The Demography of the Maputo Province

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Abstract The Maputo Province is located in southern Mozambique, bordered by the Republic of South Africa and the Kingdom of e-Swatini, a key geographical condition among the reasons for fast demographic growth, side by side with higher job opportunities internally and regionally along with the proximity with Maputo city, the capital of the Republic of Mozambique. At the same time, internal and international migrants either use the Province as the final destination or as transit to access the neighbouring countries. This chapter is drawn on readings and published articles on different aspects of migration and population studies in Mozambique and Maputo, based on the long-term research trajectory of the author. Available data illustrate the demographic dynamics of the Province from the first post-independence census held in Mozambique in the year 1980 up to the most recent of 2017. The trends emerging from them demonstrate that Maputo Province is not far from the so-called "immigration crisis threshold" as the faster growth has pressurized local infrastructures and is a gate for irregular migration.

1 Introduction

Data from the third and fourth censuses of Mozambique realized respectively in 2007 and 2017 demonstrate that Mozambican population increased in all provinces, but unevenly. Interestingly the City of Maputo, the capital of the Republic of Mozambique, registered a decline of its population size at an order of 11.3%, while Maputo province increased by 58.3% (CAP 2020). However, the reasons that explain the decline of the population of Maputo and the increase of the population of the Province of Maputo are still part of speculation or hypothesis that can be related to:

1. The increase of the land market (Kihatos et al. 2013) so that people can not afford to buy it

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2. The size of the plot of land that is available to access, this impulsed by the land evaluation
3. The availability of land in nearby provinces, such as Maputo and
4. With a lesser extent, the existence of new bus public transports.

In this context, this essay aims to discuss the demographic characteristics of the Province, together with the city of Maputo and some of its districts which are part of the newly designated Metropolitan area of Maputo. Nowadays, Maputo city is getting more and more connected with nearby districts of its province. Toward the north, there are the districts of Marracuene and Manhiça. Toward the south are the districts of Matola, Namaacha, and Boane. Daily, thousands of people of these districts use public or semi-public or individual means of transport, including train and buses, aiming to meet their needs, namely education, health, employement, trade, and other businesses.

Administratively Maputo city and the Province of Maputo are separated. However, they are closely linked and interdependent because Maputo city can not afford to live without the Province of Maputo and vice-versa. In such interdependency, challenges can be found and foreseen. The study performed by the Centre for Policy Analysis (CAP) of the Eduardo Mondlane University (CAP 2020) stresses that along with the fast growth of the population in the Province, particularly in the new wards that arose in Matola and the Municipality of Boane, a slowness in the supply of social infrastructure and job opportunities can be observed. Maputo is in the eye of cyclones, floods, and long periods of drought to worsen the situation (INGC 2003; República de Moçambique-Conselho de Ministros 2017). This chapter aims to analyze the demographic characteristics of the Province with some data available. The chapter is based on data from censuses, thesis, climate atlas, reports, and some inferences that result from the longstanding experience of the author of being a dweller of Maputo city. It would be interesting if the study could fully present the required information in the discipline of Demography. The required demographic information is the total number of people currently living in the Province, based on key questions such as: How many people are born? How many are dying? Furthermore, how many are migrating?

Demographers or those who study population dynamics such as Weeks (1986) suggest that comprehensive demographic analysis should be based on: (1) Population size and distribution; (2) population processes, which includes fertility, mortality, and migration; and (3) population structure and characteristics.

Ideally this could be done also for our study area, but the restricted access to demographic information limits the essay to the most recent data collected during the census. In addition, the inaccessibility of highly classified information hinders demographic justice to a study of all the provinces of Mozambique.

2 Geographic Location, Landscape, and Administrative Framework

The Province of Maputo is the most southern province of Mozambique, bordered by the Gaza Province on the north, on the east by the Indian ocean and by the City of Maputo, capital of the Republic of Mozambique. Reading the Geographic Atlas of Mozambique (1986) it is observable that Maputo is bordered by the e-Swatini Kingdom (west) and the Republic of South Africa (south). The administrative centre of the Maputo Province is the city of Matola.

The Province of Maputo is formed by eight districts, namely Boane, Magude, Manhiça, Marracuene, Matola, Matutíne, Moamba, and Namaacha. The capital is the city of Matola (Governo da Província de Maputo 2013). The Province possesses four municipalities: Matola city, Boane, Manhiça, and Namaacha villages (Imprensa Nacional-BR 2020). Dos Muchangos (1999) states that Maputo Province possesses a surface of 25.765 Km^2, representing (3.2%) of the surface of Mozambique.

3 Is the Landscape Responsible for the Sparse Population Distribution of Maputo Province?

Unlike exponents of geographic determinism, such as German geographers Ratzel and Humboldt, geographers like La Blache never believed physical conditions could determine population distribution (Frabrício and Vitte 2015; De Oliveira 2019). On the contrary, it is our contention to illustrate how physical conditions influence human aspects, including population distribution (Araújo and Raimundo 2002). Physical factors relate to the quality of soils, climate, topography (landform), hydrography, proximity, or distance from the coast and from the main urban areas. At the same time, economic and social factors such as accessibility from the city centre, the job market, the degree of infrastructural investments, the availability of schools, the access to health facilities (and the closeness with South Africa in the case of Maputo) determine the distribution of the population in a given territory. The highly concentrated population of the Province of Maputo is found in the districts located closer to Maputo, in particular in Marracuene and Manhiça in the north and Matola (city) and Boane in the south.

Studying population growth by districts is the most challenging exercise in a country such as Mozambique. Available data are disaggregated up to the level of the provinces, and hardly include the districts. However, exceptions happened to some districts based on their economic and demographic performance. For example, Matola, also a district, is classified as category "B" due to its economic and demographic dynamism. For this reason, the Government of Mozambique reclassified in 2020 the city of Matola to "B" category likewise Beira and Nampula (Conselho de Ministros Resolução 21/2020-BR 2020a, b). Meanwhile, the exact Resolution of the

Table 1 Population distribution by districts of Maputo Province between 2007 and 2017

#	District	Size (Km^2)	Population in 2007	Population density (Hab/Km^2)	Population in 2017	Population density (Hab/Km^2)
1	Boane	820	102,457	124.94	210,367	256.54
2	Magude	6,960	54,252	7.79	62,297	8.95
3	Manhiça	2,380	157,642	66.23	205,053	86.15
4	Marracuene	666	157,642	236.69	218,788	328.51
5	Matola	373	671,556	1,800.41	1,032,196	2,767.28
6	Matutúine	5,387	37,239	6.91	43,664	8.10
7	Moamba	4,628	56,746	12.26	88,583	19.14
8	Namaacha	2,144	41,954	19.56	47,129	21.98

Source INE (2007, 2019); CAP (2020)

Council of Ministries of Mozambique upgraded the districts of Boane, Manhiça, and Marracuene to the category "B" of districts (Resolution 22/2020 BR 2020a, b).

Table 1 reveals that the lowest population is in Magude, Matutúine, Moamba, and Namaacha. Interestingly, these districts share borders with South Africa, being Namaacha the only district that shares borders with both e-Swatini and South Africa. All districts are in the driest area of the Maputo Province. The lower numbers on their population—apart from the birth rate that might be lower—is presumably related to the outcoming migration flows to South Africa and e-Swatini.

4   Population Growth of Maputo Province Between 1980 and 2017

Mozambique post-independence census occurred since 1980, when the first census was held. In the first census, Maputo province and Maputo city were administratively part of the same area, as they were split only in 1986 (Pililão 1989). In the first census in 1980, this area was made of 500,892 (DNE 1981) and increased to 1,225,489 in 2017 (INE 2019). Therefore, it is possible to perceive an increase (58.3%) making Maputo province the fastest growing population in Southern Mozambique. Nevertheless, what is still unclear is what happened between 1997 and 2007, resulting in a decline in the province population. Data shows that from 1997 to 2007, the Province of Maputo's growth population declined by 8.93%, conversely for the fastest growth between 2007 and 2017, where it registered an increase of 52.56% (Table 2).

Before this, the last census was in 1980, which meant a 17-year gap between the censuses. This gap makes it difficult for any comparison during those 17 years. At the same time, three significant events occurred in the country:

Table 2 The Maputo Province and Southern Mozambique Population Growth between 1980 and 2017

Place	1980	1997	Population growth (%)	2007	Population growth (%)	2017	Population growth (%)
Maputo Province	500,892	806,179	60.94	1,225,489	52.01	2,507,098	104.57
City of Maputo	537,912	966,837	79.73	1,111,638	18.07	1,088,000	−2.12
Gaza Province	982,603	1,062,380	9.11	1,216,284	20.22	1,422,000	20.57
Inhambane Province	1,023,879	1,123,079	9.78	1,271,818	13.24	1,496,824	22.50
Mozambique	12,130,000	15,278,300	25.95	20,226,900	32.38	27,909,798	37.98

Source DNE (1981); INE (1999, 2007, 2019)

Table 3 Population growth rate of the Maputo Province between 1980 and 2017. Calculated based on the formula $r = \sqrt{(Pt + \frac{n}{Pt}} - 1$ where (r) is equal to the rate of population growth; (n) is census interval; (Pt + 1) is population ten years later; and (Pt) population in the initial year

#	Population	Population growth rate
1980	500,892	–
1997	806,179	26.8
2007	1,225,489	23.2
2017	2,507,098	43.3

(a)   In 1986, there was a reclassification of urban areas;
(b)   The so-called "civil war" (1976–1992) and,
(c)   The return of the refugees and Internally Displaced Persons.

Table 3 shows the population growth rate. It is observable that Maputo province registered a faster growth between 2007 and 2017 as the growth almost doubled. Furthermore, a research report on the Study of Faster Population Growth and Pressure on Public Services: a Case study of Maputo indicates this trend of population faster growth.

CAP (2020), in a study commissioned by the Ministry of Economics and Finance of Mozambique, indicates that the Province of Maputo registered the more significant population growth rate (58.3%) in the whole country from 2007 to 2017. The report states that natural growth continues to be an essential variable that explains that faster growth. Interestingly, the ages between zero and four (0–4) and between 70 and 74 grew only 20%, unlike the age group between 35 and 39 which grew over 100%. In the meantime, the number of active population aged 15 and 59 years declined to 44% in 2017. In terms of absolute numbers, the report says that the unemployed people grew from 304 thousand in 2007 to 609 thousand in 2017. CAP study considered also the quality of services and other life conditions, and one of the most outstanding results regards housing stock and quality where people declared that it had improved over the previous ten years, while still lacking in terms of power supply, job opportunities, safety, availability of transport, sewage and sanitation. Education and health constitute a significant challenge in the province as with the growth of population, the existing education and health infrastructures were not enough for a larger proportion of school age population, including those who need health assistance.

5   Migration Pattern in the Maputo Province

In Mozambique, getting statistical data—even those based on oral sources—is among the most challenging tasks a researcher can face. In particular, getting migration data is not an easier task. Among the main reasons that migrant scholars have identified

about why it is so difficult to get such information there are: (a) difficulties to collect migration data; (b) undeclaration of a migration status; (c) lack of a regular system of collecting data from migration. Migration data in the case of Mozambique are found either in censuses or from seldom studies that occur in the country, including Master's and PhD's dissertations. As a consequence, most migration data results from indirect calculations or measurements. Since I started to engage in migration studies, this has been the most significant barrier I have had in my career. Furthermore, data from censuses is "available" after or more than five years since their completion. For instance, the Fourth General Census of Population and Housing of Mozambique occurred in 2017, but the data is still unavailable.

Indirect measurements are shown to be very useful. Muanamoha and Raimundo (2018) used that method to analyze the migration trend in Mozambique between 1997 and 2007, which reflects migration between the second and the third general censuses of population and housing in Mozambique; as a result, they published the "Cartography of internal migration of Mozambique" based on censuses of 1997 and 2007. In their analysis of the Province of Maputo migration profile, they collected the following insights on in-bound and out-bound migration dynamics in the area.

A first consideration regards a comparison with other provinces: Maputo had in the year 1997 a positive balance (net migration) compared with other provinces, as it received more population than it lost, unlike other provinces in the same southern region (such as such as Gaza and Inhambane) and central provinces such as Tete and Zambezia and northern Mozambique the Province of Cabo Delgado.

Secondly, in the year 2007, that situation did not change as observed on the data. However, there were some changes in the Province of Nampula (northern Mozambique) which became an out-bound migration province. Meanwhile, in the same year, the Province of Maputo became a province that received more immigrants than the city of Maputo. Interestingly in the 2007 census (for the 2007 census, see CAP 2020) and even the census of 2017, the majority of inbound migrants of Maputo province were from other southern provinces and the Zambeze Province, located in the central region.;

Thirdly, the study of Muanamoha and Raimundo (2018) and the CAP report (op. cit) demonstrate that even in the census results of 2017, migration in the Maputo Province played an important role. There are two hypotheses for this rural–urban migration: (a) the city of Maputo is the hub of the economy of Mozambique, where all economic and social infrastructures are based. Central Hospital of Maputo, universities and well-equipped schools are located in Maputo. Ginisty (2020), in her book on "Urban services and spatial justice in Maputo", indicates that rural communities are still lacking social infrastructures, which are extensive in the city of Maputo, where poor dwellers live in the suburbs. Because of these inequalities, people are forced to live where jobs and other income can be gained; and (b) people follow the historical background of labour migration. Living in Maputo means—for the prospective labour migrants—becoming closer to South Africa as the Maputo Province shares common borders with South Africa and the Kingdom of e-Swatini. Another exciting finding of the studies is that women have become the most crucial segment of immigrants. In 2010, Raimundo (2010), in her doctoral thesis, demonstrated that

migration was becoming more and more female as women, mainly from southern Mozambique provinces, were coming into Maputo not as attachés, but as migrants and were involved in informal economic activities. The published paper of Chikanda and Raimundo (2017) argues that the feminization trend of rural–urban migration responds to the growth of informal cross border activities, which is mainly a female activity. Women, most of them separated or divorced, or single mothers, including widows, found cross border activities as an alternative way of feeding their children, eventually their parents and other relatives. In the meantime, in the remaining regions of Mozambique migration, is still dominated by male migrants.

Fortly, from the point of view of migratory dynamics, in Mozambique, there are three groups of provinces: (1) Manica and Maputo Provinces are in-bound migration destinations; (2) the Provinces of Zambeze, Tete, Inhambane and Gaza tend to be out-bound migration areas; and (3) Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Sofala and Maputo city that, from one period to another, changed from one migratory trend to another. In-bound internal migration—besides being female in southern Mozambique—has witnessed the presence of younger and single people, in particular male migrants. Most of the female migrants are involved in household work, studies, or street vendors in Maputo downtown with male counterparts. Women as students or in household works were mentioned by Raimundo (2010) in her doctoral thesis, meaning that the trend did not change much.

Finally, regarding literacy, most younger people are not formally educated and lack occupational experience. Obviously this situation makes their integration very difficult.

6 The Maputo Province as the Pivot of Irregular Migration Through Ponta De Ouro, Goba, Namaacha, and Ressano Garcia Borders

Migration in southern Mozambique is not a new phenomenon. Raimundo and Raimundo (2015) and Matusse (2009) pointed out that out-bound labour migration shaped the economy of southern Africa, where Mozambicans were engaged in gold mines extractive activities, plantations and other services where the pivotal countries were South Africa, Southern (current Zimbabwe) and Northern Rhodesia (current Zambia), Malawi and Tanzania.

As mentioned earlier, the Maputo Province is bordered by two countries and four borders. Goba and Namaacha are the entry and exit direct points to the e-Swatini Kingdom, while Ponta de Ouro and Ressano Garcia are the direct entry and exit border check-points to the Republic of South Africa. Djedje (2021), advances the causes of intensive migration in these borders in response to the of lack border control, signs of corruption and the dominium of cross border traders and traffickers. Meanwhile, Seda (2014) states that the Ressano Garcia border, which links South Africa and Maputo in the southwest part of the province, has been identified as a channel for

clandestine movements that include human trafficking and other transnational crime. Seda (2014) and Djedje (2021) agreed that what facilitates these irregular crossings is the longstanding labour migration, the criminal network in Sub-Saharan Africa region.

Further, Seda (2017) points out that clandestine migration from Mozambique to South Africa through the Ressano Garcia border involves recruiters who use their vehicles—generally long distance ones—to transport interested crossers, mainly from provinces of Gaza and Inhambane. Gaza and Inhambane, likewise Maputo, are part of the longstanding labour migration that started about three centuries ago. Across Maputo borders, there are two recruiters "profiles" named *marehane* and challengers. The *marehane* are unemployed young men who operate at the bus terminal of Ressano Garcia, located at the border where they facilitate crossings to South Africa under the eyes of border authorities. These men charge 100–250 Zar for each crossing or more (Seda 2017: 71). According to Seda, challengers are residents of Moamba and Magude Districts, known as criminals who operate along the borders. They ambush travellers, especially those trying to cross the border illegally, rob them, rape women, and eventually kill them.

7   Conclusions

This essay aimed at presenting to readers the demographic dynamics of the Province of Maputo, located in the southern region of Mozambique. Population distribution is sparse due to a set of physical factors (climate, water, soils, and others) and economically linked to access to infrastructures, better education and health facilities, job opportunities and the possibility to cross-regional borders toward South Africa and e-Swatini. The most populated districts of the Province are located closer to the city of Maputo. The districts in such position are Matola and Boane towards the south, and Marracuene and Manhiça toward the north. On the other hand, Maputo population density is shaped by uneven population distribution and different socio-economic factors. Furthermore, the Province location is impacted by a set of natural events that influence population distribution. The most frequent are cyclones, floods, and droughts.

The Province of Maputo is the most dynamic Province as regards population changes or dynamics in southern Mozambique. Its capital, Matola city, is the leading destination of migrants given the fact that it is the most significant industrial area of Mozambique. From the second general census of population and housing done in1997 up to the fourth census in 2017, there is an significative change of population in the overall Province of Maputo.

According to the data presented, the population growth rate since 1997 was 26.8%. Meanwhile, in 2007 it was 23.2%, while in 2017 it doubled up to 43.3%. Of course, the reasons for such variations are still objects of speculation, but one of the reasons for sure is the inbound migration from other Provinces of Mozambique and the city of Maputo (which is another administrative and statistical unit). Furthermore, the

Province's geographical position and its historical background of labour migration show a demographic trend that will most probably continue with such intensification, with direct and long-term impacts on how to plan development and urban transformations in the province.

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