



AGRICULTURES
ET DÉFIS DU MONDE
Collection Cirad-AFD

Living territories to transform the world

P. Caron, E. Valette,
T. Wassenaar,
G. Coppens d'Eeckenbrugge,
V. Papazian,
Coordinators



éditions
Quæ

Living territories to transform the world

Patrick Caron, Élodie Valette, Tom Wassenaar,
Geo Coppens d'Eeckenbrugge, Vatché Papazian,
coordinators

Éditions Quæ

The *Agricultures et défis du monde* (Agriculture and Global Challenges) collection publishes a book every year that showcases Cirad's research into the sustainable development of tropical agricultural systems. It is co-published by Éditions Quæ, AFD and Cirad. The collection is coordinated by Cirad's Patrick Caron.

Cirad (Centre for International Cooperation in Agricultural Research for Development) is a French research centre which, in association with countries of the Global South, tackles international issues of agriculture and development. In partnership with these countries, it generates and disseminates new knowledge to support agricultural development and to inform the debates on the major global issues concerning agriculture, food and rural territories. Cirad has a global network of partners and regional offices from which it conducts joint operations with stakeholders in more than 90 countries.

Cirad
42 rue Scheffer, 75116 Paris
www.cirad.fr

AFD, the French Development Agency, is a public institution that has been working for 70 years to fight poverty and promote development in countries of the Global South and in French overseas departments and territories. AFD implements the French government's development aid policies.

With a presence in more than 50 countries and nine French overseas departments and territories, AFD funds and supports projects that improve the living conditions of local populations, promote economic growth and protect the planet. These projects concern education, maternal health, support for farmers and small businesses, water supply, preservation of tropical forests, the fight against global warming, etc.

Agence française de développement
5 rue Roland Barthes, 75598 Paris Cedex 12, France
www.afd.fr

Éditions Quæ
RD 10, 78026 Versailles Cedex
www.quae.com

© Éditions Quæ, 2017

ISBN: 978-2-7592-2731-0

Version française : « Des territoires vivants pour transformer le monde »

© Éditions Quæ, 2017

ISBN : 978-2-7592-2654-2

This book is published by Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Licence. You may not use the material for commercial purposes. You may not distribute the modified material 2.0 France.



Converging views on multi-sited territories in the southern Altiplano in Bolivia and southern Mozambique

Sara Mercandalli and Geneviève Cortès

In the context of globalization in its renewed form since the late 1980s, rural societies in the countries of the Global South are undergoing a dual process: on the one hand, an increased diversification of family activities (Reardon, 1997; Barrett *et al.*, 2001) and, on the other, the complexification and intensification of their mobility and of urban-rural relationships, without rupturing of links with their places of origin (Ma Mung *et al.*, 1998; Tacoli, 2002; Cortès and Faret 2009). Migration trajectories are becoming increasingly complex and integration networks are diversifying their modalities of support.

CONCEPT OF THE 'MULTI-SITED TERRITORY' IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOUTHERN ALTIPLANO IN BOLIVIA AND SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE

Echoing these processes, the concept of the multi-sited territory (Cortès and Pesche, 2013) makes it possible to take certain modern forms of territoriality into account (Giraut, 2013). It is a matter of perceiving the territory – in its role as a space that is simultaneously lived in, functional and organizational – not as a 'uni-located, contiguous and delimited space' but as 'a space that is multi-located, discontinuous, dispersed and mobilizes interactions between places' corresponding to 'archipelagic and reticular logics' (*Ibid.*, 289). The migration of rural populations, coupled with the dispersal of the family group over several residential and working spaces (Fréguin-Gresh *et al.*, 2015), is a particularly relevant key to understanding multi-sited territories and their scope in terms of territorial development. In fact, dispersal mechanisms are called into question with regard to overcoming the network-territory duality (Painter, 2009), i.e., the logic underpinning the 'networking' of family members (nuclear and extended) which creates a space for social and economic interactions at the regional, national and international levels. On the one hand, we hypothesize that the social and

spatial link maintained between the places of mobility and sedentarity prevent family breakups and fragmentation, the multi-localized space thus continuing to 'form' the territory, and, on the other hand, that the flows and circulations (of individuals, goods, money) that organize the multi-sited territory are 'resources' from the point of view of family livelihoods (Mercandalli, 2015) and of the development of rural territories.

On the basis of surveys that allowed the reconstruction of familial, occupational and residential trajectories of rural families of the southern Altiplano in Bolivia (Vassas Toral, 2015; Cortès and Vassas Toral, 2017) and of southern Mozambique (Mercandalli, 2015), this chapter examines the scope of migratory practices and of the multi-localization of families that are at the heart of the construction of multi-sited territories. We try to show how, based on differentiated modalities and conditions in these two regions, the circulations that shape multi-sited territories allow the accumulation of assets (material or non-material) within families, thus constituting a resource for territorial development. The two regions under study have in common the fact that they have been driven for a long time now by migratory phenomena. However, each is subject to very distinct processes of change linked to specific regional and international contexts. On the Bolivian Altiplano, migrations are reconfiguring in the context of the rapid integration of export-oriented quinoa producers into the world market (Winkel *et al.*, 2016). In southern Mozambique, migrations are reconfiguring as an integral part of the historical links between this region's economy and neighbouring South Africa (First *et al.*, 1998). It is thus this diversity of multi-sited territories, with regard to their relationship to territorial development, which appears interesting to study.

FROM THE DIVERSITY OF MULTI-SITED TERRITORIES AND THEIR LINKS TO TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT

A first point of convergence that structures multi-sited territories of the two case studies are the migratory practices adopted by populations over a long period of time, partly due to harsh agroecological conditions and their distant location from economic centres of development.

The southern Altiplano in Bolivia, arid and cold highlands on the periphery of the axis formed by La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, offers few local opportunities. Long-distance trading networks and the cultural and familial ties maintained by the populations have always linked this region to a wider space of circulation. Since the colonial period, the livelihoods of rural families have combined agriculture, barter, seasonal work in the country's mines and other associated activities, such as transporting minerals to Chile. These initial forms of mobility and pluriactivity, which were generally aimed at supplementing the food supply, gave way to mobility for work to generate income for acquiring goods. The 1970s witnessed an increasing number of people migrating for longer durations to the country's urban centres (Oruro, La Paz, Cochabamba, etc.), a phenomenon that developed in parallel to the mobility for work, which often took place in local areas. In the 1980s, the attraction of urban centres and the lowlands was complemented by a strong dynamic of international migration, especially to Chile and Argentina.

In southern Mozambique, a semi-arid region of extensive farming and livestock rearing, the importance of migratory practices of rural families, beyond the existing pre-colonial mobility, is fundamentally linked to the colonial political economy with neighbouring South Africa. From 1895 until the country's independence in 1975, the region was subject to labour export agreements between this Portuguese colony and South Africa, serving as a labour reserve for the latter's mining sector. This system, which affected up to one-third of the male labour force for 80 years, established the major migration routes of families to the South African mining regions that endured in post-independent Mozambique, in conjunction with the rise of internal migration to major Mozambican cities (Maputo, Beira, Inhambane, etc.), linked to the end of the civil war (1992) and the development of the informal economy in sectors like sales, construction, transportation and public administration.

Linked to the first point, a second element structuring multi-sited territories concerns the mechanisms of multi-localization and pluriactivity of families, which can be gauged through the analysis of migratory trajectories. The reconstruction of individual trajectories provides clear examples of the intensity of the mobility and of its reticular territorial configurations. Numerous Bolivian families affirm that their members have migrated on 20 to 30 occasions (internal and international) during their life cycles to more than a dozen different places. Their trajectories indicate a very high level of pluriactivity for both women and men (agriculture, employment in the construction sector, mining and mechanics, domestic servants, agricultural employment). Similarly, in Mozambique, family trajectories over the past ten years show up to five mobility events in three or four different national and international cities, linked to different types of employment (salaried, self-employed) in one or more sectors (mining, construction, services such as small-scale food trade, building, etc.). In both regions, some individuals combine different activities during a single migration period.

However, although dispersion and spatial discontinuity are aspects of multi-sited territories, they are not sufficient attributes.

A third point of convergence is that multi-sited territories are spaces that are structured, organized and constructed on the basis of a relational system that binds dispersed and distant places socially and economically.

In both the regions studied, the territorialization of families is built on their capacity to capitalize on several places potentially conducive to mobility and to harness spaces of collective migration and link them to the community space and the local productive system. Indeed, the territorial anchorages of these populations have multiplied, as they are widely spread out between the rural area and city of migration. The multi-sited territory is born from such a configuration and the relationships of this dispersion to the systems of activities. Because, while local anchoring (and the link to agricultural activity) is the first step in the territoriality of rural families, their mobility builds another level of their territoriality, this time linked to reticular mechanisms that link places with complementary resources, themselves a part of regional dynamics and globalization. It is indeed this multi-sited nature of family territorialities, resulting

from a permanent dialectic between here and there, which produces a multi-polar territory collectively shared at the family and the community levels.

NETWORKS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Two elements underpin the mobility of families and the spatial footprint of multi-sited territories: on the one hand, the networks through which migrants obtain access to different assets in their places of insertion (employment, housing, skills, etc.) and, on the other hand, the social organization of households (families that are monogamous, polygamous, within or outside the lineage, etc.). Places of multi-localization constitute a system and a resource, because they support linkages and circulations – material or non-material – between family members, and thus provide a basis for their social reproduction and day-to-day strategies.

On the southern Altiplano in Bolivia, there are certain forms of mutual assistance which involve migrant members, residing outside the community, and working in the fields during labour-demand peaks in the cropping calendar. Another example of this form of linkage is the return of long-term migrants to live in their communities, and reclaiming their land for cultivation. While this situation has led to a re-ruralization of the region, it is yet to contribute to stabilizing the populations on the Altiplano. Returning migrants, far from re-settling in their original communities, often move between several places of residence. Finally, there are arrangements where non-resident migrants, who live in cities in Bolivia or Chile, lease their lands to permanent residents for cultivation. Profits from the harvest are shared, according to different forms of contractual arrangements, between the farming family and the urban landowner.

In southern Mozambique too, there exist a number of inter- and intra-family arrangements between migrants and non-migrants, thus creating social and economic links between the different places used by families. These arrangements include both the functions of consumption and of investment with regard to assets, both in the agricultural sphere (land, subsistence system, food security) and in non-agricultural spheres (human capital, non-agricultural equipment, etc.). These arrangements are part of the practices of circulation via various exchange flows, both material and non-material, and can facilitate asset accumulation processes.

THE ‘RESOURCE’ TERRITORY AND MARKET DYNAMICS

Despite their commonalities, multi-sited territories and the mobility of families on the southern Altiplano in Bolivia and in southern Mozambique do not constitute resources in the same way, nor to the same degree, for the families and for the local space. These differences are essentially attributable to the history of migration and to local, regional and international contexts.

The dynamics observed on the southern Altiplano in Bolivia reveal a process of inclusion of family farming in the globalized agricultural market, in connection with the international quinoa boom of the 1990s. Thus, equipped with a productive

and socio-organizational knowledge, and benefiting from an absolute advantage in the market, the high plateaus on the margins of the Andes have firmly embraced agricultural globalization. Rural families in this region have seized the opportunity offered by a global movement around food quality that offers new prospects for income generation and capital accumulation. No doubt, the expansion of cultivation of export-oriented quinoa is tending to create social and ecological tensions locally (competition for land, decline of pastoralism, unequal success of families, etc.). However, multi-sited territories and multi-localization are resources for the majority of families because of their relationship with the reproduction of the quinoa farming system, enabling them to capitalize on this comparative advantage linked to the specialization of the local economy. The viability of the quinoa-based production system depends on mobility, dispersion and the ability of families to organize themselves despite the distances involved. Multi-localization is considered a resource not only because it provides different sources of revenue that can be distributed amongst households (contributing to the development of the local space), but also because it constitutes a cumulative spatial capital of the experience of individuals, a capital that is emphatically drawn upon today to help fulfil requirements of the social organization of labour on quinoa plots. Thus, looking beyond the variation in the forms of individual anchoring, the family and inter-family spheres constitute the organizing structures of agricultural production systems.

The rural areas of southern Mozambique, for their part, are characterized by a dual context of limited integration to the market (due to the paucity of alternatives offered by the local space) and the historical dependence of production systems on the South African mining economy. During colonization and apartheid, this dependency relationship was embodied by the typical figure of the Mozambican peasant-miner, residing and working in the mines in South Africa for half of his working life to reproduce the family farming system in Mozambique. This articulation with the South African economy continued in the post-war and post-apartheid period after 1994, and was characterized by the liberalization and deterioration of working conditions. Today, with the networks having expanded the modalities of spatial and sectoral integration of the mobility of rural families, multi-sited territories remain the basis of the socio-economic reproduction of families, even as they have activated processes of differentiation within rural society. Indeed, depending on the nature of the family arrangements, and due to the different assets and resources it circulates, multi-localization constitutes a resource for a few families for productive accumulation. This is primarily reflected in local non-agricultural diversification strategies (self-employment in construction, transport, mechanics, trade, etc.) and sometimes in agricultural diversification and land accumulation. However, for the majority, multi-localization allows a simple reproduction of systems of activities and of non-productive investments.

Thus, in southern Mozambique, the effects of multi-sited territories and the mobility of families are more important for the reproduction and the maintenance of rural societies and territories than the creation of wealth for their development. Nevertheless, they play a modest but crucial role as catalysts of income and skills, which has a multiplier effects for the local economy, contributing to a diversification that is

mainly non-agricultural. Furthermore, these multi-sited territories have the potential to activate specific as-yet unidentified resources of these territories and synergies between places.

HOW ARE MOBILITY AND RETICULARITY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN PUBLIC POLICIES?

What is the scope of multi-sited territories? At the political level in particular, how to integrate the social and spatial configurations of these territories into fields of public action? It is clear that the reality of multi-sited territories not only calls into question the categories of analysis and intervention of territorial development policies in the two regions, but also, on a wider scale, in other territorial contexts.

In Bolivia, the State's vision of the development of the Altiplano territories is based on the sectoral policy of the quinoa value-chain. This highlights a disjunction between, on the one hand, the orientations of rural development policies centred on quinoa (specialization of production in the territory and anchoring of populations) and, on the other, the reality of spatial practices and territorialities of populations, because not only does the success of quinoa not necessarily induce the anchoring of a population in an area, but mobility is a prerequisite for the viability of productive systems and the social organization of labour (appeal to migrants, multiple residences and migratory circulation of quinoa farmers).

The Mozambican government's goal is to manage inclusive economic growth and reduce rural poverty. To this end, agriculture is positioned as a priority sector in two ways: first, the production of basic agricultural commodities for consumption by the population – the family sector is attributed a central role here; and second, the creation of employment through commercial export-oriented agriculture, with the help of investors. Beyond the questionable dualistic view of the rural economy, this policy ignores the importance of employment and self-employment for local families, both locally and externally, via multi-localization, a flexible model for the usage of space which populations have always taken recourse to as part of their strategies. The policy does not therefore take advantage of the dynamics and the potential of production and accumulation to use them for rural and territorial development (Mercandalli and Anseeuw, 2014; Mercandalli, 2014).

We thus see how difficult it is for public action to conceive multi-sited territorialities organized around mobility and reticularity. This conception requires the recognition that pluriactivity and informal employment, as well as the increase in urban-rural linkages resulting from multi-sited territories, modify the structures and functioning of rural territories because of the interactions they allow between local economies and the national and regional labour markets. In particular, this approach calls for consistency in the formulation of strategic plans for poverty alleviation and of employment policies, as well as of the various national sectoral strategies that are often formulated independently from one another. Finally, it calls for a governance of migration that reconciles the interests, needs and rights of migrants, as well as of the countries of origin and of destination. The wide gamut of forms of family farming, partly based on

pluriactivity and multi-localization, underlines the importance of continued reflection on the scope of mobility and multi-sited territories in the field of territorial development policies.

References

- Barret C. B., Reardon T., Webb P., 2001. Nonfarm Income Diversification and Household Livelihood Strategies in Rural Africa: Concepts, Dynamics, and Policy Implications. *Food Policy*, 26 (4), 315-331.
- Cortès G., Faret L., 2009. *Les circulations transnationales : lire les turbulences migratoires contemporaines*. Paris, Armand Colin.
- Cortès G., Pesche D., 2013. Territoire multisitué. *L'espace géographique*, 42 (4), 289-292.
- Cortès G., Vassas Toral A., 2017. Coexistences rurales et mobilités spatiales en Bolivie. De la multi-localisation familiale aux territoires multi-situés. *Les cahiers d'Outre mer*, forthcoming.
- First R., Forjaz M., Manghesi A., 1998. *O mineiro moçambicano. Um estudo sobre exportação de mão de obra em Inhambane*. Maputo, UEM/Centro de estudos africanos.
- Fréguin-Gresh S., Cortès G., Sourisseau J.M., Guétat-Bernard H., 2015. Le système familial multi-localisé : proposition analytique et méthodologique pour interroger les liens entre migrations et développement rural au Sud. *Mondes en développement*, 172, 13-32.
- Giraut F., 2013. Territoire multisitué, complexité territoriale et postmodernité territoriale : des concepts opératoires pour rendre compte des territorialités contemporaines ? *L'espace géographique*, 42 (4), 293-305.
- Ma Mung E., Dorai K., Hily M.R., Loyer F., 1998. *Bilan des travaux sur la circulation migratoire, Convention d'étude du 19 novembre 1997, Rapport final*. Paris, Ministère de la Solidarité et de l'emploi.
- Mercandalli S., 2015. Migrations et stratégies socio-économiques des familles rurales au Mozambique : lecture institutionnelle des circulations contemporaines. *Mondes en développement*, 172, 33-52.
- Mercandalli S., 2014. L'agriculture dans le sud du Mozambique, une activité fondée sur les migrations de travail. In: *Diversité des agricultures familiales : exister, se transformer, devenir* (Bosc P.M., Sourisseau J.M., Bonnal P., Gasselin P., Valette E., Bélières J.F., eds.). Versailles, Éditions Quæ, 127-144.
- Mercandalli S., Anseeuw W., 2014. Migrations et stratégies des familles mozambicaines : réflexions pour une politique intégrée de développement rural. *Revue Tiers Monde*, 220, 61-79.
- Painter J., 2009. Territoire et réseau : une fausse dichotomie ? In: *Territoires, territorialité, territorialisation : controverses et perspectives* (Vanier M., ed.). Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, Collection Espace et territoires, 57-66.
- Reardon T., 1997. Using Evidence of Household Income Diversification to Inform Study of the Rural Nonfarm Labor Market in Africa. *World Development*, 25 (5), 735-747.
- Tacoli C., 2002. *Changing Rural-urban Interactions in Sub-Saharan Africa and their Impact on Livelihoods: A Summary*. Working Paper Series on Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies, 7, London, IIED.
- Vassas Toral A., 2015. *Partir et cultiver : essor de la quinoa, mobilités et recompositions rurales en Bolivie*. Bondy, IRD éditions, Collection À travers champs.
- Winkel T., Bommel P., Chevarría-Lazo M., Cortès G., Del Castillo C., Gasselin P., Léger F., Nina-Laura J.P., Rambal S., Tichit M., Tourrand J.F., Vacher J.J., Vassas Toral A., Vieira-Pak M., Joffre R., 2016. Panarchy of an Indigenous Agroecosystem in the Globalized Market: The Quinoa Production in the Bolivian Altiplano. *Global Environmental Change*, 39, 195-204.