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JÁ NÃO VALE A PENA IR PARA LÁ[1]: THE CHANGING DISCOURSE ON MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA BY MOZAMBICANS

Even though for decades poems and songs criticised Mozambicans' migratory work in South Africa, many young people from southern Mozambique still saw the work on plantations, mines and other paid occupations in South Africa as a way to be freed from the heavy burdens of marrying and raising a family and at the same time as a chance to accumulate wealth. However, in recent years the "fears" conveyed in poetry, songs, and other literary forms have gained prominence. Many Mozambicans with work experience in South Africa now point out that, "it is no longer worth going there". By discouraging other Mozambicans from considering South Africa the "golden metropolis", they adopt a discursive shift that is partly the result of new conjunctures, both in Mozambique and South Africa. This article aims to show that some poets and musicians have appropriated and reinterpreted the migratory work of Mozambicans in South Africa, emphasising more the negative aspects, thus contradicting the contemporary hegemonic discourse which saw migratory work in South Africa as the salvation for young and adult men. I examine, in particular, the works of José João Craveirinha. I argue that his position on migratory work is an extension of his anti-colonial struggle, which started in the 1950s. I also look at other songs by different authors who interpret migratory work based on their colonial and postcolonial experiences. I highlight that, in recent years, these critical voices tend to be taken up by people with or without experience of migratory work in South Africa to discourage further migration. Finally, I point out the poet's and the musicians' silences regarding Mozambican women's migratory work in South Africa and simultaneously emphasise that women have always been discouraged

1 Portuguese for "It's no longer worth going there". Literal translations for all songs, poems and interviews in the article were done by the author.

from migrating. The poet and the musicians only had eyes for the local South African prostitutes who enticed Mozambican men, gave them venereal diseases and made them forget their wives and families in Mozambique.

Keywords: *migratory work, Mozambique, South Africa, Craveirinha, musicians*

1. INTRODUCTION

Old Amosse Macandza, aged 71, sitting under a Mafurreira tree (*Trichilia emetica*), remembers the years he spent in South Africa, "you were almost nothing if you didn't work in *Djoni*[2]", and he adds that, "you could not even *lobolar*[3], neither build a house nor buy plough and cattle[4]. And if you didn't go there you would end up in *Shibalo*".[5] We find a similar message recorded in 1980 in the Chibuto district by the Cultural Services of Gaza province:

> A man who doesn't go to *Djoni*
> This man has no initiative
> We can ask him to take care of the children.
> Because he has no initiative.[6]

The assertion made by old Amosse is corroborated by the oral poetry performed by Fabião of Magude Maolela, a mine worker from Magude district, Maputo province, southern Mozambique, in 1983.[7] This was studied by Jeanne Marie Penvenne, a northern American historian and Bento Sitoe, a Mozambican linguist. In their suggestive essay, they argue that a man's

2 A shortened version of Johannesburg. For southern Mozambican *Djon*i or *Joni* means the whole of South Africa independently of the city. When one says, "I am going to *Djoni*" he means, "I am going to South Africa".

3 Price paid for the bride wealth.

4 Interview: Author with A Macandza, Maputo, Manhiça district, 13 November 2018.

5 Forced labour during the colonial period. It is a general term connecting low paid, unpaid, long-term labour, contract or forced labour and slavery (Charles van Onselen 1976) quoted by JM Penvenne, *Shibalo as a factor in labour migration: Sul de Moçambique* (Maputo: Centre of African Studies, 1977), pp. 1-2.

6 LA Covane, *Migrant labour and agriculture in Southern Mozambique with special reference to the lower Limpopo Valley 1920-1992* (PhD, University of London, 1996), p. 238. In northern Mozambique, in a matrilineal society, a similar message is transmitted to us about men who, because they did not participate in hunting journeys, did not know other countries, "No, what country does this fellow know? It's a lie, he's only a pounder of grain. That's why we Yao sing: goodbye, goodbye, goodbye you pounders of beans". Johanne Abdallah quoted by E Alpers, "Trade, state, and society among the Yao in the nineteenth century", *Journal of African History* 10 (3), 1969, p. 407.

7 This miner worker introduced himself as Fabião from Magude Maolela: JM Penvenne and B Sitoe, "Power, poets and the people: Mozambican voices interpreting history", *Social Dynamics* 26 (2), 2003, p. 76.

assertion of his masculinity in South Africa might cost him the job he needed to build a house, marry and take care of the family in Magude.[8]

Eusébio Tamele, a musician from southern Mozambique, Gaza province, who first looked for work in South Africa in 1951, highlighted that, "whoever went to South Africa was already considered a man" and added that, "the other objective was to get money for bridewealth".[9] According to him, those who went to work in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) were not socially valued. Going to work in South Africa, "gave prestige, the person that had not yet gone to South Africa felt very uncomfortable. You had to go to South Africa also to have conversations and feel like a complete man".[10]

The figure of *N'waselela*, the one who stayed behind, did not have the connotation of a person tied down, backward or lacking in curiosity and spirit of adventure. On the contrary, men that stayed behind if they had enough good fertile land, cattle and resources to marry, pay the tax and fulfil the colonial "moral obligation to work", without having to sell their labour power at home or abroad did not have to emigrate to accumulate and retain capital.[11]

Although a significant number of Mozambicans in southern Mozambique[12] looked at migratory work as a "source of liberation" since the nineteenth century, there appeared contemporary opposing voices that complained about the negative aspects that included mine disease, physical disability, death, permanent emigration of youth, racism, poor wages, the high costs of medical care and housing.[13]

8 Penvenne and Sitoe, "Power, poets and the people", p. 76.

9 Interview: L Covane with E Tamele, Xai-Xai, Gaza province, 30 January 1992. In: L Covane, *O impacto do trabalho migratório em Gaza: Vozes de mineiros, suas esposas e autoridades locais* (Maputo: Universidade Nachingwea, 2020), p. 66.

10 Interview: L Covane with E Tamele.

11 JM Penvenne, *Women, migration & the cashew economy in Southern Mozambique: 1945-1975*, Translated to Portuguese by António Roxo Leão (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015), p. 110.

12 In 1913, the South African authorities prohibited the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA, popularly known as WENELA) from recruiting workers from the region north of the Save River because of the high mortality rates of Mozambicans recruited there. However, workers from north of the Save River themselves would come to southern Mozambique in a few numbers in search of the WENELA recruitment posts. See L Covane, *O trabalho migratório e a agricultura no sul de moçambique 1920 - 1992*, 2ed. (Maputo: Promédia, 2020), p.106. Besides, there was a need to protect international investment in central and northern Mozambique from a shortage of labour.

13 Covane, *Migrant labour and agriculture in Southern Mozambique*, p. 345; C Darch, "Trabalho migratório na Africa Austral: Apontamento crítico sobre a literatura existente", *Estudos Moçambicanos* 3, 1981, pp. 89-91; RM Packard, *White plague, black labour: Tuberculosis and the political economy of health and disease in South Africa* (London: James Currey, 1989); P Harries, *Culture and identity: Migrant labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c.1860-1910* (London: James Currey, 1994).

José Craveirinha, a Mozambican poet and journalist, voiced the negative aspects linked to the migratory work in South Africa in the poems *Gado Mamparra Magaíza* (Silly Cattle Magaíza), *Lobo Calabouço e Crown Mines* (Dungeon Wolf and Crown Mines), *História do Magaíza Madevo* (History of Magaíza Madevo), *In Memoriam a Coal Brook* (In Memoriam to Coal Brook), *Estrada Nacional Nr.1* (National Road Nr. 1) and *Subida* (Ascent).[14] Some musicians like Alexandre Langa, Ligandza la Ntsondzo, António Marcos, Geremias Langa highlighted the lures of South Africa and its negative effects.[15]

Since the 1990s, the media have bombarded Mozambicans with images and messages that show how, partly, South Africa has ceased being the "promised land" not only for those with work experience in South Africa but also for new candidates who yearn to work there.[16] Since 1994, black African foreign nationals have been targeted by South Africans and the situation has not changed. In 1996, Jonathan Crush wrote about, "a blunt, and increasingly bellicose, mythology targeted at non-South Africans living in the country and its use by politicians and the press to 'whip up' anti-immigrant sentiment".[17]

In 2015, for example, "107 out of a total of 600 [Mozambicans] who were assembled in refugee centres in Durban, South Africa were transported [repatriated] on two buses […] and were mostly from the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane in the south of the country".[18] In September 2019 the attacks against foreigners in South Africa resurfaced.[19]

The aim of this article is to show that some poets and musicians have appropriated and reinterpreted the migration of Mozambicans to

14 J Craveirinha, *Obra Poética,* Organised by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 2002).

15 The song "*Mudjonidjoni*" by Alexandre Langa. In: Album "The Best of Alexandre Langa", CD, Maputo: Rádio Moçambique, [nd]); the song "Gaxa" by Ligadza la Ntsondzo In: Album: "Khumbula", CD (Maputo: J&B Recording, [nd]); The song "Persina" by António Marcos In Album: "Mahlanguene-ntsa-ntsa-ntsa-4", CD (Maputo, [nd]); the song "A Bunu" by Geremias Nguenha, Album: "La Famba Bicha", CD (Maputo, 2001).

16 Daily newspapers like *Notícias, O país* and weekly *Savana*, *Canal de Moçambique* and TV channels like *TVM*, *STV*, *Miramar*, *Sucesso*, etc., constantly reported cases of xenophobia against Mozambicans and black Africans of other nationalities.

17 J Crush, "A bad neighbour policy? Migrant labour and the new South Africa", *Southern Africa Report* 12 (1), 1996, p. 3.

18 RFI, "Moçambicanos denunciam xenofobia na África do Sul", 18 April 2015, available at: https://www.rfi.fr/br/africa/20150418-mocambicanos-denunciam-xenofobia-na-africa-do-sul, accessed 11 June 2019.

19 On Xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa see, M Neocosmos, *From foreign natives to native foreigners – Explaining xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa: Citizenship, nationalism, identity and politics* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2005). For xenophobia understood in terms of shared meanings and values see: P Kerr *et al*, "Xenophobic violence and struggle discourse in South Africa", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 54 (7), 2019, pp. 995-1011.

South Africa, emphasising more the negative aspects, thus contradicting the contemporary hegemonic discourse which saw migratory work in South Africa as salvation for young and adult men. In this article, I seek to demonstrate that the poet José João Craveirinha, from the 1950s, used his poems to criticise Mozambicans' migratory work in South Africa. By taking this position, he simultaneously fought the Portuguese colonial regime and the allied South African regime in their exploitation of Mozambicans. I also examine other songs written and performed by Mozambican artists. I argue that, in the last decades, the musicians who sang about Mozambicans' migration to South Africa generally condemned the way the Mozambicans were treated and criticized the myth of the South African "Eldorado". Both the poet and the musicians ended up conveying, in part, the idea that it was no longer worthwhile to continue looking for work in South Africa, a message reverberated also by young people and adults with experience of migrant work in South Africa whom I interviewed. Finally, I point out that both the poet and the musicians are silent with regard to Mozambican women working in South Africa. They had only had eyes for the local South African prostitutes who enticed Mozambican men, gave them venereal diseases and made them forget their wives and families in Mozambique.

I chose to talk about Craveirinha because he wrote about the objective reality in which he was inserted in the last decades of the colonial period. Moreover, the paratextual elements of the original poems reveal that in fact there were poems that were written in the very place to which they refer or after he returned from there. "It is a poet who wrote about a reality that he saw with his own eyes[...] and what remains is, therefore, a testimony, today in the form of memory".[20] Paraphrasing Rachel Blau DuPlessis, Craveirinha was "inside" history and, by his socio-political position, he located himself outside the colonial dominant systems of means, value and power[21], which in one way or another, he tried to dismantle.[22] No less important is that Craveirinha is, without doubt, the most studied Mozambican poet by social scientists.[23]

20 F Ribeiro, *Uma abordagem do tema da prostituição na poesia de José Craveirinha* (Maputo: AMOLP, 1995), p. 17.

21 Constructed from Rachel Blau DuPlessis 1990 quoted by M-Q Ma, "Poetry as history revised: S Howe's "Scattering as behavior toward risk, *American Literary History* 6 (4), 1994, p. 717.

22 After his death on 6 February 2003, he was proclaimed a national hero and buried in the pantheon of national heroes.

23 See: LR Mitras "'America" in the poetry of José Craveirinha: The mirror of an imaginary other", *English in Africa* 31 (1), 2004, pp. 121-138; SJ Ngale, "Civil religious dynamics in José Craveirinha's aestheticized Nationalism", *Journal for the Study of Religion* 27 (2), 2014, pp. 25-42; AM Leite, "Exile and death in José Craveirinha's later poetry", *Research in African Literatures* 38 (1), 2007, pp. 87-94; JL Benevides, DA Felipe and SA Silva, "Uma fênix renascida das cinzas da maldição: poesia e história moçambicana em "O grito negro" de

The musicians are used to complement the analysis by corroborating or contradicting the poet. I frame the poet as well as the musicians in the set of approaches to forms of resistance and social change.[24]

The importance of Mozambican labour migration in South Africa did not go unnoticed by social scientists. This issue is reflected in the profusion of a rich and vast literature. A considerable part of this literature is made up of authors who analyse the socio-economic impact of migrant labour.[25] The common denominator is the emphasis on the positive transformation of Mozambique's economy with an emphasis on the development of agriculture, ports and railways[26] and the growth in wealth of the whole society. Thus, for decades the idealised image of, "miners returning home, full of joy, with new possessions and money in their pockets"[27] was perpetuated. The emphasis on the positive side of migrant labour of Mozambicans in South Africa has partly overshadowed negative aspects to such an extent that relevant authors devote few lines to these aspects, with rare exceptions.[28]

Some of these studies have shown how migration work has altered gender roles, emphasising that women were under more pressure to perform traditionally male tasks.[29] A few authors used migratory labour as proof that

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José Craveirinha", *Cadernos CERU* 29 (1), 2018, pp. 50-75; LS Sousa, "Poetry, struggle and independence: Paths of the anti-colonial poetry", nd, https://www.academia.edu/35202438/POETRY_STRUGGLE_AND_INDEPENDENCE_PATHS_OF_THE_ANTI_COLONIAL_POETRY, accessed 21 June 2022; F Noa, "José Craveirinha: Beyond utopia", *Via Atlântica* 5, 2002, pp. 68-76.

24 See: JC Scott, "Everyday forms of resistance", *Copenhagen Papers 4,* 1989, pp. 33-62; L Vail and L White, "Forms of resistance: Songs and perceptions of power in colonial Mozambique", *American Historical Review* 88 (4), 1983, pp. 883-919; A Isaacman, *Cotton is the mother of poverty: Peasants, work and rural struggle in colonial Mozambique* (New York: Portsmouth, 1996); A Isaacman, "Tradition of resistance in Mozambique", *Africa Today* 22 (3), 1975, pp. 37-50; A Isaacman and B Isaacman, *Tradition of resistance in Mozambique: The Zambezi valley, 1850-1921* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979); LA Coser, "Social conflict and the theory of social change", *British Journal of Sociology* 8 (3), 1957, pp. 197-207.

25 D Hedges, "O sul e o trabalho migratório". In: C Serra and D Hedges (eds.), *História de Moçambique*, Vol. 1, (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 2000), pp. 348-371; L Covane, "As relações económicas entre Moçambique e a África do Sul, 1850-1964: acordos e regulamentos principais." 2ed., *Estudos 6,* (Maputo: AHM, 2020); L Covane, *Migrant labor and agriculture*; Center of African Studies, *O mineiro moçambicano: Um estudo sobre a exportação de mão-de-obra em Inhambane* (Maputo: CEA, 1998).

26 SA Nhabinde, *Desestabilização e guerra económica no sistema ferro-portuário de Moçambique, 1980-1997* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 1999); MP Fonseca, "Corredores de desenvolvimento em Moçambique", *Africana Studia* 6, 2003, pp. 201-230.

27 Darch, "Trabalho migratório na Africa Austral", p. 90.

28 Packard, *White plague, black labor*; Harries, *Culture and identity.*

29 Penvenne, *Women, migration and the cashew economy in Southern Mozambique: 1945-1975*, p. 110; ST Yabiku, V Agadjanian and A Sevoyan, "Husbands' labour migration and wives' autonomy, Mozambique 2000-2006", *Journal of Demography* 64 (3), 2010,

inequalities in gender relations are a socio-cultural construction, not only because women started to perform traditionally male tasks[30] but also because they had "agency" in migratory labour.[31] One characteristic that is shared by scholars on migratory labour of Mozambicans to South Africa is that it is male-centred. Some authors tend to describe women as prostitutes and workers in the informal sector with an emphasis on the sale of homemade alcoholic beverages[32] without considering their strategic engagement.[33]

Finally, some authors have chosen to emphasise other transformations whose marks are evident in tattoos[34], music[35] and language.[36] This paper seeks to participate in the debate on labour migration, but the author opts for the use of poems and songs, which are non-traditional sources in the study of migratory labour of Mozambicans to South Africa.[37]

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pp. 293-306; Harris, *Culture and identity*, p. 164. See also, T Dube, HIV/AIDS, women's migration from Plumtree to Johannesburg, and changing perceptions about the disease and the diseased, 1995-2006, *Southern Journal for Contemporary History* 45 (1), 2020, pp. 171-192.

30 Covane, *Migrant labor and agriculture*; N Gaspar, *The reduction of Mozambican workers in South African mines, 1975- 1992: A case study of the consequences for Gaza Province – District of Chibuto* (MA, University of the Witwatersrand, 2006); Covane, *O trabalho migratório*.

31 For example, treating women who sell sex as victims denies their deliberate choices to engage in this activity. See, R Walker and T Galvin, "Labels, victims, and insecurity: an exploration of the lived realities of migrant women who sell sex in South Africa", *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal* 3 (2), 2018, pp. 177-292; CW Kihato "Invisible lives, inaudible voices? The social conditions of migrant women in Johannesburg", *African Identities* 5 (1), 2007, pp. 89-110.

32 Covane, *O trabalho migratório* p. 238; Harries, *Work, culture and dentity*, p. 114; Gaspar, *The reduction of Mozambican workers in South African Mines*, p. 35.

33 When Europeans established themselves in the Magude district, women deliberately chose with whom to engage, a strategy aimed to gain benefits from this colonial encounter. See H Gengenbach, "What my heart wanted": Gendered stories of early colonial encounters in Southern Mozambique." In: J Allman, S Geiger and N Musisi (eds.), *Women in colonial African histories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 20.

34 See: H Gengenach, "Boundaries of beauty: Tattooed secrets of women's history in Magude district, Southern Mozambique", *Journal of Women's History* 14 (4), 2003, pp. 106-141; H Gengenbach, *Where Women Make History: Pots, Stories, Tattoos and Other Gendered Accounts of Community and Change in Magude District, Mozambique, c.1800 to the Present* (PhD, University of Minnesota, 1999).

35 M Samuel, *A longa história da moda xicavalo* (Maputo: Ciedima, 2009); EPV Filipe, *Where are the Mozambican musicians?": Music, Marrebenta and national identity in Lourenço Marques*", *1950s-1975* (PhD, University of Minnesota, 2012).

36 AA Timbane, "Os estrangeirismos e os empréstimos no português falado em Moçambique", *Revista de Linguística e Teoria Literária* 54 (2), 2012, pp. 289-306; AA Timbane, "A variação linguística do português moçambicano: uma análise Sociolinguística da Variedade em uso, *Revista Internacional Em Língua Portuguesa* 32, 2018, pp. 19-38.

37 The Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University pioneered the use of songs in the modern study of the migratory labour of Mozambicans to South Africa. The use of songs and poetry in Mozambique has a long history. See, L Veja, L Vail and L White, "Maps

2. METHODOLOGY

The fieldwork was done in southern Mozambique and South Africa in 2019. In Gaza province, interviews, formal and informal conversations and even observations were a by-product of previous research on local knowledge of rain and flood forecasting. I noted that in the conversation sessions, there was not the same enthusiasm that accompanied the beginning of the mining of gold and diamonds throughout colonial and post-colonial periods to seek work in neighbouring South Africa.

In Maputo province and city, the research was more continuous and, in some cases, insistent. Here it was remarkably easy to select potential interviewees with the help of relatives and friends. Discussions with students and other young people were also carried out on an ongoing basis and allowed to capture the various positions in relation to migratory work in South Africa.

In South Africa, the research was done in May 2017 and August 2018 in Springs, Gauteng province. The conversations were made in Portuguese and Xichangana with Mozambicans. Here, too, there was a noticeable slackening of enthusiasm for continuing to work in South Africa and also a tendency to discourage others from seeking employment in South Africa.

I also had some conversations in English with South Africans that were selected randomly. I sought to capture their perceptions of the importance of Mozambicans working there. It was common to grasp two extreme positions, "they are indispensable for our economy since many years ago" and, "they should go home because they steal our jobs and are mostly responsible for crime here in South Africa".[38] I chose those that voiced the second position considering the aim of my research. The second group echoes, partly, the

of experience: Songs and poetry in Southern Africa". In: L Vail and L White (eds.), *Power and the praise poem: Southern African voices in history* (London: James Currey, 1991), pp. 40-83; Isaacman, *Cotton is the Mother of poverty*; G Liesegang, "Four nineteenth-century Nguni praise poems for Muzila (r. 1860-1884), Magudzu Khosa (r. ca. 1855-1884) and Mawewe (r. 1859-60) and their background: Masukesuke Chavangu´s versions recited in 1969 and 1971 in Southern Mozambique, compared with that of Gabriel Macavi collected in 1927", (available at: https://www.academia.edu/7549675/Four_nineteenth_century_praise_poem_from_Magude_and_Gaza_10?auto=download, accessed 23 January 2020); Penvenne and Sitoe, "Poets and the people".

38 In 1999, 48 per cent of South Africans considered migrants from neighbouring countries as a "criminal threat" while some 37 per cent saw them as a threat to jobs and the economy and 29 per cent thought that they brought diseases. Only 24 per cent did not consider them a menace (J Crush, "The perfect storm: The realities of xenophobia in c South Africa", *Migration Police Series* 50, 2008, p. 28). There was a pervasive belief that migrants represented an economic burden and "stole" jobs from South Africans, but research literature suggested that these are stereotypes not grounded in reality (Crush,"The perfect storm", p. 33). According to Sheena Duncan of Black Sash, in 1998 the, "xenophobia that is growing so quickly among

discourse of some South Africans in times of turmoil when foreigners, mostly blacks, are used as scapegoats.

This is an eminently qualitative essay based on interviews and conversations with Mozambican workers and ex-workers in South Africa and unemployed young people who are prone to migrant labour. The recent literature on migrant labour and physical and electronic journals were also used. Reports and documentaries made in Mozambique and South Africa on migrant workers were also mobilised. These sources were critically approached, taking into account the objectives, values, and judgments of those who produced them. More weight was given to the historical method but without losing sight of the need for a multidisciplinary approach.

3. SAILING AGAINST THE TIDE

Since the discovery of gold and diamonds in the nineteenth century, South Africa proved to be an attractive place for working-age individuals from southern Mozambique struggling to find paid employment. Apart from the violence and injustices imposed by the law on the legal obligation for indigenous people to seek work[39], in rural areas paid work was very rare. Dependence on traditional agriculture made life in rural areas difficult in the event of floods, drought and pests. By exploring social networks and by taking advantage of geographical proximity, many young Southern Mozambicans migrated to South Africa, their "metropolis"[40], seeking better living conditions.

In one of his compositions, Alexandre Langa, a Mozambican musician and composer from the 1970s also with work experience in South Africa[41], highlights poverty as the main reason that took Mozambicans from southern Mozambique to South Africa,

Mudjoni-djoni

They say I'm *Mudjoni-djoni*
It's hunger that sent you there sir, it is hunger
It's hunger that sent you there sir, it is hunger

South Africans is cause for serious concern" and the culprits are the politicians, bureaucrats and the media for exacerbating the situation (Crush, "The perfect storm", p. 16, 24 and 26).

39 For work as a legal obligation see: ES Matinez*, O trabalho forçado na legislação colonial portuguesa - O caso de Moçambique (1899-1926)* (MA, Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 2008), pp. 81-116; MP Meneses, "Colonialismo como violência: a "missão civilizadora" de Portugal em Moçambique*", Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais,* Número especial, 2018, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/rccs/7741, date accessesed, 20 June 2022.

40 Taken from S Helgesson "Johannesburg, metropolis of Mozambique". In: A Mbembe and S Nuttall (eds.), *Johannesburg: The elusive metropolis,* 1 ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

41 Alexandre Langa was born in Gaza province, in Chibuto district and died in 2003.

They even gave me names sir, it is hunger
They give me names
I didn't want to go to *Djoni*
It was hunger that sent you there.

Mudjoni-djoni (Original Xi-Changana)

Vali ni mudjonidjoni
I ndlhala yinga kuruma *djoni* bava i ndlhala
I ndlhala yinga kuruma djoni bava i ndlhala
Va ni txuli ni mavitu
A *Djoni* a ni kulavanga
I ndlhala yinga kuruma kwahala.[42]

After the euphoria of independence proclaimed in 1975, the recent independent government of Mozambique faced a war engaged by the Movement of National Resistance (MNR, later National Resistance of Mozambique - RENAMO) in 1976 first backed by Southern Rhodesia and after its independence by Apartheid South Africa.[43] This war was accompanied by natural disasters that in conjunction with the war, caused many hardships,

> because of this war, many people suffered a lot, there was a shortage of food products, clothing among others. To buy products, even bread, ladies and children had to stay overnight in shops and bakeries, until the "supply card" (cartão de abastecimento) was invented through which families received food products depending on the household. For example, each household member was entitled to 0.5kg of rice per month![44]

42 Excerpts of the song "*Mudjonidjoni*", (Alexandre Langa, "The Best of Alexandre Langa", CD, Maputo: Rádio Moçambique, [ND]). This song is sung in Xi-Changana. The storyteller and journalist Albino Magaia also came to the same conclusion: it was hunger, "that drove men to work in the mines of South Africa and women to prostitute themselves in the towns and cities of the country. It was not easy for the miners or the prostitutes to earn money" (Penvenne, "Women, migration", p. 100).

43 The war ended with the signing of the General Peace Agreement in Rome in 1992. Some authors argue that RENAMO, the rebel movement, did not have a political agenda in its early years. For these authors, it was a destabilisation movement financed initially by the Southern Rhodesia secret services and later by the apartheid South African from 1980 with the end of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. See, for example, J Hanlon, *Mozambique: Who calls the shots?* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). Others, such as anthropologist Christian Geffray argue that it was a civil war. See C Geffray, *La cause des armes au Mozambique: une Antropologie de une guerre civile* (Paris: Karthala, 1990). The expression "16-year war" is also used by those seeking to adopt a neutral or intermediate stance, thus avoiding the polemic between "destabilization" and "civil war". For a discussion on this topic see B O'Laughlin, "A base social da guerra em Moçambique", *Estudos Moçambicanos* 10, 1991, pp. 107-142.

44 A Bequele, "Universal birth registration: The challenge in Africa", Paper presented at the Second Eastern and Southern Africa Conference on Universal Birth Registration, Mombasa, Kenya, September 26-30, 2005.

As an eternal cause, hunger did not pass unnoticed to Craveirinha who, partly, linked it with those migrants to South Africa that did not return. In his "Ascent" (*Subida*), the poet writes about the rising price of sugar, peanuts, milk, meat, etc. in late colonial Mozambique (second half of the twentieth century), but the *m'gaíza*[45], the one that should help in these difficult moments, "did not return from the mines of Jone" (*não voltou das minas do Jone*).[46] In fact, during the colonial period, prices of products were imposed by the colonial government and independent colonial traders. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the prices of groundnuts, maize, copra, sugar, and sisal produced by peasants and sold to whites fell sharply, and the trend continued throughout the later colonial period.[47]

Ascent

Price of sugar and flour went up.
Oh, the animal passivity!
In Machava peanut famine began
price of groundnuts in the canteen went up.

[...]

"m"gaíza didn't come back from Jone's mines...
Oh the animal passivity!

[...]

The "machambas' (ploughing field) have filled up with maize
The price of maize went up.
The fields were covered with cotton
price of "capulana" went up.

Subida (original in Portuguese)

Preço de açúcar e farinha Subiu.
Ai a passividade animal!

45 The men who returned to Mozambique after having worked in the mines of South Africa were called *magaízas*. The word has many meanings, both the positive image of a man returning with wealth and property to assume adult status through marriage and the negative image of a man robbed or cheated in his travels (Sitoe *et al*. *Dicionário Ronga – Português*, p. 46 quoted by Penvenne, "Women, migration", p. 106). The poet deals with the negative image in his works.

46 Poem "Subida" (Ascent) in Craveirina, *Obra Poética*, p. 18-19.

47 See: Departamento de História, *História de Moçambique: Moçambique no auge do colonialismo, 1930 - 1961, Vol. 3* (Maputo: Imprensa Universiária, 1993), pp. 35-36.

Na Machava começou fome de amendoim
preço de amendoim na cantina subiu.

[...]

"m'gaíza" não voltou das minas do Jone
Ai a passividade animal!

[...]

As "machambas" encheram-se de milho
preço de milho subiu.
Os campos cobriram-se de algodão
preço de capulana subiu.[48]

It is a fact that some Mozambicans did not return home lured by the attractions of South Africa. Ligadja La Ntsondzo, a musical band from southern Mozambique from the 1990s, metaphorically refers to these enticements as *tihove*[49] and *mutlhomboti*.[50] The group even says, "you have even stopped writing letters to your wife; after all, it is because you do not return from *Djoni.*"[51]

Instead, Craveirinha describes those "magaiza" who did not return because they were either dead or maimed,

Oh! The Magaiza cattle lack heads.
The Magaiza cattle lack legs.
The Magaiza cattle lack arms.
There's a shortage of men in the Magaiza cattle

(Original in Portuguese)

Oh! Faltam cabeças no gado magaíza.
Faltam pernas no gado magaíza.
Faltam braços no gado magaíza.
Faltam homens no gado magaíza[52]

48 Craveirinha, *Obra poética*, pp. 18-19.
49 A typical Mozambican meal also made in South Africa called *samp.*
50 A typical traditional South African beer (African beer).
51 The song "Gaxa" by Ligadza la Ntsondzo In: Album: "Khumbula", CD (Maputo: J&B Recording, [nd]).
52 Craveirinha, *Obra Poética*, pp. 57-58.

In fact, South Africa's mines were literally death traps. Between 1936 and 1975 alone, more than 28,000 African miners died as a result of accidents, an average of five deaths every two days over a period of almost 40 years.[53]

4. CHANGING PERCEPTIONS BY MOZAMBICAN MIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Nowadays, we see a certain lack of interest in South Africa. Pedro Matlombe, 47 years old, migrated to South Africa in 1991, not only in search of employment but also to flee from the civil war between the government of Mozambique and the RENAMO. He worked as a barman and returned permanently to Mozambique in 2011 after he was released from prison because he faced many challenges in finding a job.[54] Since the mid-1980s the war had spread to southern Mozambique and intensified. The year 1991 coincided with a severe drought that forced the Mozambican government to make its first appeal to the international community for humanitarian aid.[55]

Recently working as a driver at Sir Motors in Maputo, Mozambique, Pedro argues that he would never advise anyone to go to South Africa to look for a job because many think that they will find better jobs and better living conditions there, "but end up being street vendors and arrested due to lack of documentation".[56]

Pedro's trajectory is similar to Pedro Nungo's. He went to South Africa in 1998 searching for work. He spent many years as a street vendor and returned permanently to Mozambique in 2013 because the profits from his business were no longer capable of supporting him in South Africa. He is currently working in the mining sector in Tete province, central Mozambique.[57] Another example is that of Geremias Mbanze, who went to South Africa at the beginning of the 1990s and worked there as a street vendor and returned to Mozambique in 2007 because his business was no longer the same. He is currently selling second-hand clothes in Maputo city.[58]

There are other Mozambicans who emigrated to South Africa and still live there but they are thinking about returning. For example, 41-year-old Emídio Chavango, who has worked at a beauty and barber salon in Springs,

53 ANC (1978:27) quoted by Darch, "Trabalho migratório", pp. 89-90.
54 Interview, Author with P Matlombe, Maputo, 14 August 2019.
55 On the answer to the international appeal see: P Ratilal, *Enfrentar o desafio: utilizar a ajuda para terminar a emergência* (Maputo: Globo, 1990).
56 Interview, Author with P Matlombe.
57 Interview: Author with P Nungo, Maputo, 19 October 2019.
58 Interview: Author with G Mbanze, Maputo, 19 October 2019.

South Africa, since 1999, is currently feeling the bitterness and thinks about returning to Mozambique. According to him, "this business is no longer the same because there are these salons in every corner".[59] Emídio Chavango is a living example of all those who, given the current conditions in South Africa, intend to return permanently to Mozambique, "because they can no longer support the lifestyles". Despite these positions, many in rural areas still believe that migrating to South Africa is preferable because the situation in Mozambique is worse.

Apart from economic reasons, all my interviewees also highlighted problems related to abusive attitudes by local residents. They also indicated problems of being used as scapegoats for any problem faced by South Africans and discrimination in the access to human and civic community services and property rights.[60]

Since colonial times, marrying, paying bridewealth, building a house and buying cattle, especially in rural areas of southern Mozambique, were associated with migrating to South Africa for work. Yet, in recent years, a minority of Mozambicans with or without migratory work experience in South Africa have begun to make a discursive change and therefore problematise the rooted conventions that migrating to South Africa for work is the salvation against the problems partly afflicting southern Mozambicans.

Some of the problems that are discouraging migration to South Africa today were voiced back in the times of colonial Mozambique. For example, Craveirinha saw migratory work in the context of the exploitation of Africans by the Portuguese colonial state allied with South Africa. This state repressed an African nation that did not yet exist, hence the poem "a nation that did not yet exist" (*nação que ainda não existia*).[61] The bulk of contemporary ordinary men and women of southern Mozambique did not agree with Craveirinha's interpretation. Instead, they continued to internalise what, "the grandmothers said", that is, "in South Africa 'poverty ends'".[62] In fact, "nobody could resist the temptation to go and work in the mines".[63] These ordinary people continued to insist on emigration, "because it was very difficult to get a reasonable income working here in Mozambique" as the basics were lacking since there were not

59 Interview, Author with E Chavango, Springs, South Africa, 27 July 2019.

60 These themes were also found in Mpumalanga. See: M Moagi *et al*., "Mozambican immigrants to South Africa: Their xenophobia and discrimination experiences", [nd], available at: https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/66054/Moagi_Mozambican_2018.pdf?sequence=1, access 3 May 2022.

61 Craveirinha, *Obra Poética*, p. 60.

62 Interview: L Covane with Anonymous, Chókwè City, 16 July 1990. In Covane, *O impacto do trabalho migratório*, p. 90.

63 Interview: L Covane with Anonymous.

even, "blankets here on the motherland."[64] António Marcos, a Mozambican musician from southern Mozambique had sung about this faith in a better life connected to migration

Persina

Persina you had courage to leave me
I do not work in *Djoni* [South Africa]
I only work [here] in Maputo

[…]

I have no blankets wife
I cover myself with bed sheet;
And you had the courage to leave me".

Persina (Original)

Persina u tiyi uni baleka
A ni tirhi a djoni
Ni tirha ka Maputsu

[...]

A ni na magumana
Ni fininguela ma lençole[65]

It was common to hear from a majority of southern Mozambicans from mid-twentieth century that, "we know well the name our parents and grandparents gave to South Africa that is 'poverty free'. Just go to South Africa, poverty is over".[66]

Despite this widespread belief in a better life connected to migration to South Africa, several Mozambicans decided to follow in the footsteps of Carveirinha in the struggle. The poet had some ordinary men and women from southern Mozambique who echoed his voice. The song "*Xikwembu xa mulhiwa"* collected in Khambane, Homoine, Inhambane Province, southern Mozambique by the Centre of African Studies team, University Eduardo Mondlane, is quite enlightening in this regard,

64 Interview: L Covane with Anonymous.
65 The song "Percina" by António Marcos. In: Album: "*Mahlanguene-ntsa-ntsa-ntsa-4*", CD (Maputo, [nd]).
66 Interview: L Covane with M Sithoe, p. 132.

Spirit of the deceived (returns) to his mother
[…]
Work without receiving, oh mother
[…]
I get half penny a day
[…]
Because I am a spirit that is deceived
[…]
The Boers exploit us at work, I'm tired dad.

(Original Xi-Changana)

A xikwembu xamuhliwa kamamani mina
[…]
Ndzitirha ndzinga hole kamamani mina
[…]
Ndzi hola nkinyeta hisiku lin'we
[…]
Ndzinga xikwembu xamuhliwa kamamani bava
[…]
A mubunu ya hitirhisa ndzikarhela baba.[67]

The song was recorded in the early 1980s. There is in this song an appropriation and reinterpretation of the migratory work of independent Mozambique in the light of the colonial and liberation experience. These appropriations and re-adaptations are based on the discourse[68] formulated during the struggle for national liberation and continued throughout the Marxist-Leninist period, when the project of the new nation became anchored on the refusal of, "exploitation of man by man".[69]

67 Centro de Estudos Africanos, *O mineiro moçambicano,* pp. 83-84.

68 This article considers discourse as the use of language that reproduces the perspectives, values, theories and ways of speaking of certain groups (that hold a certain power) in relation to "other groups", but such use may not correspond to the interests of "Other groups" (Kieran O'Halloran (2003:563) quoted by DF Costa, *A critical analysis of colonial and postcolonial discourses and representations of the people of Mozambique in the Portuguese newspaper* "*O Século de Joanesburgo*" *from 1970-1980* (PhD, University of Western Cape, 2014), p. 35. In fact, contemporary discourse studies highlight this fact, namely that discourse is not merely a form of language use, but also a form of social and political (inter) action. In TA Dijk, "Discourse and migration". In: R Zapata-Barrero and E Yalaz (eds.), *Qualitative research in European migration studies* (Barcelona-Catalonia: Springer Open, 2018), p. 230.

69 In an interview by Allen Isaacman and Ian Christie, Samora Machel said, "Marxism-Leninism is a class science. Do you accept that there is class in Mozambique? do you accept that there is a working-class? [...] It is a class science and belongs to its creator, which is the working class. […] Our struggle, the class struggle of our workers, their experiences of suffering

By the 1990s, Geremias Langa, another musician from southern Mozambique, made the same echo singing "*A Bunu*" (The Boer), "we work in the farms; we work without payment".[70]

One might even hypothesise that the first National Anthem also repudiates, "the exploitation of man by man" and part of the songs called "Revolutionary Hymns", especially songs "*Avante, povos oprimidos*" (Onward, oppressed peoples)", "*Comemoremos*" (Let's Celebrate)", "*A vakhale vaka hina*" (Our ancestors)" and "*Hino da Mulher Moçambicana*"(Mozambican Women's Anthem)"[71] were taken as a reference and readjusted to the scenarios lived in the mines and elsewhere, where the wage gap between blacks and whites was stark and oppression a common practice.

Our ancestors

Ah, ah you Frelimo[72]
We are tired of white people

Ah, ah you Frelimo
We are tired of actual [white people].

A vakhale vaka hina (Original in Xichangana)

Ah, ah wena Frelimo
Hi Kharhele hi va Madzi

Ah, ah wena Frelimo
Hi Kharhele hi va swoswi.[73]

In fact, the image of suffering consolidated in the context of colonialism and during the national liberation struggle was projected by some Mozambican workers and former workers in South Africa to give meaning to their

allow us to take on and internalize the foundations of scientific socialism. This same struggle contributes to develop and enrich continuously what constitutes the common heritage of all exploited peoples and classes, Marxism-Leninism." In A Isaacman and I Christie, "Entrevista a Samora Machel", Maputo, May 1979, p. 33-34, available at: http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.isaacman0002_final.pdf, accessed 21 June 2022.

70 Geremias Nguenha, Album: "La Famba Bicha", CD (Maputo, 2001).

71 FPLM (Forças Populares da Luta de Libertação), *Coral das Forças Populares de Libertação de Moçambique" – Hinos Revolucionários de Moçambique (25 De Junho De 1975)*, 2 x Vinyl, LP, Album, Teal Moçambique, 1975.

72 National Liberation Front. It waged the war against Portuguese colonialism from 1964 to 1974. It proclaimed independence on 25 June 1975. Since then, it is still in power.

73 FPLM, *Coral das Forças*.

contemporary reality.[74] The experience of colonialism, which is a recurring theme of the FPLM's Revolutionary Hymns, has become an inescapable reference in the projection and definition of new scenarios.[75] For example, in "Hino da Mulher Moçambicana" (Mozambican Women´s Anthem)" we hear that "woman is an engaged company of man in the struggle against the old exploiting society". The mines in South Africa, including the Boers were in the view of some Mozambicans, the "new exploiters."

Moreover, according to Paula Meneses, a Mozambican anthropologist, "the lyrics of Frelimo's revolutionary repertoire spoke in various languages about "unknown" African heroes, places, and struggles, voiced another means by which to think of the political and opened up new spaces in which to affirm the epistemic rights of the colonially oppressed."[76] Most importantly, "these songs anticipated radical challenges in the near future of independent Mozambique."[77]

It has been mostly young men from urban areas in southern Mozambique, especially the Maputo province, who are more likely to have a discursive shift towards migrating to work in South Africa. They are currently integrated into the labour market and sided by some retired ex-migrant workers. However, their new discourse conceals the advantages gained during their stay in South Africa, which in turn, are covered by "new candidates", such as English language proficiency and experience gained from working in the extractive industry.

Some of these young people and adults have capitalised on these privileges. Mastery of the English language allowed people like Pedro to get a job easily as a driver at Sir Motors compared to other young Mozambicans who did not have mastery of the same language. Due to the experience gained in South African mines, former miners are more likely to be hired in the Mozambican mining industry, which has seen remarkable growth in recent years.

74 This construction was based on Benjamin Sora's *s transferts de mémoire* [transferences of memory]. See: B Stora, "Le transfert d'une mémoire. De l'"Algérie française" au racisme anti arabe, 1999", *Hommes et Migrations* 1231, 2001, pp. 139-140; AS Ribeiro, "Traduzir e ser traduzido: notas sobre discurso e migrações", *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 5 (8), 2018, p. 58.

75 The manifest of Hebermas and Derrida (2003) that Europe is facing a, "growing distance of imperial domination and the history of colonialism" (J Heberman and J Derrida, "February 15, or What binds Europe together: A plea for a common foreign policy, Beginning in the core of Europe", *Constellation* 10 (3), 2003, p. 297) doesn't resonate to Africa. The History of colonialism and imperial domination in Africa is ubiquitous. For a critic to Hebermas and Derrida (2003) in the context of Europe see: Ribeiro, "Traduzir e ser traduzido", p. 59-61.

76 MP Meneses, "Singing struggles, affirming politics: Mozambique's revolutionary songs as other ways of being (in) history". In: SP Khan, MP Meneses and BE Bertelsen (eds.) *Mozambique on the move challenges and reflections* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 255-256.

77 Meneses, "Singing struggles, affirming politics", pp. 255-256.

For instance, the Government, through its partnerships with the Multi-National Mining Companies, has intensified the reuse of former Mozambican mining workers in South Africa as a way to fill the current shortfall in the national labour force with the capacity to carry out mining activities in the country. In the Tete province alone, this program has already secured the commitment of multi-national companies in 2020 to gradually employ a total of 2500 former miners in coordination with the government.[78] It was, partly in this context that the Gémios Parruque created the song "*Distrito*",

District

Joni is no longer there the land of my dreams
Joni is no longer Madiba's land
Joni is now here in the district
[...]
I was hired in the district
I got a job in the district.

Distrito (original in Portuguese)

Joni não é mais lá a terra dos meus sonhos
Joni não é mais lá a terra de Madiba
Joni agora é aqui no distrito
[…]
Fui contratado no distrito
Peguei uma vaga no distrito.[79]

Their message refers to Cabo Delgado, a famous province because of its mineral resources. To the boom of Cabo Delgado, one can also include Tete, where the mining industry became very attractive before the boom of Cabo Delgado. Companies like Vale-Brazil, Kenmare, Andadarko, etc., became more attractive and a viable alternative to South Africa for some Mozambicans.

Human rights violations and urban fears[80] help to consolidate this new discourse directed not only at those who continue to insist on working

78 Agência de Informação de Moçambique (AIM), "Governo intensifica campanha de reciclagem de ex-mineiros" (Maputo: AIM, nd) available at: https://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz/por/Imprensa/Noticias/Governo-Intensifica-Campanha-de-Reciclagem-de-Ex-Mineiros, accessed 24 September 2020.

79 Song, "Distrito" by Gémios Parruque, nd[1990s?], not officially released.

80 "Alternative images which depict the city as an unruly, unsettling and disorderly place are increasingly dominant. Difference is now seen as overwhelming and dangerous, to be

in South Africa but especially at the "new candidates." The story of the taxi driver Emídio, dragged on the road by South African police and broadcasted on television channels and social networks, cemented the problems with human rights and urban fears, a problem already addressed by Craveirinha. It is common to hear, "Didn't you see what they did to Emídio?"

Some of the retired and active miners advise their children not to follow the same path.[81] In most cases, they invoke not only the poverty that drove them to look for work in the South African mines but also the fact that they had not studied, "I went to work in the mines because I was illiterate, I don't want the same luck for my children."[82] Taking into account that, "almost all the interviewed migrants had been encouraged to move by their household members/family"[83], the influence of relatives has a considerable impact.

In fact, new contingencies help to give more room for voices like Craveirinha's. The times when miners wielded great influence in their home communities have changed. Tinito, a Mozambican musician, in his "*A ntomi ya marandy*" (Rand girl) captured this powerful influence partly to seduce and allure girls in Mozambique, "because the girl wanted Rand", the boy deceived her and she "accepted him" while he did not work in South Africa, he just stole from mineworkers in Gaxa (Ressano Garcia).[84]

The higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS amongst miners and the consequent deaths of miners and their spouses, the fact that the southern region of Mozambique has the highest rates of HIV infections in the country with emphasis on Gaza province, the cradle of the mineworkers, partly contribute to this loss of influence. While earlier criticism was directed at syphilis among venereal diseases, in recent years, the scenario is dominated by HIV/AIDS,

Madevo Magaíza History

Mandevo crossed Ressano Garcia
With syphilis rhythm in "Ten and Six" pants
A sneer in the strap lamp
A "His Master Voice" gramophone.

excluded or segregated where possible - indeed, something to be afraid". In J Bannister and N Fyfe, "Introduction: Fear and the city", *Urban Studies* 38 (5/6), 2001, p. 807).

81 In her PhD thesis Dulce Maria Mungoi had reached the same conclusion. See: DM Mungoi, *Identidades viajeiras, família e transnacionalismo no contexto da experiência migratória de moçambicanos para as minas da terra do RAND, África do Sul* (PhD, Universidade Rio Grande do Sul, 2010).

82 Macaringue, ex mine worker interviewed by Dulce Mungoi (Mungoi, *Identidades viajeiras*, p.98)

83 Muanamoha, *The Dynamics of u*, p. 204.

84 Song "A ntomi ya marandy" by Tinito, nd, not officially released.

A história do Magaíza Madevo (Original Portuguese)

Mandevo atravessou Ressano Garcia
Com ritmo de sífilis nas calças "Ten and Six"
Um brilho de escárnio no candeeiro à cinta
Um gramafone "His Master Voice.[85]

Until the late 1980s and early 1990s, miners and other migrant workers were the only ones, "returning well dressed, displaying goods for their families and neighbours." Still, with the massive return of Mozambicans working in the former German Democratic Republic,[86] the scenario began to change shape. Thus, the miners were no longer the sole creators of a successful image that raised expectations for those wishing to emigrate.

Even though they had no migratory work experience, poets like Craveirinha voiced negative scenarios in the context of criticism of colonial inequalities and exploitation. The poet, writing during the colonial period, targeted the colonial government that seemed to be evading its obligations by leaving Mozambicans "*Magaíza*" prone to crashes for a pound, to be mutilated with, "a good old leg and a good new wooden leg" ("*uma velha perna boa e uma nova boa de madeira*"[87]). These sober words, still valid today, are partly being used to refer to the dangers of South African mines, "If I ever get another job in either the RSA or Mozambique, I am willing to drop everything and embrace the new challenge. Working in the mines is a permanent danger".[88] There are, in fact, long-standing records of miners' illnesses and injuries and a derisory compensation system put in place by the mining industry.[89]

The poem "History of Magaíza Mandevo" and "*Gado Mamparra Magaiza*" that bring to the surface the problem of venereal diseases and tuberculosis can also be understood as an appeal to greater consideration for the right to health and life but, more importantly, as an indication of a lack of consideration of black people by the Portuguese colonial authorities that continued to send them to the dangerous mines in the Union. These two poems also open space for renewed interpretations that focus on HIV/AIDS,

85 Craveirinha, *Obra poética*, pp. 124-125.
86 For the debate on the Mozambican workers in the German Democratic Republic see: M Scatassa, *Cold War migration: Mozambican workers, students and troopers in East Germany. From the independence of Mozambique to the collapse of the GDR* (MA, Università degli Studi di Padova, 2018).
87 Poem "Lobo Calabouço e Crown Mines". In: Craveirinha, *Obra poética*, p. 122.
88 H Filimone, "Moçambicanas na África do Sul: Aumenta número de mulheres nas minas", *Notícias,* 23 October 2014.
89 Centro de Estudos Africanos, *O mineiro*, p. 2. For the perils in the mines see also: Darch, "Trabalho migratório".

Gado Mamparra Magaiza

Today he returns to the train of Migôdini [mine]
and xitimela returns and brings
rotten with disease the old cattle of Africa.

(Original in Portuguese)

Hoje volta ao comboio de Migôdini
e xitimela volta e traz
podre de doenças o velho gado d´África.[90]

The association of migrant work in South Africa with HIV/AIDS is still present in the minds of some Mozambicans like Tomás Zandamela, who said, "I almost died there" and continues, "I know people that are dead and those still weak with the disease".[91] For Tomás and some anonymous Mozambicans, "não vale a pena ir para lá" (it is not worth going there) not only because of disease but also because they return empty-handed,

National Road Nr. 1

Madjone-jone Justino Manuel Sitói
filled his Toyota truck with trinkets
and nostalgically returned.

Estrada Nacional Nr. 1 (Original in Portuguese)

Madjone-jone Justino Manuel Sitói
emprenhou de quinquilharia seu camião Toyota
e saudoso regressou.[92]

The "trinkets" referred to by the poet have a Zimbabwean equivalent voiced by Oliver Mtukudzi, "*Izere Mhepo*," or "Full of Air." This song released in 2005 on the album Nhava, "likens the experience of the migrant to that of an unsuccessful hunter, poised to return home holding nothing but an empty carrying bag".[93] Experiences like this discourage new candidates.

90 Poem "Gado Mamparra Magaiza". In: Craveirinha, *Obra poética*, pp. 57-58.
91 Interview: Author with P Tomás, Maputo, 17 June 2019.
92 J Craveirinha, *Babalaza das hienas* (Maputo: Alcance Editores, 2008), p. 17.
93 JW Kyker, "Listening in the wilderness: The audience reception of Oliver Mtukudzi's music in the Zimbabwean diaspora", *Ethnomusicology* 57 (2), 2013, p. 263.

"I don't see myself working in the mines": disenchantment with mine work

The changing discourse is affecting the working-age youth more dramatically, in urban areas, despite the fact that their relatives or friends have had work experience in South Africa. Urban areas are exposed to a variety of influences in such a way that it helps to corroborate the version of former mineworkers who stopped working as migrants in neighbouring South Africa.

The representation of miners and other Mozambican workers in South Africa as the "HIV/AIDS faces" has played a crucial role in youths' change of attitude. The fight against the exploitation of Mozambican labour in the mines of South Africa initiated by poets with emphasis on Craveirinha and the dilemmas of the former miners found, in HIV/AIDS, an "ally" that materialises, partly, the desire not to want to see the, "children go through the same suffering".[94]

The attractions of the past, not only in the form of clothing but also the artistic and cultural attractions brought by migrant workers from South Africa, especially mine workers, have in recent years met "new adversaries" because of globalisation except for some rural areas and some villages. South African music has found little space, in Mozambique, in recent years, because of efforts to promote young Mozambican music on both television and radio.

The painful images of deported Mozambicans every Thursday on the border of Ressano Garcia easily reach the "new candidates" given the ease with which they have access to information, which also contributes to the fears of those undocumented, who might risk illegal migration. In addition, it has been proven that, "the undocumented migrant labour had less impact on the improvement of conditions of sending communities/household"[95], because it is linked to low, unstable and irregular jobs, arrests and deportations.[96]

The recent wave of violence that has been raging in South Africa causes young people to accommodate the discourse of people with extensive work experience in South Africa, as illustrated by the case of young Pedro Mavota when invited to work in South Africa. After thinking, he said, "I can't, I am afraid of dying there."[97] Moreover, schooling has increased significantly. Young people and their relatives have been focusing more on school for social mobility.

94 Macaringue, ex mine worker interviewed by DMungoi,Mungoi, *Identidades viajeiras*", p. 98.

95 Muanomoha, *The dynamics of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa (*PhD, Kwazulu Natal University, 2008), p. 204.

96 Muanomoha, *The dynamics of undocumented Mozambican labour migration*, p. 204.

97 The invitation was made on 18 August 2019 by Nelson Machele in Zintava, Marracuene district, Maputo province. Nelson Machele works as a technician at the rubberising company in Springs, South Africa.

On the Migrant Women to South Africa

In the last decades, the migration pattern remained unchanged. Men continued to migrate to South Africa in large numbers and were the only segment to benefit directly from the advantages of migratory labour. Gradually, more and more women, however, have "invaded" the male space and migrated to South Africa to look for jobs or to join their husbands. They eventually received several negative epithets including "*xungwa*" (divorcee/ woman who lives alone), linked to prostitution, low status or promiscuity.[98]

Unlike men, women were not recruited to work underground in the mines but worked as domestic servants and prostitutes and were also involved in the illegal manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, at least in the 1930s. Indeed, the Transvaal quickly gained a reputation for prostitution, illicit liquor trade and crime.[99] In South Africa, the male-dominated mining society that proliferated on the Witwatersrand encouraged a particularly flourishing community of prostitutes, controlled in its last stages by criminals from New York and Europe.[100]

There were several reasons that brought these women to South Africa, but economic and social reasons can be seen as the most important ones. Women emigrate due to poverty, widowhood, divorce, the desire to improve their living conditions as well as those of their dependents, for family reunification[101], to escape abusive marriages and harmful cultural practices.[102] The high level of deaths due to illness and accidents in the mines among miners has left several women (wives, daughters, etc.) without economic and social support, and some of them have chosen to seek work in South Africa.[103] In his "In Memorial to Coal Break", Craveirinha develops his poetic writing around a real fact: the accident in the coal mine of the same name, which had killed hundreds of black workers.

Women from Gaza province were also involved in migration. Pressured by economic considerations, some went to work as prostitutes in the areas around the mines and in 1905, Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

98 Binford, "Stalemate", p. 75 quoted by Penvenne, *Women, migration*, p. 106.
99 C Dugmore, "From pro-Boer to Jingo: An analysis of small town english language newspapers on the Rand before the outbreak of war in 1899", *South African Historical Journal* 41, 1999, pp. 246-266, quoted by I Thusi, "Policing sex: The colonial, apartheid, and new democracy policing of sex work in South Africa", *Fordham International Law Journal* 38 (1) 2015, p. 223.
100 EB Van Heyningen, "The social evil in the Cape Colony 1868–1902: Prostitution and the contagious diseases acts", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10 (2), 1984, p. 172.
101 Gaspar, "The reduction of Mozambican workers", p. 35.
102 Isike, "An analysis of African female migration to South Africa, p. 8537.
103 Gaspar, "The reduction of Mozambican workers", p. 35.

(WNLA) agents apparently recruited 150 women for South Africa.[104] By 1922, there were at least 800 women from southern Mozambique working as prostitutes in the Johannesburg area.[105]

For the miner far from home, these women, particularly those who lived in villages or places called "married quarters", provided sympathy, support, an important leisure activity, and a crucial sexual outlet. But the gratification of a heterosexual relationship, however brief, was accompanied by the prospect of a longer-lasting venereal disease.[106] These venereal diseases were also transmitted by Mozambican women who chose South Africa as the working place. These women also engaged in permanent relationships with male Mozambicans, thus becoming wives.

These women and others who ventured to South Africa escaped the eyes of Craveirinha and Mozambican musicians, who continued to only point to the "local South African prostitutes". They were accused of "stealing" Mozambican emigrants and transmitting venereal diseases to them, as in the case of Mandevo from the poem "History of Magaíza Mandevo", who crossed the border at Ressano Garcia returning from the South African mines with syphilis to contaminate his wives.[107] Craveirinha and others closed their eyes to women who were more vulnerable and had undergone traumatic experiences, including rape and sexual abuse, which men did not face. For Craveirinha, the system of migrant work included only women living in the land of origin to breed other male migrant workers metaphorically called cattle, "Females are left to impregnate young cattle" ("*Ficam as fêmeas a emprenhar gado novo*"). But Mozambican women in South Africa were invisible, because they were very few and because some chose to stay there. By the end of the year when Magaíza returned these women were eclipsed. Besides, the images of recruitment centres of WNLA and other recruitment agencies including the famous trans-frontier border of Ressano Garcia were male in the sense that recruitment centres were predominately male spaces. Craveirinha's writings and the lyrics of several songs relate to a time when it

104 In 1896 only 19 were registered as residents of the town. It was only the toughest and most intrepid who ventured to live in the small villages on the mining estate. In the mining areas around Johannesburg, the ratio of black workers to women was 1:63 in 1896; for the 25-39 age group, it was an astonishing 1:98. (Harries, "*Work, culture and Identity*", p. 114).

105 Covane, *O trabalho migratório*, p. 104. Labour migration patterns to apartheid South Africa had a gender character as apartheid immigration policies were sexist. (Isike, "An analysis of African female migration", p. 8531)

106 Harries, "Work, culture and identity", p. 114.

107 This theme comes again in the poem "Gado Mamparra Magaíza": Today he returns to the train of Migôdini/and xitimela returns and brings/rotten with disease the old cattle of Africa." ("*Hoje volta ao comboio de Migôdini/e xitimela volta e traz/podre de doenças o velho gado d´África*.") Craveirinha, *Obra poética*, pp. 57-58.

was taboo even to think about women working as migrants in South African compounds or elsewhere.

It is interesting to note that the poet wrote a lot about prostitution[108], but he only talked about Mozambican prostitutes in Mozambique. However, in Craveirinha's vision, the prostitute is a deviated girl who lost her purity and found herself imprisoned in a destiny she did not choose, forced to act in a way that goes against her own nature. One can see the image of the prostitute as a symbol of Mozambique and its people: forced to a fate they did not choose, victims of a superior force that exploits them, with a glimmer of hope of improving their lives.[109] On their side, musicians talk mainly about promiscuity, adultery, prostitution and lack of respect for local women whose husbands are working in South Africa.[110] "*Ka Vulukwana*", a song collected by the Center of African Studies, University Eduardo Mondlane, goes in another direction as it talks about young males assembled in Vulukwana, a local ATAS recruitment post in Maputo. Many of them awaited days in vain for a place in the mines of South Africa. During these waiting days, they contract diseases from local women.[111]

Despite differences in the reasons and circumstances that caused men and women to migrate, the evidence indicates that some of the former migrant women with poor work experience in South Africa tend to change their discourse regarding working in South Africa. They are, partly, aligned with the poet, who openly opposed and highlighted the negative aspects of migrant work.

Amélia Xavier, a resident of Maputo, ventured to South Africa to improve her life and that of her two children and other dependents. Making an assessment of the years she spent in South Africa, she says, "It was a waste of time".[112] According to her, Mozambican women with a good life in South Africa are those who followed their husbands, "The rest do what they could do here in Mozambique with rare exceptions and others do what they should not do".[113]

108 Poems "*Mulata Margarida*", "*Mamana Fanisse*", "*Ode à Teresinha*". For a discussion on prostitution based on Craveirinhha's poem see: Ribeiro, *Uma abordagem*, p. 16.

109 Ribeiro, *Uma abordagem*, p. 16.

110 For example: Forgotten uitars from Mozambique, released 15 August, 2003; "Persina" by António Marcos. For a discussition on how women are portrayed in Mozambican music from Beira city see: EJ Filmão, "*A imagem da mulher* em canções da *música ligeira* na Beira (1975-1989): contribuição ao estudo das literaturas marginais", *Estudos Moçambicanos* 11-12, 1992, pp. 145-182.

111 "They have fun cutting their hair/They cook in cans/Others contract diseases/But the road to Joni is not glimpsed/Go back home!" (Original: *Va tsemetana misisi mabixikado/Va swekela swikoteleni/Van'wanyana se vavabyo/Kambe ndlela yakuya Joni, se ya tsandza/Tlhelela ekayo.* (Centro de Estudos Africanos, "O mineiro", p. 33).

112 Interview: Author with A Xavier, Maputo, 14 June 2019.

113 Interview: Author with A Xavier.

Isidro Mboa, who often goes to Komati port on a weekly basis, when asked if he could advise a Mozambican woman to look for a job in South Africa, he says, "no, unless she has guarantees of such employment, training and a family member to receive her".[114] Other men are more incisive, "Many only come here to be prostitutes if they don't braid hair and if they don't sell tomatoes on the streets".[115]

One can add here the hostile environment toward women. In fact, an anonymous Mozambican woman once stated, "South Africans are very hostile to us women. I was once attacked because I am a foreigner. We are seen as lower than inferior […] but they abuse their women, you can only imagine what they would do to us, if we, who they see as lesser than their women, marry them".[116]

What can be seen is that in most cases the migration of women to South Africa continues to be repressed. There was generally no discursive change on the part of men due to issues of social and sexual control. Migration, especially in rural areas, remains understood as a male undertaking.

The "golden girls", a designation used to refer to women who "invaded" the men's space in the mines, "today, fearless, they pick up the shovel, pickaxe and other speciality tools to come down to the mine, side by side with the man, embodying one of the riskiest professions that man has ever invented"[117], are the only group that led to a reformulation of the discourse by state officials. The government promotes and praises these "brave golden girls" in alignment with the strategies and associated policies that seek women's promotion, while they are still relatively invisible to the majority.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on my analysis of Craveirinha's poems, various songs and interviews conducted in Mozambique and South Africa, I sought to demonstrate how the migratory work of Mozambicans in South Africa has been appropriated and reinterpreted.

The poet interpreted the migratory work of Mozambicans in South Africa, emphasising negative aspects in the context of his anti-colonial struggle. He sought to denounce, through his poems, the alliances between the Portuguese colonial government and the apartheid government of South Africa, which had little regard for the lives of black workers. His vision about the migratory work of Mozambicans to South Africa is currently being

114 Interview: Author with I Mboa, Maputo, 13 August 2019.
115 Interview: Author with F Chitiva, Springs, South Africa, 26 July 2019.
116 Interview: EM Isike with Anonymous.; Isike, "An analysis of African", p. 8539.
117 Filimone, "Moçambicanas na África do Sul".

readapted and reinterpreted by those Mozambicans who, influenced by the new conjunctures, do not see South Africa anymore as the old “Eldorado”.

The musicians who sang about the migratory labour of Mozambicans to South Africa did so in the context of social transformations, sometimes denouncing deviations in behaviour but also protesting against injustices in wages and violence by white South African employers.

The Mozambican women who went to work in South Africa are invisible in the poetic work and most of the songs. The only female figures who Craveirinha and other artists describe are the South African prostitutes. The latter infected the Mozambican migrants with venereal diseases that were then transmitted to their wives and lovers on Mozambican soil. Yet, many Mozambican women also migrated and often share the desire not to work in South Africa any longer, discouraging others from opting for the same fate.