train youth-HIV/AIDS programmes and it could be argued that young people have been ‘discovered’ through the fight against HIV/AIDS. The presence of international donors highlights the power relations involved between young people and international organisations as well as between international organisations and the national government. Another way in which global processes are involved in young people’s lives is through the consumption of global goods, music, television programmes and videos from around the world. However, while global *consumption* patterns are seen in these places, the *production* process of globalisation is not linked to these places in terms of industries, as highlighted by respondents.

Concerning migration and journeys, the respondents had mainly moved or travelled within the district or the region. Through their own mobility and through other sources of information, the respondents have built a sense of their own place in relation to other locations. Some respondents wanted to live in the capital city or abroad but many young men and women wanted to stay within the region, either in their current town or in a nearby, larger urban centre. Their family networks, the close distance and the perceived opportunities in these places explain why they were seen as attractive places.

To have a piece of land for cultivation in addition to their current or future business or employment was considered as a strategy by most young people in Masasi and Montepuez and some young people already had a *machamba/shamba*. Although most young people wanted to live in an urban area, the strategy of having a piece of land for cultivation implies that young people are not abandoning rural areas. The relationship between small towns and rural areas is thereby maintained and agriculture as a complementary livelihood strategy constitutes a central part of the urbanisation process.

MUHTASARI

Mchakato wa ukuaji miji unatokea kwa wingi katika bara la Africa, Msumbiji na Tanzania zikiwa miongoni mwao. Ukizungumzia ‘mji’ uelewa unalenga zaidi kwenye miji mikubwa, lakini kwa Msumbiji na Tanzania miji mikubwa mitatu inajumla ya nusu ya watu wote waishio katika miji mikubwa. Hii inamaanisha kuwa nusu iliyobaki ya watu wanaishi maeneo mengine ambayo si miji mikubwa. Utafiti huu umefanyika katika miji midogo ya Masasi – Kusini mwa Tanzania na Montepuez – Kaskazini mwa Msumbiji. Miji midogo hii ipo maeneo ya ukingoni mwa mipaka ya nchi husika na sio miji mikubwa, na hivyo huonekana kama ‘vijiji’. Vijana ambayo ndiyo wengi zaidi wamekuwa wachochea chachu wakubwa katika mlolongo mzima wa ukuaji miji. Katika huu utangulizi ni muhimu kupata ufahamu juu ya mikakati ya maisha ya vijana waishio katika miji mikubwa pamoja na miji midogo.

Dhumuni la utafiti huu hasa ilikuwa ni kuangalia jinsi gani, na ni katika mazingira gani mikakati ya maisha ya vijana wa kike na wa kiume inajitokeza katika miji ya Masasi na Montepuez. Utafiti huu ulilenga kujibu maswali yafuatayo:

- Ujana unatafsiriwa vipi na ni vipi mikakati ya maisha ya vijana inahusishwa na uwakilishwaji wao katika taifa na maeneo waliyopo?
- Nini mikakati ya maisha ya vijana na ni vipi mikakati hiyo inaundwa?
- Ni jinsi gani mambo ya msingi ya maisha, elimu na uwezekano wa kuhama hama inahusishwa katika mikakati ya maisha ya vijana?
- Ni jinsi gani mlolongo wa utandawazi umejiingiza katika maisha ya kila siku ya vijana na ni vipi vijana wamejulusisha na mlolongo huo mzima wa utandawazi?

Ukusanyaji wa data ulifanyika kati ya mwaka 2002 na 2004. Takwimu za kutosha zilikusanywa toka kwa vijana wa kike na kiume katika miji ya Masasi na Montepuez kwa kutumia mahojiano yaliyo katika mpangilio na yasiyo katika mpangilio. Kumeoneka kuna mitazamo tofauti kuhusu nini maana ya ‘ujana’, nini vijana wanatarajiwa kufanya, na nini vijana wanafikiria wanaweza kufanya kwa ukamilifu. Kwa mfano, kumekuwa na utofauti wa mawazo kati ya matarajio ya mchango wa kifedha wa vijana katika familia na uwezekano wa wao kuendelea kutoa mchango huo wakati wakiwa wanakabiliana na mazingira magumu ya kiuchumi. Kumekuwa pia na mgongano kati ya vijana ‘kuhitajika’ na ‘kuaminika’. Vijana wanadhani kuwa nguvu kazi yao inahitajika lakini uaminifu juu yao

unatoweka inapofikia kipindi cha kuchangia mawazo yao katika mambo mbalimbali.

Kutokuwepo na uwiano katika usawa ni hali inayotawala katika maisha ya vijana kwenye miji hii midogo. Hii inajitokeza zaidi kwenye makundi ya mahusiano ya jamii, umri na jinsia. Rushwa imetajwa sana kama tatizo katika maeneo haya. Makundi yaliyotajwa kujihusishwa sana na rushwa ni walimu, watawala na viongozi wa vijiji ambao wamesemekana huwa wanadai wapewe hongo. Lakini pamoja na hili, inaonekana kuwa, kama vijana wakipangwa vizuri wanaweza kubadilisha utofauti uliopo wa uwiano wa usawa na hasa unaosababishwa na viongozi wala rushwa.

Wengi kati ya waliosailiwa wanapambana vikali katika kufanikisha maisha yao. Hali ngumu kiuchumi imekuwa inawakumba vijana katika maisha yao ya kila siku. Kazi za kuajiriwa ni haba mno, na uwezekano uliyopo zaidi wa kuweza kujikimu kimaisha ni kwa vijana kujajiri wenyewe. Hali hii inawafanya vijana kufikiria zaidi jinsi ya kujikimu kwa muda mfupi sana, yaani kwa ajili ya leo na kesho tu. Hali halisi ya ugumu wa maisha inawafanya washindwe kujiweka ziada katika kijikimu kimaisha. Hali hii pamoja na kuwa na nafasi finyu katika maamuzi kumewaweka vijana katika hali ya kudhurika. Ukosefu wa nyenzo mbalimbali na uhakika wa maisha bora unawafanya washindwe kupanga mikakati bora ya maisha na pia kushindwa kuwa na hali ya kuthubutu. Ajira binafsi imekuwa ikisisitizwa na kusaidiwa na serikali pamoja na makampuni mengine kama njia ya kujikwamua kutoka katika umasikini, lakini vijana wa masasi na Montepuez hawakubaliani na hili. Matarajio yao makubwa na kwa watoto wao, ni kuajiriwa kama watumishi wa serikali, kwenye mashirika yasiyo ya kiiserikali na katika makampuni binafsi. Kazi katika sehemu hizi zinaonekana kwao kama zina malipo mazuri na zinatoa uhakika wa maisha ya baadaye na ukilinganisha na shughuli nyingine za maisha, hizi zinaonekana kwao kama kazi 'halisi'.

Elimu inaonekana kuwa mkakati wa kuweza kushindania katika soko 'halisi' la ajira pamoja na kuwa uwezekano wa kupata ajira hizo ni mdogo sana. Kusoma pia imeonekana kuwa ni mkakati wa kuweza kupata nafasi ya juu katika jamii. Pamoja na hili, kumekuwa na tofauti kubwa kati ya uwezekano wa kujijelimisha na kujijelimisha halisi. Mambo yanayopelekea hali hii yanachangiwa zaidi na uwezo walionao kiuchumi, hali ya kielimu katika familia, jinsia, kundi ulilomo katika jamii, mchango katika jamii, utawala uliopo na rushwa. Utaratibu wa kupata elimu uliopo nchini Tanzania na Msumbiji pia unachangia ni jinsi gani vijana wanapanga mikakati ya kupata elimu. Hii ni pamoja na kuona kama kuna

uwezekano wa kusoma na wakato huo huo kufanya shughuli za kijiingizia kipato. Muda uliopangwa wa kwenda shuleni pamoja na utaratibu wa haki ya mwanafunzi kurejea masomoni mara baada ya kujifungua mtoto umewezesha kwa kiasi mkakati wa upatikanaji wa elimu katika mji wa Montepuez (Msumbiji) kuliko Masasi (Tanzania).

Utandawazi umewashirikisha vijana wa masasi na Montepuez katika njia tofauti. Ushawishi katika maisha ya vijana toka nchi za nje hasa makampuni ya kigeni pamoja na wahisani ni mkubwa sana. Makampuni ya kigeni yamesaidia kuelimisha vijana juu ya ugonjwa wa ukimwi na inasemekana yamewasaidia sana vijana katika kupambana na ukimwi. Uwepo wa wafadhili wa kigeni unaonyesha ni kwa kiasi gani uhusiano wa kimaamuzi uliopo kati ya vijana na makampuni ya kigeni, na pia kati ya makampuni ya kigeni na serikali za nchi husika. Jinsi nyingine inayoonyesha ushirikishaji wa vijana katika utandawazi ni namna wanavyonunua bidhaa za kigeni kama muziki, programu za kuninga na mikanda ya video toka sehemu mbalimbali duniani. Ingawa utumiaji wa bidhaa toka nchi za nje unajitokeza katika miji hii, uzaklিশaji wake hauko ndani ya miji hii. Hii imejitokeza kwa wasailiwa waliosema kuwa hakuna kampuni zinazozalisha bidhaa hizo katika miji hii.

Kuhusiana na uhamiaji na safari za mbalimbali, wasiliwa wamekuwa na uzoefu huo ndani ya wilaya na mkoa. Baadhi ya wasailiwa wanapendelea kuishi katika miji mikuu au nchi za nje. Vijana wengi pia wa kike na kiume wanapendelea maisha yao ya baadaye yawe mjini hasa maeneo ya kati ya miji mikubwa. Maeneo haya yamekuwa yakiwawutia kutokana na muonekano mzuri wa maisha ya baadhi ya wnaafamilia waishio huko, umbali mdogo uliopo toka maeneo wanayoishi sasa, na uwezekano uliopo wa kupata maisha mazuri katika miji hiyo.

Kuwa na eneo la kiluma kama kitu cha ziada ukiachia ajira au biashara walizonazo au wanazotarajia kuwa nazo vijana, imeonekana kuwa ni mojawapo ya mikakati ya vijana wengi katika miji hii ya Masasi na Montepuez na kuna baadhi ya vijana tayari wanamiliki mashamba. Ingawa vijana wengi wangependa kuishi kwenye miji mikubwa, bado mkakati wa kumiliki shamba unaonyesha kuwa hawako tayari kuachia kabisa maeneo ya vijijini. Hapa tunaona jinsi uhusiano kati ya miji midogo na vijiji unavyoimarika, na kilimo kutumika kama mkakati wa kupambana na maisha unakuwa ni mhimili wa mchakato mzima wa ukuaji miji.

RESUMO

Um rápido processo de urbanização está tomando lugar no continente Africano. Moçambique e Tanzânia não são excepções para esta tendência. Quando os contextos urbanos estão em foco, muitas vezes a atenção é dada às grandes cidades, mas por exemplo, em Moçambique e Tanzânia, as maiores três cidades constituem somente cerca de metade da população. Isto implica que a outra metade da população urbana vive em áreas mais embaixo na hierarquia urbana. Os cenários deste estudo são Masasi no sul da Tanzânia e Montepuez no norte de Moçambique; cidades localizadas em regiões que, nos seus contextos nacionais, são consideradas periféricas e rurais. Os jovens, que constituem uma parte grande da população, são importantes actores no processo de urbanização. Perante estes antecedentes, é importante obter mais conhecimentos sobre as estratégias de vida dos jovens em contextos urbanos, incluindo o contexto de pequenas cidades ou vilas.

O objectivo desta pesquisa foi explorar como e em quais condições as estratégias de vida de jovens homens e mulheres se desdobram nas cidades de Masasi e Montepuez. As minhas questões de investigação foram:

- Como é que se define um jovem, e como é que as estratégias de vida dos jovens podem ser relacionadas com as representações de jovens em discursos nacionais e locais?
- Quais são as estratégias de vida dos jovens, e como se desenvolvem as estratégias nestes contextos específicos do tempo-espaço?
- Como são as questões centrais de subsistência, educação e mobilidade incluídas nas estratégias de vida de jovens?
- Como é que os processos globais são envolvidos na vida diária de jovens, e como é que eles se relacionam com estes processos?

O trabalho de campo foi conduzido entre 2002 e 2004, e uma substancial parte do material empírico consiste de entrevistas estruturadas e semi-estruturadas com os jovens e as jovens das cidades de Masasi e de Montepuez. Houve visões contrastantes em relação a definição de jovem, o que se espera dos jovens e o que eles sentem que podem alcançar. Por exemplo, houve uma contradição entre expectativas sobre os jovens na contribuição financeira para a economia do agregado familiar e as possibilidades de fazê-lo sob condições económicas difíceis. Também houve um conflito entre ser precisado e ser confiado. Os jovens sentiram que o seu trabalho é exigido em demasia, mas que eles não são confiados em termos de contribuições de visões e ideias.

As relações desiguais de poder caracterizaram as condições de vida dos jovens nestas cidades, por exemplo em termos de classe social, género e idade. A corrupção foi ressaltada como um problema pelos respondentes em vários contextos, como por exemplo os professores, administradores e líderes das aldeias que frequentemente exigiram subornos. Entretanto, houve exemplos de jovens, quando organizados, sendo capazes de mudar relações sociais insatisfatórias como por exemplo a corrupção da liderança.

Vários repondentes estavam lutando muito nas suas estratégias de subsistência, e a sua difícil situação económica largamente dominava a sua vida diária. Trabalho é escasso e a principal oportunidade de sobrevivência é o auto-emprego. Pequenas margens implicam ter que pensar acerca da sobrevivência de hoje e de amanhã, e é difícil criar um colchão contra dificuldades económicas quando isto é a realidade diária. Esta situação, junto com uma posição de fraqueza em termos de poder, faz com que os jovens sejam vulneráveis. Falta de recursos e de insegurança limite o espaço para acção e fornece poucas oportunidades para agir estrategicamente, o que limita o espaço para tomar novos riscos. O auto-emprego é promovido como uma solução para a pobreza pelo governo e por várias organizações, mas os jovens de Masasi e Montepuez contestaram este discurso. Empregos como funcionários públicos, em companhias e ONGs foram vistos como atractivas formas de subsistência no futuro, para eles próprios assim como para os seus filhos. Estes trabalhos foram percebidos como bem pagos e que fornecem segurança, e também – diferente de outros tipos de subsistência – como empregos “de verdade”.

Educação era uma estratégia de competir para empregos “de verdade”, embora as chances de obter emprego sejam pequenas. Estudar também era uma estratégia para obter um estatuto mais elevado na sociedade. Contudo, houve grandes diferenças em termos de oportunidades de educação e experiências de educação. As decisões de se e como a educação podia ser uma estratégia foram relatados como relacionados com recursos económicos, tradições de educação dentro da família, classe social, capital social, género, corrupção e administração. As diferentes maneiras de organizar o sistema de educação na Tanzânia e em Moçambique também claramente influenciou quais estratégias educacionais que eram possíveis, ao lado de se fosse possível combinar a educação com a actividade económica. A forma como os calendários escolares são organizados e os regulamentos referentes ao direito de continuar os estudos depois da desistência ou gravidez faz com que a educação seja uma estratégia mais acessível em Montepuez (Moçambique) do que em Masasi (Tanzânia).

Os processos globais estão envolvidos nas vidas dos jovens em Masasi e em Montepuez em diferentes formas. A influência de actores externos nas vidas de jovens nestas localidades é forte, como pelos doadores e organizações internacionais. Os jovens respondentes incorporaram as organizações internacionais nas suas narrativas e os líderes falam acerca dos governos e de seus parceiros. Organizações internacionais apoiam e treinam jovens em programas de HIV/SIDA e pode ser argumentado que os jovens têm sido “descobertos” através da luta contra o HIV/SIDA. A presença de doadores internacionais realça as relações de poder envolvidas entre os jovens e as organizações internacionais assim como entre as organizações internacionais e os governos nacionais. Uma outra forma em que os processos globais estão envolvidos na vida dos jovens é através do consumo de produtos globais, música, programas de televisão e vídeos de todas as partes do mundo. Contudo, enquanto os padrões de *consumo* global são vistos nestes lugares, o processo de *produção* de globalização não está ligada com estes lugares em termos de indústrias, como foi realçado pelos respondentes.

A respeito de migração e viagens, os respondentes tinham principalmente feito experiências dentro do distrito ou da região. Através da sua própria mobilidade e de outras fontes de informação, os respondentes construíram um senso de seu próprio espaço em relação a outros lugares. Alguns respondentes queriam viver na cidade capital ou num país estrangeiro, mas muitos jovens homens e mulheres queriam ficar dentro da região, ou na cidade onde eles presentemente vivem ou num centro urbano maior na vizinhança. As ligações familiares, a distância próxima e as percebidas oportunidades nestes lugares explicam porque foram vistos como lugares atractivos.

Ter um pedaço de terra para o cultivo em adição para os seus correntes ou futuros negócios ou empregos foi considerado como uma estratégia para muitos jovens em Masasi e Montepuez, e alguns jovens já tinham a sua *machamba/shamba*. Embora muitos jovens quisessem viver em áreas urbanas, a estratégia para ter um pedaço de terra para o cultivo implica que os jovens não estão abandonando as áreas rurais. Por este meio, as relações entre as pequenas cidades e as áreas rurais são mantidas, e a agricultura como uma complementar estratégia de subsistência constitue uma parte central do processo de urbanização.

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Informant interviews with leaders

Ali, Magido (24 November 2003): District Executive (*Administrador*), Montepuez District.

Amade, Armando M. (23 November 2003): Head of Culture (*Chefe da Cultura*), Bairro de Nacate, Montepuez.

Kapinga, Joseph J. (10 June 2003): District Administrative Secretary and Acting District Commissioner, Masasi District.

Mijindo, Meruni J. (15 June 2003): Village Executive, Nyasa Village, Masasi.

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

- 1) Name
- 2) Age
- 3) Family: members, place/places of residence, family members' education and livelihood, e.g. how long sisters and brothers studied and how they support themselves. Cultivation? Which crops? Who is responsible for the land and who will inherit the land?
- 4) Ethnicity and Religion
- 5) Languages spoken
- 6) Education
- 7) Current livelihood and other livelihood experiences? Income/profit?
- 8) Access to resources (e.g. land or business)
- 9) Daily and weekly activities (in town and in villages). Where do you spend your time, doing what? When and how often do you go there? Is this your meeting place?
- 10) Do you have leisure time and resting day, what do you do?
- 11) Interests? What do you not like?
- 12) Place of birth
- 13) Migration experiences. With whom?
- 14) Current place of residence. With whom?
- 15) The future – What would you like to do in the future if you could make a wish? Education, livelihood, place of residence? Live in a town or village? Why? What's the difference between town and village? Marriage and children. Get a *machamba/shamba*?
- 16) Member of any organisation? Interested in community issues? Politics?
- 17) Initiation ceremony? When? Traditionally or in hospital?
- 18) Been to Mozambique/Tanzania?
- 19) Are you a child, youth or an adult? Why?

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

- 1) Can you tell me the story of your life so far?
- 2) Can you describe your life right now?
- 3) What are your dreams and hopes? Are they realisable? Obstacles?
- 4) What do you like most in your life? What do you hate most?
- 5) Imagine yourself in 10 years. What will you be doing then and where will you live?
- 6) Describe an ordinary day in your life in 10 years?
- 7) Who is a youth? When does adulthood start?
- 8) Are you a child, youth or an adult? Why? Are you sometimes regarded as a child and sometimes an adult?
- 9) What do you have to do so that your family will be satisfied with you?
- 10) When will your family accept you as an adult? What do you have to do before your family will start to call you an adult?
- 11) Which problems are you facing? How can they be solved?
- 12) Which problems are other youth (male and female) facing and how can they be solved?
- 13) Would you prefer to be a youth now or when your parents were youth? Are there any differences?
- 14) Do you have any responsibilities in the society (locally, nationally and internationally)?
- 15) Are you interested in society issues or politics? Why? How? Can you influence decisions that are taken in your society?
- 16) How does the village leaders/district council/government leaders regard youth?
- 17) What would you like to say to the village leaders/district council/government leaders in order to improve your life and other young people's life?
- 18) Which problems are there in the society in which you live? Which problems are there in Masasi/Montepuez in general? How can they be solved and by whom?

- 19) Have you been outside of Masasi District/Montepuez District? Where? When? Why?
- 20) What do you know about other places in Tanzania/Mozambique? How did you find out about them? How do they differ from Masasi/Montepuez?
- 21) What do you know about countries outside of Tanzania/Mozambique? How did you find out about them? How do they differ from Tanzania/Mozambique?
- 22) Are there any differences between towns and villages? What about the life of youth in town and in villages? Is there a relation between Masasi town/Montepuez town and the villages around Masasi/Montepuez?
- 23) Will you get a *machamba/shamba* in the future? Where? Which crops? Who will farm?
- 24) Did you go through initiation? When? What is the initiation ceremony? How was it done when you went through it?
- 25) Do you have a girlfriend/boyfriend/fiancée? Do you want to get married? From what environment and what education would you like your wife/husband to have? Is ethnicity/religion/education important for your choice?
- 26) Do you have children? Do you want to have children? How many? Will you educate them? To what level of education? What do you want your children to do in the future? Where do you want them to live?
- 27) Will your children go through initiation? How will it be done? Why?
- 28) What do you know about HIV/AIDS? Who does it concern? Is HIV/AIDS a problem in your society? In that case, how do you think it can be prevented? By whom? Are any actions taken? By whom?
- 29) Rights and legal issues: What do you know about your rights concerning marriage, to work, to inherit land and to open a bank account? What do you know about laws of crime? Are there any differences between the government law and the customary law? How? Are official or customary laws applied in your society?

OVERVIEW OF THE RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

MASASI

RESPONDENT	SCHOOLING	LIVELIHOODS/ACTIVITIES
Deborah , 19 years	Std 7	Petty business, farming
Furaha , 21 years	Form IV + 6 months computer course	Secretarial work at stationary shop
George , 24 years	Std 7, carpentry (3 years)	Carpenter
Isac , 19 years	Dropped out of Std 1	Wood carver
Joseph , 18 years	Dropped out of Form II	Petty business
Judith , 17 years	Completed Std 7, selected for Secondary school but did not join	Domestic worker
Maria , 23 years	Form IV	Petty business, farming, housewife, artist
Mohamed , 22 years	Std 7	Businessman
Moussa , 18 years	Dropped out of Std 6 -> 3 years in COBET -> Now in Form I, Secondary school	Secondary school student
Sharifa , 18 years	No primary education -> 3 years in COBET -> now in Form I, Secondary school	Secondary school student
Thomas , 16 years	Dropped out of Std 4	Sometimes helps his friend (shopkeeper), sometimes sells fish for his father
Zawadi , 22 years	Dropped out of Std 5	Barmaid

OVERVIEW OF THE RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

MONTEPUEZ

RESPONDENT	SCHOOLING	LIVELIHOODS/ACTIVITIES
Augusto , 14 years	Class 7 + now in year two at <i>Escola industrial</i>	Vocational school student (specialises in house construction)
Celina , 20 years	Dropped out early in primary school. Now on and off in class 5	Petty business and primary school student
Clara , 16 years	In class 9, secondary school	Secondary school student
Dário , 23 years	In class 10, secondary school	NGO employee and secondary school student
Irene , 16 years	In class 6, primary school	Primary school student
Oswaldo , 16 years	In class 10, secondary school	Secondary school student
José , 18 years	Dropped out of class 1, primary school	Peasant
Paula , 17 years	In class 9, secondary school	Secondary school student
Pedro , 18 years	Dropped out in class 5	Petty business
Rosalina , 22 years	In class 12 (last year of advanced secondary school)	Secondary school student
Selemane , 22 years	Dropped out of class 5 several years ago. Now started again, is in class 6	Petty business, farming and primary school student
Selma , 22 years	Dropped out of class 6, Now in class 8, secondary school	Secondary school student

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