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Title :
Embedded Time and Dispersed Place: Displacement and Gendered Differences in Mozambican "Lifespace"

Introduction

This paper demonstrates how time-space strategies are implicated in critical culturally-defined life-projects and trajectories through an examination of gender- and age- differentiated experiences of wartime migration among Mozambicans during (1978-1992) and immediately after (1992-1996) that country's recent civil conflict. Drawing on insights from "humanist geography" (Entrikin, 1991; Malmberg, 1997; Hagerstrand, 1975a, 1975b; Aquist, 1992) that address how life-projects vary in their relationship to and dependence upon different time-space strategies, this is a working attempt to develop a theoretical concept ("lifespace") that can be used to unpack the meaning of "displacement" and critically interrogate its usually assumed relationships to migration and social change.

Displacement is a concept that typically "packages together" a series of supposedly co-varying phenomena and statuses. It is usually reserved to refer to the activity of those who move (as opposed to those who stay put) under some heightened threat of violence and thus is often used interchangeably with the term "forced migration" . Movement under such conditions is typically assumed and even explicitly theorized (e.g. Thayer and Colson, 1982; E. Marx, 1990; Rogge, 1987; Stein, 1981; Indra, 1999) to both cause and co-vary with the fragmentation of social networks and interaction , and to render affected people's expectations and action planning frameworks ineffective in a radically altered socio-economic environment. "Displacement" thus implicitly conveys a sense that social fragmentation, disempowerment, disruption, and alienating novelty, are the covariant products of wartime movement in a straightforward, self-evident, and unproblematic fashion. The causal relationship implied between movement and change and the particular package of meanings involved, reveal "displacement' to be a term derived from longstanding anthropological and social science frameworks and tropes that implicitly make "sedentarist" assumptions (Malkki, 1992) and privilege spatially-bounded units of analysis (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, 1997)

This study reinforces the findings of other studies of wartime migrant populations (Hansen, 1982, 1993; Wilson, 1994) in arguing that movement cannot be *assumed* to produce dramatic socio-economic disruption, social network fragmentation, or discontinuities in ongoing life-strategies. It demonstrates how wartime migration and immobility had different effects on Mozambican men and women because of the ways in which their pre-conflict life strategies differed in their uses of space. Unlike formal geographic concepts such as "location" and "place" (Malmberg, 1997) that are ultimately spatially determined, the "lifespace" concept in development here seeks to interrogate rather than assume any particular relationship between movement and the various axes of change and their directionalities typically invoked under the term "displacement". It thus discusses situations in which wartime migration represented continuity in pre-conflict life strategies for Mozambican men, in which women used migration to avert or minimize lifestyle disruption, and in which it was *immobility* that produced social marginalization and significantly narrowed possibilities for the realization of life-strategies among younger men and women, in a sense producing what might be "displacement in place".

The "lifespace" concept expands on the concept of "social world" (E.Marx, 1990) so as to capture *impersonal* as well as social aspects of interaction and acknowledge the importance of both to the realization of life-projects. This study demonstrates that life-strategies can be affected not only by changes in the social , but also in other aspects of the environment. It compares the importance of particular ecological settings to Mozambican men and women's status and life-strategies, and discusses how these differences influenced migration decision-making and the effects of movement on their life-possibilities.

Finally, and of particular interest to this paper the "lifespace" concept attempts to capture how experientially defined (as opposed to spatially-determined) environments are also temporally qualified. It demonstrates that both social and impersonal resources that are meaningful to the life-strategies of socially differentiated actors not only may have specific spatialities but also specific

temporalities. The war's prolongation had gender differentiated effects on fertility. Fertility-dependent life-strategies were consequently affected by the war in drastically different ways for women and men. The study also examines the age-differentiated effects of prolonged war on the accumulation of the human and social capital that enabled migration among men and the post-conflict effects of loss of this capital on the life-course of younger cohorts. These examples highlight the temporally "embedded" (Aquist as quoted in Malmberg, 1997). dimensions of "lifespace" and demonstrate how socially differentiated the temporal qualities of social and impersonal resources and the time-dependence of culturally defined life-course strategies can be.

In conclusion the lifespace concept is deployed in proposing an alternative conceptualization of "displacement" itself that dislodges any inherent relationship to migration. In particular this analysis challenges conventional analytical wisdom and concepts that inherently equate "displacement" with movement. I argue that "displacement" is not so much a function of movement per se, but rather is more usefully defined in terms of the reconfiguration of "lifespace" in ways that make the realization of critical life-projects more problematic. In this definition the relationship between movement and displacement cannot be assumed but must be empirically investigated in terms of the socially-differentiated ways in which culturally-defined life-strategies are implicated in and implemented through the management of time and space. Moreover, this analysis suggests that displacement not only reconfigures lifespaces in socially differentiated ways, but may also involve ambiguous and mixed results that are simultaneously disempowering and empowering in new ways for the same social actors. In an environment in which social and other resources have been reconfigured in ways that alter balances of power within social networks, social relations themselves may be redefined in spatially and temporally marked ways.

Study Setting: Machazians in Mozambique and in Wartime Diaspora

This study is based on over two years of research conducted between 1996 and 1998 with wartime and post conflict migrants from the Machaze district in south-central Mozambique. Within three year after achieving independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975, hostile neighboring apartheid regimes instigated a civil war in Mozambique that lasted almost fifteen years (through 1992). The Machaze area was one of the earliest stages for this conflict. By late 1979 it was fully embroiled in the war between the Rhodesian (and later South African) supported anti-government faction (RENAMO) and the government forces (FRELIMO). Estimates suggest that up to 70% of the population left the district for South Africa, Zimbabwe, or other destinations within Mozambique during the conflict. (GTZ 1993,1995,1996; CARE,1994).[1]

Although most Machazians moved in one way or another during the decade and a half of war (even if only within the district itself), patterns and timing of movement were highly gender and age-specific. More women than men of all ages remained in the district (in either the communal villages or in the "bush" areas under RENAMO control) throughout the war, in either the fortified communal villages created by the government forces (FRELIMO) or in the bush areas under the insurgency's (RENAMO) control. As the war's intensification and successive droughts throughout the 1980's drove more people out of the district, women first tended to settle in rural areas in adjacent districts within Mozambique, and only later moved in significant numbers across the international border into Zimbabwe, where they tended to settle in the officially sponsored

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[1] I conducted fieldwork with Machazians in three locations: a peri-urban township near Johannesburg, South Africa; the provincial capital of Chimoio, Mozambique; and in their district of origin, Machaze. In Machaze I interviewed those who remained in the district during the war and those who returned after the conflict. Research methods included informal interviews, participant observation, extensive oral life history interviews, life-history matrix and other surveys, and document review of district-level reports dating back to 1898. In South Africa, I conducted over 200, and in Machaze and Chimoio over 300, life-history matrix surveys organized around migratory and social event histories.

UNHCR refugee camps. An insignificant minority of Machazian women migrated to and settled in South Africa during the war.

By contrast, most adult Machazian men moved out of the district to the peri-urban township areas in South Africa during the first few years of the conflict. Those men who did not migrate to South Africa usually fell into one of three categories: 1-adult men who had been recruited to serve in the military ranks of one of the two sides; 2-young men who had not yet engaged in a first migratory labor trip abroad before the arrival of hostilities; and 3-older men who had already retired and were several years removed from a prior migratory labor career. As the war progressed younger and older men tended to move in patterns similar too those of Machazian women (and frequently in their company), with the exception that once international borders to Zimbabwe were crossed younger men in particular tended to be (illegally) self-settled outside the refugee camps. These young men frequently worked on farms or in other wage labor opportunities and retained some level of contact and mutual support with camp-settled relatives.[2]

Time and Space in Pre-Conflict Machazian Social Organization

In order to understand both the factors motivating these gendered patterns of wartime migration as well as their socially differentiated effects it is necessary to first establish some of the ways in which space and time were implicated in the management of social and impersonal resources in pre-conflict Machazian social life.

Before the conflict Machazian subsistence involved a well established social division of labor between female subsistence agriculture in Machaze and male migration in pursuit of wage-labor. Motivated by the need to pay taxes and evade forced labor recruitment under the Portuguese colonial regime, as well as the need for cash to pay for lobola and the possibility of gaining greater autonomy from senior kin, migratory labor had become virtually universal among Machazian men well before World War II (Lubkemann, 2000a). In their mid-teens Machazian men undertook a first migratory trip to work either elsewhere within the province or else across the border as agricultural wage laborers across the nearby international border (@100 kilometers away) in then Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe). One or sometimes two such trip would enable savings that would later support the much longer first trip south across the international border to begin work in the mines or industries in the peri-urban regions of South Africa. From the 1930's through the first years of the Mozambican civil war (1978-1982) the overwhelming number of Machazian men had long migratory careers in which spells working in South Africa that ranged from one to several years would be interspersed by usually shorter stays of months back in Machaze. Often marrying for the first time after the second trip to South Africa and bringing this wife to live in their father's compound, men in this polygynous society might take more wives as they grew older, eventually establishing their own independent compounds. Migratory careers to South Africa that often

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[2] The exact gender distribution of the wartime population is difficult to determine because of the challenges of reconstructing a population dispersed and decimated by over a decade of war. However, several independent lines of evidence indicate that women comprised a significantly higher proportion of the population that remained in Machaze and resided in the official refugee camps in Zimbabwe during the war. The 1980 census that took place in Machaze as the war was underway (and was actually interrupted by it) verified a female to male ration in the district of 1.6:1 (GTZ 1995). A 1993 survey of the population in several communal villages counted only 2,087 men in the 16-64 age group while almost twice as many women (3,839) (GTZ 1993). In sample of 123 households from two official UNHCR return convoys from Tongogara refugee camp to Machaze in early 1996 a total of 46 households were classified as female-headed along with 6 solo females - together comprising 42 percent of the total returnee households in these convoys. Two other studies, one conducted in Tongogara camp (of which Machazians were only a part of the total camp population) (Tandai 1992) and one in Machaze itself (CARE 1994) both verified high levels of female-headed households (Tandai-20 percent; CARE-30 percent).

spanned decades would be followed by retirement in Machaze, a "personal life-cycle time" event often managed in conjunction with particular family-time domestic-life-cycle" events, such as the successful initiation of a youngest son's own migratory career and/or marriage(Lubkemann 2000). Machazian men's life-strategies were embodied in and dependent first and foremost upon wage-labor migration. They participated only secondarily and in limited direct ways in subsistence agriculture activities mostly involving clearing new fields every three or more years.

In stark contrast to the centrality of movement in Machazian men's life-strategies only rarely did Machazian women migrate. Although in depth historical analysis indicates that Machazian women may have been more mobile at the very beginning of the twentieth century, it is clear that this mobility had been drastically curtailed by the 1930's. the collusion of patriarchal interests and colonial labor policies in producing this effect has been documented elsewhere (Lubkemann, 2000a; 2000b). Subsistence agricultural remained the primary domain of women's socio-economic activity. Until the decade before the civil war there were virtually no opportunities for women to earn cash on their own within the district. High transportation costs, ecological conditions, and colonial neglect resulted in a anemic market in the best of times for local agricultural products with what few opportunities that did emerge being monopolized by men or the handful of colonists in the district. Women's agricultural pursuits remained subsistence oriented while alternative wage employment opportunities were virtually non-existent, such that women remained highly dependent on the cash-earnings of migratory male relatives—husbands, sons, or fathers.

In this patrilocal system, women once married would usually take up residence with their husband's parents, providing significant amounts of labor to her mother-in-law in particular, or sometimes for a senior wife. Polygyny represented an ambiguous combination of potential gains and losses for Machazian women. Whereas a co-wife was often regarded as a rival and potential source of *uloi* (witchcraft) , heavy domestic labor requirements, particularly those associated with water scarcity in the region, frequently factored into pre-war decisions to add a wife to a household. Many women were involved in one way or another in the selection of an additional wife for their spouse. Senior wife status provided some labor benefits and represented status enhancement relative to someone else in the household. The taking of junior wife by a husband often released another wife from the responsibilities of assisting a mother-in-law or a more senior wife, giving her greater independence.

Fertility played a variety of critical status and security-enhancing roles for women throughout their lifetime. Fertility not only represented a socially-significant enhancement in status, but also cemented marriages (lobolas often only being fully paid after two or more children had been born) and represented a gateway to greater autonomy from senior female kin since the arrival of children often signaled the establishment of an independent household and access to one's own fields as well as diminished obligations to work in the fields of mothers-in-law or more senior wives. Children also only provided vital domestic labor in their own right but ultimately both old-age security as well as greater social power. Women not only relied upon their children for their old-age security but gained social power in particular through their role in monitoring the wives and household affairs of absent migrant sons, benefiting directly from the labor of their sons wives. In polygynous households in particular older women remained far more concerned with retaining linkages with their sons than even with their own husbands.[3]

Though only a brief overview sketch it should be clear that the spatiality of Machazian men and women's life experiences differed in quite significant ways. At the most basic and self-

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[3] older men who had retired from migratory careers might co-reside with only one or some of their wives, sometimes a senior or preferred wife along with her son's wives (and the son himself when he was back from migratory world abroad). Another solution sometimes pursued by men whose wives had negotiated greater independence involved acquiring a young wife to care for them in their old age.

evident level Machazian men lived within experiential horizons that encompassed different rural and urban areas of Mozambique, rural Zimbabwe and the peri-urban areas of South Africa whereas Machazian women's life experiences were realized entirely within the rural district of Machaze. Not only did Machazian men and women thus inhabit what we might term different "lifespaces" but their social interaction and social reproduction was dependent upon critical differences in the spatial and temporal qualities of each other's lifespace (such as on their mutual separation for periods of time in which men worked on mines in South Africa and women pursued agricultural subsistence in Machaze).

"Lifespace" as Analytical Concept

In this paper "lifespace" is used to refer to the social and impersonal dimensions of context within which meaningful projects are realized. The spatiality, i.e. the particular spatial distribution of these resources is not assumed to take any particular form, or necessarily exhibit the types of spatial contiguities that are most often taken as assumed units of analysis.[4] Consequently "lifespace" can be usefully contrasted with the formal geographic concepts of "location" and "place". In formal geography a "location" refers to a geographic spot where people and things are physically situated-in other words a coordinate on the globe that might be pinpointed using a GPS device (global positioning unit). In contrast "place" refers to the physical features and the social life that occur within a limited and contiguous space, and to the subjective images and values that this specific place represents to people (Entrikin, 1991; Malmberg,1997,42-43). Both of these concepts are spatially determined in the sense that they are ultimately delimited within contiguous space.

Powerful for other analytical purposes (see Giddens, 1979), these concepts fail to capture important dimensions of the Machazian "experiential setting" since they refer to experience that is circumscribed within a particular contiguous geographic location. Throughout most of the twentieth century the "experiential setting" of Machazian men not only spanned non-contiguous spaces in Mozambique and South Africa, but in fact depended on their critical differences and discontinuities, while centering on (migratory) strategies that capitalized on these differences. In contrast, rather than being defined in terms of spatial horizons, "lifespace" is bound by experiential horizons.[5]

As the measure of the meaningful resources available for the realization of culturally-defined and socially differentiated life-strategies the concept of "lifespace" also attempts to expand on the concept of "social world" by acknowledging the importance of impersonal as well as social aspects of the environment to life-strategies. E. Marx's (1990) notion of a "social world" draws on social network theory in an attempt to transcend the longstanding and increasingly critiqued (Appadurai, 1988; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; 1997 ; Maalki,1992) tendency in anthropology to imagine "society as a territorially based organism. A (migrant's) social world consists of the sum of all the migrant's social relationships and the forces impinging on those relationships at any moment" (E.Marx, 1990,189). The "social world" concept has the analytical advantage of acknowledging that the social relationships to which actors are

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[4] The fact that projection, even of the individual, through space always represents some form of spatial contiguity is not what is in dispute.. However, the forms of spatial contiguity most often recognized by virtue of their political (such as nationality) or analytical projection (such as urban/rural or other forms of classification) are likely to not co-vary with the particular contiguities traced as lifespace, that as the Mozambican migratory case shows may span international borders, urban and rural areas, and even social, cultural and political fields.

[5] Although the concept could be used to delimit experiential horizons from an individual perspective, in this paper I am more interested in applying it to the experiential commonalties within more generalized social categories of individuals, differentiated in particular with respect to gender and age.

responsive and in which they are embedded are not (necessarily) confined to a particular place or limited by territorial boundaries. However the social world concept focuses exclusively on interpersonal aspects of interaction and experience while ignoring more impersonal aspects (such as interaction with particular types of natural environment or with locations with unique socially-defined meanings). These impersonal aspects of the environment can play a critical role in defining routines and in constituting resources upon which culturally-defined life-strategies are dependent .

Two other features of the "lifespace" concept in development here bear elaboration. One is the fact that experiential horizons always encompass resources that are "meaningful", in the sense that they are recognized by socially-differentiated actors as bearing relevance to particular projects. Such projects are ones whose relevance is recognized in the first place because they are collectively (and thus culturally) defined. The lifespace of Mozambican men encompasses both employment opportunities in South Africa and rural life back in Machaze. While sharing the latter of these settings with Machazian women men defines the setting and its activities in terms of their relevance to culturally specific life-course projects, objectives, and strategies that differ significantly from those of women. The concept is thus defined in relation to specific categories of social actors and their life-strategies as these make sense in culturally-specific terms. The relationship of particular time-space strategies must thus be problematized with relationship to the particular "lifespaces" of socially-differentiated actors.

A further critical feature of "lifespace" is the fact that the social and impersonal resources that constitute it have particular temporalities, specifically in light of their "meaningfulness" to different categories of social actors. In his time-space geography Hagerstrand argues that "In a lifetime perspective an individual's path through time and space is strongly conditioned by a number of collectively defined projects in which he/she is engaged"(Hagerstrand, 1975).Not only do these projects have spatial qualities--as some are strongly tied to specific places, or types of places, while others are easily transferred to new locations--but different projects also have temporal qualities.

Life-course strategies are often highly dependent on the realization of critical steps within a time-circumscribed life-course stage. Projects whose success depends on their realization within certain time limitations operate within what geographers have described as "embedded time" (Aquist as quoted in Malmberg, 1997). Moreover, steps in the realization of total life-strategies are often cumulative and successively dependent such that the successful realization of strategies at one life-course stage is highly dependent on the successful realization of strategies at a previous stage. Therefore factors which threaten to disrupt the realization of strategies at one life-course stage place strategies in subsequent life-course stages (and hence entire life-strategies) at risk.

Thus in addition to spatial dimensions the "geography" of "lifespace" involves temporal dimensions that set parameters for the realization of time-embedded life-projects, and for the relationships of earlier projects to later ones. A limited yet useful analogy may be made between the temporality of resources (social or impersonal) constitutive of "lifespace" and products with expiration dates or limited time usefulness (such as might be found for example in a refrigerator or in a medicine cabinet). Other temporalities can be imagined through other analogies such as that of a wine that must age in order to come into its own. As with its spatialiality it is critical to note that the temporalilty of "lifespace" may also be highly socially-differentiated as the subsequent analysis demonstrates to have been was the case among war-affected Machazians.

"Lifespace" and the Organization and Effects of Wartime Migration
In the following section of this paper I examine how the concept of "lifespace" as it has been defined, helps to craft a better understanding of both the migration decision-making that

produced gendered patterns of wartime population distribution among Machazians as well as the effects of both movement and non-movement on their life-strategies as collectively defined critical projects (Hagerstrand, 1975).

My initial argument is that both decisions to move *as well as those to remain in the district* reflected attempts by Machazians to preserve access to specific types of gendered and age-differentiated "lifespace". Far from representing a radical disruption of established life-strategies, the patterns of predominantly male adult outmigration to South Africa early in the conflict represented the continuation of long-established coping strategies. Thus much as it had during cycles of intensified colonial labor recruitment male migration out of the district intensified during the beginning of the war. (Lubkemann, 2000a 90-95; 100-115; 127-131). Far from migratory movement producing radical social network fragmentation, disempowerment, and alienating de-routinization, the migration of Machazian men to South Africa represented the realization of highly familiar life-strategies in which multi-year separation from spouses and absence from Machaze itself reproduced to a significant[6] extent spatial and temporal routines without cutting these men off from resources vital to their life-strategy realization. If men were "forced" to migrate, they were thus "forced" to engage in a strategy which was already a central part of their social and economic experience, and for which they had the experiential resources to successfully engage in, and in which in fact their critical life projects were in fact dependent upon.

By contrast there is little indication that Machazian women had either the desire or the intention early on in the conflict to join their husbands or fathers in moving out of the district. During the first years of the conflict Machazian women relocated almost entirely within the district itself. In particular they preferred internal (rural) migration destinations that allowed them to re-establish some form of subsistence agriculture. The majority of those who stayed in the district thus moved to areas that were several days travel by foot from the government's communal villages. Particularly early on in the conflict many who chose this option were able to cultivate in relative safety removed from FRELIMO troops.

Gendered migration patterns, particularly early on in the conflict, represented attempts to preserve and reproduce particular types of "lifespace", involving gender differentiated patterns of interaction with social and impersonal resources. The long-distance separation of spouses, even for several years did not represent discontinuity with normative expectations and thus cannot be described as "problematic" in the sense of disruptive of routine life-strategies in the way theorized by current uses of "displacement".

Ultimately however, attempts at minimizing change in lifespace parameters were not necessarily equally successful for men and women. The war's arrival and persistence for almost a decade and a half in Machaze had a far more grave, dangerous, and disruptive effect on the practice of agricultural subsistence within Mozambique than it did on possibilities for wage-labor employment in South Africa. The conflict thus had far more devastating effects on women's lifespaces, forcing them to choose among types of lifespace in which social and impersonal resources had been altered in largely disempowering ways not experienced by those men who had migrated to South Africa. The war thus had a much greater immediate negative impact on women's lifespace than it did on that of migrant Machazian men.

As the war progressed subsistence agriculture in both the "bush" areas of the district and in the communal villages became less and less tenable. Three years into the war an intense two year drought that swept with devastating effect throughout Mozambique drastically curtailed agricultural production and increased the competition over basic subsistence (food and water) resources in wartime Machaze district. The population located in the more remote insurgent-controlled found themselves under increased pressure from RENAMO soldiers for food supplies,

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[6] Relative sense-note colonial-not however the totally novel assumed by current analytical uses of displacement and assumed in most theories of forced migration.

who also increased the frequency of raids on aid convoys to the government-held villages. Government troops responded with more frequent retaliatory strikes and also engaged in food-seeking forays themselves. Through its direct effects on agricultural production and its compounding effects on the intensity of the conflict itself, the drought increasingly reduced the viability of subsistence options throughout the district, promoting widespread outmigration of a population now largely comprised of females, children and elderly men. Initially targeting remote rural destinations in the adjacent district of Mossurize , yet further intensifications of conflict and periodic drought led more and more Machazians to relocate across the international border in Zimbabwe.

By the time they arrived in Zimbabwe resettlement options were highly restricted for Machazians, who were a "vintage" (Kunz, 1972,1981) behind other Mozambicans who already had crossed over into Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's colonial and postcolonial legacy of intense population pressure on land (Hughes, 1999; Ranger, 1985), severely limited the land available for Mozambican re-settlement and generated political pressures that led to a policy of mandatory (UNHCR) camp internment for all Mozambican wartime migrants. Consequently by the mid-1980's most Machazian women either resided in refugee camps in Zimbabwe or in the government-controlled villages within Mozambique, both locations where subsistence agriculture was tremendously problematic.[7]

The inability to participate in subsistence agricultural activities for the majority of women who found themselves in UNHCR camps in Zimbabwe and in the villages had profound effects that extended far beyond subsistence itself to more generally erode female status and their base of social power within kinship and community networks. As organized within Machaze subsistence agriculture on one hand provided women with a degree of independence vis-à-vis husband and his kin through control over the crops she herself planted. Systems of resource distribution within refugee camps were often channeled in ways that reinforced patriarchal authority.[8] The different roles that older and younger women played within extended households based on their different relationships to subsistence activities were also severely disrupted. These roles were the basis for reciprocity among women and also traced out life-status trajectories for women. The fragmentation of social networks and nuclearization of many co-residential units also detrimentally affected women's mutual assistance strategies (such as sharing child care duties among wives).

In return for these disruptions life in the refugee camps offered few opportunities for developing alternative forms of independence for women—for example only a minority of women were able to engage in cash-generating wage labor in the camp or in the nearby vicinity. Women's lack of experience with migration made illegal migration and related economic subsistence options much harder for them to realize than for men. Most women who fled across international borders into Zimbabwe lacked the knowledge and social networks that men had which enabled

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[7] The practice of subsistence agriculture had always more problematic for the minority of the population that relocated to the government-held communal villages. The population density within the protected perimeters only allowed for small garden plots. Farming outside the perimeters was permitted but dangerous because of the possibility of encountering RENAMO troops or landmines, and difficult because land near the villages was soon exhausted as a result of heavy overuse. Those who ventured further away to cultivate their pre-conflict fields risked late returns to the villages that often resulted in lethal reprisal by FRELIMO troops who interpreted curfew violations as evidence of collusion with the enemy. the droughts and the war's intensification accelerated the exhaustion of those plots of land that were closer to the communal villages and thus safer and easier to work. Those in these villages increasingly became dependent on the humanitarian food aid being flown in and on relationship building strategies that gave them access to this food

[8] although there were far more women in refugee camps than men these women were often accompanied by elder Machazian kinsmen (their fathers, older brothers, or fathers of husbands) who had already retired from their migratory careers to South Africa.

participation in non-agricultural subsistence activities. Women also usually faced cultural sanctions that made it much harder for them to seek non-agricultural or cash-employment alternatives in Zimbabwe.[9]

We can see this as a process by which larger macro-structural forces impinged upon and drastically altered the "lifespace" options of Machazian women by reducing the impersonal and social resources available to them for realizing their culturally defined life-strategies. It would be a mistake of course to argue that Machazian men's lifespace remained unaltered by the effects of the war on Machaze and by Machazian women's reactions, migratory or otherwise to preserve critical dimensions of "lifespace". As it dragged on the war increasingly placed key aspects of both men and women's long-term life-strategies at greater risk, albeit in very different ways and with very different effects. As the war continued and intensified, many Machazian men who had left for South Africa began to realize that they might never be able to reclaim their lives in Mozambique. For some the war had disrupted their contact with family members in Mozambique. Even among those who had maintained contact, there was growing recognition that life-strategies premised on interaction with these family members were increasingly less secure. More so than as a result of the initial movement itself, it can be argued that it was this dawning realization that represented an alteration in Mozambican men's lifespace, and a disruption of expectations and routine, as social resources critical to the realization of life-strategies that were once available began to appear less likely to remain so.

At the same time however, other resources that could be capitalized upon in culturally-sanctioned ways also became available as a result of their long-term sojourns in South Africa. As I have examined in greater depth elsewhere (Lubkemann 2000a, 2000b) prior to the Mozambican civil war, important regulatory, labor market, social, and demographic changes in South Africa had created new possibilities and motives for migrant Machazian men to establish more permanent residential arrangements, and new forms of social ties in South Africa.[10] Machazian men in South Africa during the war were increasingly able and motivated to secure ever more established conjugal relationships with South African women that via lobola payments ensured their claim on children.

The growth and intensification of conjugal relations with South African women did not, however, mean that Machazian men renounced relationships and rights with Machazian wives in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Maintaining a social option outside of South Africa clearly served Machazian men's interests. The cash dependence and high cost-of-living in the South African townships made it worthwhile to preserve the option of reestablishment in Mozambique in the eventuality of a resolution of the war. Furthermore, the existence of new options in South Africa did not nullify many of the legally structured vulnerabilities that Machazian migrants faced. As illegal immigrants, Machazian men were particularly vulnerable to crime given their known reluctance to report it to authorities, and to extortion by corrupt officials.

The development of what I have termed elsewhere "transnational polygyny" (Lubkemann, 2000a, 2000b) was a strategy that depended in large part on Machazian men successfully

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[9] Women were much more likely than men to migrate with family members-often the mother of their husbands, or their own senior male or female kin.

[10] The critical interrelated changes that created possibilities for Mozambican men to interact more frequently with and eventually establish conjugal relationships with South African women involved: the post 1950's shift from legal mining employment to longer duration illegal work in other sectors; the post 1960's shift from isolated compound to township-based housing; the exploding growth of the townships after 1970 and the rapid growth of female rural to urban migration in South Africa after this date; and the economic downturn in South Africa in the mid-1970's that allowed employers to severely restrict leave times, making return trips to Mozambique harder. Thus just prior to the war Machazian men had begun to establish more permanent forms of co-residence and conjugal unions with South African women, without necessarily dissolving their conjugal unions in Mozambique (Lubkemann 2000a, 2000b).

preventing wives from knowing about each other, and in particular on preventing Machazian wives from joining them in South Africa. South African women often were not receptive to polygyny in general and were adamantly opposed in particular to the presence of a Mozambican wife in their homes. Men also feared that the presence of a Machazian wife in South Africa could expose the Mozambican identity of these men, subjecting them to deportation. They also believed that Machazian women would become discontent at the discovery of South African counterparts and increase the likelihood of *uloi* (witchcraft) within the household.[10]Finally, Machazian men needed wives to remain with other dependent family members , in particular with parents, in order to avoid incurring their displeasure which was believed to be a surefire way of provoking the wrath of ancestral spirits. Machazian men thus used a variety of tactics to prevent spouses who wanted to join them in South Africa from doing so. While Machazian men maintained legal claims on women and their fertility in Mozambique, their intensified and more formalized participation in progeny-producing unions with South African wives allowed them to diversify old-age options. The transnationalization of polygyny during the war thus allowed men to guard, and even enhance, their old age security options in culturally sanctioned terms.

In contrast to its effects on men, the duration of spousal separation as a result of the war's persistence threatened Machazian women's own life-course strategies by creating conditions that increasingly made the biological realization of women's fertility dependent on strategies that placed their social fertility (their culturally sanctioned right to children) at risk. While the prolongation of the war had a particularly profound effect on highly time-dependent aspects of men and women's life-strategies. In particular the effects of the Mozambican war's prolongation was particularly pronounced on those aspects of Machazian men and women's life-strategies premised on. As is relatively commonplace currently throughout rural sub-Saharan Africa (e.g.Townsend, 1997), fertility provides both men and women with status as well as with old age security through the support that their children will provide. However, while fertility plays vital role in the life-strategies of *both* men and women in Machaze, [11] it is important to realize the ways in which the resources available for the realization of fertility had highly gender-differentiated temporalities within the Machazian cultural context. Within Machazian cultural prescriptions fertility was a far more "time-embedded" project—in the sense that it had to be realized within more narrowly prescribed temporal parameters (Aquist as quoted in Malmberg, 1997) for women than it was for men. The longer biological timeframe over which men could viably reproduce coupled with social prescriptions that allowed them to have multiple wives means that men's fertility could span a considerable time span up to several decades.[12] By contrast, Machazian women's fertility was both biologically limited to a much more restricted time-span and culturally restricted to children they themselves could give birth to in their own lifetime.

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[11] Although the support of children in old age is important for both men and women it is arguably more important for women. This is because older men may obtain support in the form of domestic and agricultural labor through the alternative social relationship of marriage. Several old men whom I interviewed in Machaze had been unable to locate their children or spouses after returning to Machaze after the end of the war. They had consequently negotiated *lobola* payments for much younger women in the expectation that these women would support them in their retirement. As one of these men stated to me; "I cannot find my son. After my wife died I found this one so that I can rest my back against her in my old age". Since women are almost without exception considerably younger than their husbands there are many more widows than widowers in Machaze. Older widows are unlikely to be remarried. Thus older women are more likely than older men to be unable to avail themselves of a spouse's support. They are also highly unlikely to replace a spouse if the spouse dies at a later stage in their life. Consequently the only source of old-age support available to older Machazian women is through their children (or their children's' spouses). A woman's fertility is thus critical to her old age security in a way in which a man's fertility is not.

[12] By way of example it is not unusual to meet older Machazian men who have both children old enough to have several children of their own, as well as other children only a few months old.

Consequently, as the war wore on many Machazian wives faced growing contradictions among their culturally prescribed life goals. Prevented from physically joining their husbands, wives could have sex with men other than their long absent husbands, allowing them to have children—the critical element of future security. However, this option involved violating cultural prescriptions that made divorce more likely and placed the validity of these women's claims on their children at risk in the case of divorce. Alternatively, women could remain faithful to absent husbands with the long-term consequence of having few or no children. This contradiction could be resolved only by fulfilling one prescription at the expense of the other. Machazian men's participation in South African marriages shielded them from these contradictions and their undesirable effects.

This dilemma became more acute for women as the war dragged on and came to span a large part (or even all) of these women's fertile years. It affected women of different ages and in different circumstances in different ways. Both Maria and Luka, for instance, who had fled to UNHCR camps in Zimbabwe during the war, were childless. Maria' three children had died, while Luka had been married but never had children. Both of these women ultimately engaged in illicit unions with men in the camps in an attempt to have children. Luka's and Maria's life-strategies were threatened much earlier in the war than those of other women who had not lost children, or who had a longer span of their biological fertility ahead of them. Maria's younger sister, Nhamunissa, for example, had three living children that survived the war and did not face the same crisis that confronted her sister. However, as the war wore on and high levels of war mortality robbed even women who already had children before the war of all or at least some of these larger numbers of Machazian women faced this critical challenge to their life-strategies.[13]

Lifespace, Migration, and Displacement: Cases of "Displacement in Place"

Faced with such difficult choices as a result of reconfigured "lifespace" during the war, most Machazian women expressed an overriding concern with having enough children survive, even at the expense of doing so "legitimately". One woman interviewed in Chimoio put it quite clearly:

> What matters is not the man. What matters is the children. One or two are not
> enough because what if one dies or is not well-behaved? Yes I would want a man
> because he could help. But we can live without a man--aren't we doing that now
> right here? But without children we die in misery.

The predominant strategy among women who stayed in the communal villages in Machaze district was to establish conjugal relationships with FRELIMO soldiers. Women in relationships with soldiers as opposed to non-military men were less likely to be subjected to immediate sanctions from either their own parents or their husband's kin since these relatives feared the military. . Women in these relationships often benefited not only from having children but from privileged access to some of the rations and spoils that these soldiers obtained. Some women reported that their own paternal kin even supported such unions, though in all cases reviewed for this study husband's kin always remained opposed to them.

After the war and the demobilization of troops on both sides, many of these women faced claims from returning husbands (or his relatives) to children produced in extra-marital wartime unions. In these disputes women were usually at a considerable disadvantage in light of Machazian ideologies of kinship and dispute resolution. Contingencies such as prolonged absence might considered by "traditional authorities" who arbitrated most such disputes, but the best that these

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[13] This challenge is highlighted even more starkly in light of the fertility goals of most Machazian women who usually expressed a desire for six or more children and were particularly concerned with having sons.

women could hope for would be that the children be divided between the family of the husband and the wife. However, even this best case scenario generally required that the wife be able to draw on the support of her male relatives. Similarly, at least some portion of the *lobola* was usually required to be repaid. A woman's male relatives often proved reluctant to incur such costs, particularly if they felt that the woman engaged in liaisons against their own expressed wishes during the conflict.

Although such women had never moved from the district during the war, the (return) movement of others often resulted in a constriction of their "lifespace", and the reconfiguration of social resources that threatened the realization of their life-strategies, thus producing a sense of what might be termed paradoxically "displacement in place". In reaction to such displacement in place, a number women who had borne children with FRELIMO soldiers in Machaze during the war, went to Chimoio after the war to avoid the return of their husband or affines and the anticipated claims on children. One such woman described her experience as follows:

> I thought that he [her husband] was dead because I heard nothing from him during the war. Even his relatives did not think he was alive. I stayed in Chitobe [a communal village] after the other one [her soldier consort] left. When my husband came back he said these children were his. I had no one to speak for me there. I came here to Chimoio with these children to find him [the soldier] so he could pay *lobola*. I cannot find him….If I go back to Machaze then the *regulo* [headman] will say that these children are his [her husbands] ──he has paid *lobola*.

Women from Machaze who fled such "displacement in place" after the war joined many others who had fled to Chimoio during the war or who had opted to return there from Zimbabwean camps rather than to Machaze because of similar fears. Some women had moved to Chimoio in order to avoid contact with their husband's and/or their father's kin so that they could escape the social vigilance, pressure, and disapproval from those kin that hindered their attempts to engage in child-producing unions and relationships in the first place. These women feared they would be exposed to social and moral sanctions if they attempted to return to Machaze, or even if they maintained connections with Machazians in Chimoio itself. One woman who left Machaze during the war and chose to remain in Chimoio after it ended remarked:

> My husband's family has already called me back to Machaze, but I do not want to go. Now he wants my [two] children to come back because they are his brother's [referring to the claim the children were the result of her union with a soldier and the brother had actually already died]. If I return he will take the children and I will be left with nothing. This is why I stay here even though I have nothing. Even this roof is falling down.

As an alternative to returning to Machaze, life in Chimoio had its own downsides. The cost of living in Chimoio, like many urban areas, was high. Access to fields and shelter was commodified, and cash was much more necessary for survival than it was in Machaze. As one woman facing these challenges put it:

> I would like to go back to Machaze because here my *maachamba*[field] is too small. It is very far away. I sometimes walk there and stay two days because if I go by *machibombo* [public transport] I must pay 1,000 *meticais* there and 1,000 *meticais* to return.(but) I cannot go back to Machaze (because of my children).

As a result, some of these women lived on the verge of extreme poverty. In ways not always dissimilar to the experience of women during the war in refugee camps these post-conflict movers found themselves living in drastically altered "lifespace" in which the lack of critical resources and the greater power of social others compelled them to engage in zero-sum game choices between which aspects of their life-strategies they most want to protect.

Conclusion: Re-defining "Displacement"

Viewed in terms of its effects in reconfiguring "lifespace" wartime violence clearly did not have undifferentiated or monolithic effects on the whole Machazian population. Neither movement nor immobility were not understood or savored in the same way by all Machazians nor did they have the same implicates for or effects upon gendered and age-specific lifespaces. Machazian migratory and non-migratory reactions early in the war can be seen as attempts to reproduce ongoing strategies of social and economic reproduction to avert a sense of "displacement" in a novel environment rather than as attempts to radically alter those life-strategies themselves. Consequently, Machazian women tended to migrate initially within the district and later to other nearby district areas where wartime conditions still allowed them to engage in subsistence agriculture. Similarly Machazian men continued historic patterns of migration to South Africa. The forces shaping gendered patterns of population distribution and the meaning of these choices can only be understood in light of empirical analysis of the relationship of "movement" to gender-differentiated "lifespaces" in the Machazian setting. These lifespaces involve both social and impersonal resources with particular spatialities and temporalities that enabled the realization of culturally-prescribed life-projects (and the interrelationship of these projects that form broader life-strategies) for specific categories of social actors.

The relationship between "displacement" and "movement", particularly in acute violence settings is usually taken as a given. The concept of "lifespace" challenges and interrogates the givenness of this relationship. The notion that "movement" inherently produces disorganization, discontinuity, and disjuncture (and does so in a socially undifferentiated fashion) is premised, among other things, on the idea that the meaningful horizons, the constitutive resources, for life-strategy realization (i.e. "lifespace") are co-terminous with "place". In contrast the argument here is that "displacement" should not be seen not primarily as a function of geographical relocation per se , but rather involves: a reconfiguration of the social and impersonal resources that constitute an "experiential" rather than spatial location and thus a qualitative change in the relationship between life-strategies and the experiential environment in which these goals are to be realized.

Migration's relationship to displacement must be examined empirically rather than assumed by determining first how time-space strategies (involving movement and non-movement) are implicated in the constitution of the "lifespaces" of different categories of social actors. In many cases movement can reconfigure lifespace in the disempowering and alienating ways typically invoked by the term "displacement" as described in the case of migrant Machazian women. Alternatively as in the case of Machazian women who never moved at all during the war immobility may result in even more disempowering reconfigurations of lifespace.

It is also critical to focus not on the intersections and interactions of socially differentiated lifespaces' temporalities and spatialities, as evidenced not only in the case of wives facing prolonged spousal separation but also in the case of younger cohorts of Mozambican men whose lifespace was reconfigured by prolonged wartime immobility. During the conflict there was strong age-differentiation among Machazian men in patterns of migration and immobility. Adult men with previous migratory experience to South Africa were likely to leave the district and go to South Africa. However, younger men who had not already engaged in migration to South Africa were more likely to stay in the district and when they moved tended to move to Zimbabwe.(Similarly, the option of migrating and working in South Africa or even Zimbabwe was

also problematic for those men who were older who had already terminated their migratory career). The outmigration of men with experience in South Africa to that country did not necessarily result in their being accompanied by those younger men without previous South African experience simply because the wartime conditions had heightened the danger for all men. Social concerns apart from the war that I have discussed elsewhere (Lubkemann, 2000) as shaping pre-war labor migration made it unlikely for example fathers and sons to migrate together to South Africa. Young men were thus more likely to be unable to leave the district or end up in Zimbabwe since they lacked the knowledge, social networks, and experience with migration required to make a trip to South Africa. This pattern also clearly reflected the pre-war Machazian migration model by which younger men generally migrated first to Zimbabwe, a much more accessible destination, prior to seeking work in South Africa.

One of the post-war results of non-migration on the part of younger men who were "immobilized" through military recruitment or the inability to leave Machaze is that they started their migratory careers to South Africa with up to a decade lag. Among those men who were interviewed in Machaze in 1997 who had been younger than 20 when the war started in 1979, and who had engaged in their first migration either prior to or during the war only 21% had ever migrated to South Africa. Of these men 66% however, had migrated to Zimbabwe. Another 21% had never left Mozambique. These young men who were prevented from engaging in migration during the war were at a considerable socio-economic disadvantage vis-à-vis men who did manage to migrate during the war - in terms of their economic wealth, the social and human capital both built through migration and that further facilitated it, and the socio-economic possibilities migration engendered (related to marriage in particular). Fifteen year of "immobility" thud reconfigured the "lifespace" of men who were raised in wartime Mozambique, placing them at a disadvantage relative to counterparts who migrated across international borders, and resulting in yet another example of what might be termed "displacement in place".

In such situations—whether mobility or immobility induced--displacement involves immersion in a situation in which ongoing life-objectives become far harder to realize and in which one's own experientially-derived models of for achieving those objectives no longer seem to work as well as they once did in light of altered social and impersonal means. Such situations can be profoundly disempowering as one's own experience continues to prescribe life-course goals while the resources for fulfilling those goals no longer prove effective. While still dictating demand , one's own experience becomes a relatively devalued and ineffective resource in determining means for achieving desired ends.

In conclusion the lifespace concept also allows us to empirically problematize rather than assume the particular qualitative direction of displacement's effects. Critical social and impersonal resources may be reconfigured in qualitatively ambiguous and mixed ways that may be empowering as well as/ or even instead of disempowering for particular categories of social actors. Thus it can be argued that the reconfiguration of the lifespace of Machazian men who migrated during the war to South Africa opened up new vistas and access to social resources previously unavailable. The highly differentiated effects of the war's spatial and temporal projection on Machazian men and women's lifespaces has resulted in the reconfiguration of balances of gendered social power in light of the mutual implication of men and women's lifespaces. The recalibration of the balance of power has allowed men to reconfigure culturally prescriptions for social relations as embodied in the development of new forms of transnational polygyny.

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