

# 1 Human Trafficking and Prostitution in Mozambique: The Mualy, 2 Amalapos and the Police

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## 7 **Abstract**

8 This article discusses processes of human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique. It begins  
9 by situating the African continent within the dynamics of globalization processes, associating  
10 human trafficking with poverty and discussing it as a profitable illegal activity conducted on a  
11 global scale. It continues by presenting the historical factors and economic constraints that  
12 put the Mozambican population in a vulnerable situation in relation to human trafficking and  
13 prostitution. The article then examines how the perceptions of police regarding women  
14 trafficked for prostitution are affected by the local institution referred to as Mualy.

15 Quantitative data come from the Statistic Brain Research Institute, compiled from the  
16 following reports: UNAIDS, World Bank and Demographic Dividend for the period of 2010 to  
17 2017. Qualitative data were collected through ten interviews with the Provincial Command  
18 Squads of the Police of the Mozambique Republic (PRM) of Nampula, a city located in  
19 northern Mozambique. Results show that cultural factors interfere with how Mozambican  
20 police perceive human trafficking for prostitution and that such interferences undermine  
21 authorities' strategies to combat this type of crime

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24 **Index terms**— human trafficking; prostitution; mualy; amalapo; police  
25 illegally immigrating to other African countries or to Europe. Criminals involved in human trafficking networks  
26 take advantage of vulnerable people, who at first intend to immigrate illegally, but are forced into sexual  
27 exploitation and forced labor.

28 Figures on human trafficking in Africa draw attention for their magnitude. However, the focus of this article  
29 is on the particularities of this phenomena in Mozambique, a country of Portuguese colonization located on the  
30 southwest coast of the African continent, surrounded by the Indian Ocean, in front of Madagascar. In 1975,  
31 after 10 years of war, Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal. Two years after independence, a civil  
32 war took hold of the country and Mozambique remained in this state until the early 1990s. More than three  
33 decades of war were extremely destructive, especially socially and politically; and, as is most relevant to our  
34 topic, have meant that institutional and political organizational efforts have not been sufficient to ensure that  
35 the Mozambican government satisfactorily enforces the requirements of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act  
36 (TVPA). While some incipient government efforts have been made to comply with this law, its effects are not  
37 yet clearly visible.

38 According the Statistic Brain Research Institute 2018 crime report, which presents data on people trafficked for  
39 prostitution in Africa, trafficking routes traverse Mozambique and the country is, to a lesser degree, a destination  
40 for men, women, and children submitted to forced labor and sexual exploitation. Women from Mozambique are  
41 exploited as prostitutes in bars, roadside clubs, restaurants in frontier cities, and night stops along Mozambique's  
42 southern transport corridor towards South Africa. According to the report, child prostitution is prevalent in the  
43 cities of Maputo, Namula and Beira, and is also increasing in the cities of Chimoio and Nacala, both known

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44 for high population mobility and for hosting large numbers of truck drivers. Individual prostitution is not  
45 prohibited in Mozambique, but organized activities, such as running brothels, are illegal since such activities are  
46 not regulated.

47 To product this article we analyzed quantitative data provided by the Statistic Brain Research Institute,  
48 which are organized in the joint reports of the United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS) and the  
49 World Bank (Demographic Dividend) and refer to the period of 2010 to 2017. Qualitative data on police officers'  
50 perceptions on human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique were collected through ten semistructured  
51 interviews conducted with the commanders of the Provincial Command Squads of the Police of the Mozambique  
52 Republic (PRM) in Nampula, located in northern Mozambique. All interviewed police officers have more than  
53 15 years of experience with the PRM. These officers were chosen based on their time in service and the fact that  
54 they belong to the Macua, the ethnic group of many victims. Thus, they share cultural values and practices and  
55 may have a particular vision regarding people trafficked for prostitution. In some cases, the people interviewed  
56 denied the existence of trafficking or attributed the responsibility of the crime to the victims themselves.

57 Human trafficking for prostitution in Africa is considered one of the undesirable consequences of communication  
58 and transportation technologies development and the circulation of goods related global capitalist expansion.  
59 Even though human trafficking has been present in Western history for a long time (Bullough and Bullough,  
60 1987; Cohen, 1992), its contemporary form as a highly lucrative activity was boosted through legal and illegal  
61 international immigration (Ausserer, 2011; Carling, 2007; Thapisa, 2000).

62 Human trafficking is among one of the most lucrative illicit activities in the world. It has an especially  
63 concerning impact on the African continent due to the disadvantageous way in which global technological, social,  
64 and economic transformations are experienced by these countries. African nations suffer from grave structural  
65 deficiencies exacerbated by social inequalities and political instabilities, keeping them in a chronic state of poverty.  
66 For Bank (2010) and Aderinto (2015), the recent technological conquests related to the most recent phase of  
67 globalization, including the development of information and communication technologies (ICT), have had both  
68 negative and positive effects. On the one hand, they made it possible for citizens and public institutions to connect  
69 to other cultures; on the other hand, they failed to increase, and in some cases diminished, work opportunities.  
70 One of the consequences of the ambiguities of African globalization is that the productive gains of technological  
71 investments did not bring significant benefits to local populations, especially of poorer countries plagued by  
72 structural unemployment. These investments thus exacerbated existing conditions of social exclusion. According  
73 to Raimi (2012) and Bank (2010), the formation of regional economic blocks, such as Economic Community  
74 of West African States, (ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and the New Alliance  
75 for African Development and the African Union (UA), encouraged the implementation of free trade and border  
76 liberalization. These changes occurred in the absence of policies protecting and promoting human rights. The  
77 authors clarify that the instability and continuing fragility of African national states creates fertile grounds for  
78 the expansion of illicit activities, including human trafficking.

79 With ECOWAS people were able to circulate more freely across borders, which resulted in the weakening of  
80 already precarious state measures controlling the flow of people, goods, and services within signatory countries.  
81 Geopolitical restructuring facilitated organized crime operations across borders because at the time of this re-  
82 organization African states were primarily concerned with economic problemsdelegating the responsibility of  
83 controlling crime and human rights violations to local governments (Raimi, 2012).

84 Economic fragilities and technological possibilities spurred sex commerce, which came to play an important  
85 role in the survival strategies of young Africans (Lagunas, 2010). The recent increase in disorderly urbanization  
86 the transnational dimension of the tourist industry considerably stimulated activities related to trafficking of  
87 women for prostitution -such that trafficking of Africans to Europe and within Africa now have a significant  
88 economic and social impact. Carling (2007) demonstrated that some European countries appear quite attractive  
89 to young Africans who consider migration a means to escape war and economic difficulties in their countries of  
90 origin. Young people's desire to migrate illegally to Europe stimulated the formation of criminal groups who  
91 consider human trafficking an excellent opportunity to leverage profits. Some illegal immigrants reach destinations  
92 inside the African continent; their mobility is mediated by a network of traffickers responding to the demand  
93 for illegal workers to work as domestic servants and as miners in South African mines (Adepoju, 2000; ??aime,  
94 2012). Those involved in human trafficking partner with criminals from old and already consolidated contraband  
95 networks; through the use of these structures, they make human trafficking activities viable.

96 According to Adepoju (2000), 95% of illegal African immigrants arrived in Europe through the intermediation  
97 of traffickers. As immigrants without regular documentation they are more vulnerable to the enticement and  
98 grooming of actors involved in sexual exploitation networks. The journey to Europe is long and dangerous and  
99 involves staying for a relatively long time in North Africa, awaiting the opportunity to cross the Mediterranean  
100 Sea. As such, some women who exit sub-Saharan African countries wait months or even years to conclude their  
101 journeys to Europe. ??arros North African cities to work and save money to continue their trips. However, an  
102 increasing number of migrants are unable to go further and wind up establishing themselves in these cities, living  
103 and working precariously. For women, this state of invulnerability could eventually lead them to prostitution.

104 Table 1 shows the income levels associated with forced labor in its different modalities and the number of  
105 people victimized by criminal networks on the African continent. We observe here that the largest percentage of  
106 victims were trafficked for sexual exploitation; however, a significant percentage of people are also exploited as

107 forced laborers. According to 2016 data from the International Labor Organization (ILO), many girls, women, 108 and even young men who were victims of human trafficking had previously experienced some form of physical 109 and sexual violence in their lifetimes or were neglected at home. Violence was cited as one of the reasons that 110 these victims had wanted to take their chances and migrate illegally. Connolly and Sanders (2016), Sanders, 111 O'Neill and Pitcher (2017) show that migration and eventual prostitution have become a perceived means of 112 social mobility and satisfying basic needs. Young Africans may also decide to immigrate illegally to help families 113 in their origin countries who live in extremely difficult economic conditions. Within this context, prostitution 114 presents itself as an activity that allows for daily survival.

115 In sub-Saharan Africa, prostitution is associated with highway transportation corridors, which became 116 extremely well-traveled with the opening of borders for the circulation of goods. With these shifts, clusters 117 of road workers emerged, mainly drivers, along with the recruitment and exploitation of youth and children. 118 Pateman (2016) shows that in urban environments, recruitment into prostitution is related to sexual tourism and 119 human trafficking. This author states that sexual exploitation is part of an obscure yet fundamental part of the 120 recreation industry -for which prostitution is one of the most lucrative illicit products. Bales and Friman (2002) 121 commented that in most countries where tourism strongly contributes to the economy, consolidated structures 122 that include prostitution networks exist and include children and adolescents of both sexes.

123 In addition to the macrostructural factors that make prostitution viable, the appeal of consumption also plays 124 a role in this phenomenon. Traditional African communities are increasingly being co-opted by the consumerist 125 logic that accompanies urbanization and its global connections (Roby, 2005). According to this author, many 126 families are enticed by goods, money and promises of educational opportunities. These promises, which for many 127 begin with illegal immigration, are likely to end in sexual exploitation and prostitution.

128 Human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique is historically linked to the processes of human occupation 129 and African colonization by European countries and extends beyond these countries' struggles for independence 130 into the 20th century. According to Muianga (2009), during much of the colonial period, a system dedicated to 131 recruiting prostitutes from countries such as Portugal, Italy and France to meet the demand of a mostly white 132 Portuguese clientele operated in the city of Lourenço Marques (now Maputo city, capital from Mozambique). 133 The period of European colonization, which lasted until 1975, imposed a domination over the diverse cultures 134 in the territory that today constitutes Mozambique. In particular, colonial rule was marked by strict work 135 regulations and rigid family and marital structures, upheld by the assumption that Europe had, relative to African 136 nations, more civilized cultures and traditions (Alexandre, 2008). European values and constraints dictated by 137 Christian doctrines played an important role in domination exercises (Langa, 1984; Lopes, 1972; Pereira, 2000). 138 The imposition of European cultural standards on Mozambicans was accompanied by a growing demand for white 139 prostitutes of European origin. Subsequently, after independence, the demand for young Mozambicans for this 140 purpose also emerged (Alós, 2011; Pinho, 2015). Muianga (2009) explains that during the colonial period, demand 141 for European sex workers in the city of Lourenço Marques was related to the highly racialized Mozambican society, 142 where native Mozambicans were relegated to a lower status on the social hierarchy. Slowly, Mozambicans were 143 integrated into the prostitution market due to new laws in European countries seeking to stop the flow of white 144 women destined to the African colonies to be prostitutes. At the same time, young Mozambicans increasingly 145 came to view prostitution as means to achieve social mobility and meet basic personal and family needs (Aderinto, 146 2015; Tamale, 2006).

147 Mozambique had two long wars, a war fought for independence from the Portuguese, followed by a civil war. 148 The first began in 1964 and ended in 1975 with independence from the Portuguese and the coming to power of 149 the guerilla group, the National Liberation Front of Mozambique National Liberation Front (Frente Nacional de 150 Libertação de Moçambique -Frelimo). The second war, as previously mentioned above, began in 1977 and ended 151 in 1992. During the second war period, government forces formed on the basis of Frelimo's cadre were opposed by 152 the Mozambican National Resistance Movement -Movimento de Resistência Nacional de Moçambique -Renamo) 153 that initially emerged as a right-wing guerrilla group created to counter official socialist-oriented forces (Collier 154 e Hoeffler, 1998; Collier and Sambanis, 2005).

155 When Frelimo was in power, they implemented a policy called "Operação Produção" (Production Operation), 156 which consisted of barring rural people from moving to urban zones. The Frelimo government saw these rural- 157 urban flows as responsible for the great numbers of people concentrated in urban areas, forming groups of 158 beggars, prostitutes, unemployed and criminal masses. In addition to curbing the country city flows, the program 159 sought to relocate the poor to forested regions in northern Mozambique so that they could become "productive," 160 producing foods for self-sustenance. This strategy considerably decreased prostitution in urban areas (Hamela, 161 2011; Muianga, 2009).

162 Although some efforts were made by the Frelimo socialist government towards gender equality in the domestic 163 sphere, traditional notions of women being responsible for managing the family and home and restrictions on 164 expressions of female sexual freedom remained (Arnfred, 2002). The Frelimo and Catholic Church's perspectives 165 on this point were quite similar; both disapproved of women who engaged in sexual relations for commercial 166 purposes or who expressed their sexuality in a way that diverged from traditionally accepted norms. In this way, 167 the paradigm of women in charge of the home and responsible for her family, but passive in relation to men, was 168 upheld.

169 After the civil war and the country's return to the market economy, a series of measures to expunge what

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170 was remaining of the colonial period were established. Mozambique's government, extremely fragile after years  
171 of war, attempted to recover its inflicted economy; yet, authorities found this an impossible task using its own  
172 resources alone. At this time, the government resorted to the international financial system, which according  
173 to Leite (1999), opposed very strict adjustments on the country, including privatizations of state firms, which  
174 up to the reforms had been important job sources in Mozambique. As a result, unemployment increased in an  
175 economy where jobs were already scarce due to the devastating effects of war on the country's productive system.  
176 Structural adjustment and its effects hit the poorest sectors of the population the hardest; and the poorest and  
177 most most marginalized people had little wherewithal to adapt to the newly imposed economic order.

178 Families' daily lives were also greatly affected. The social status of men and women, their roles, and society's  
179 expectations of both sexes were significantly redefined. For poor men, the negative consequences of losing their  
180 ability to provide for their families was exacerbated by changes in young women's expectations for futures and  
181 their social condition. According to Meneses (2008), the possibility of moving from rural areas to urban areas to  
182 find work, to study, or to meet a prospective partner who could provide a better life was increasingly appealing to  
183 young women. The opening of the economy resulted in the formation of an incipient middle class; individuals of  
184 this group were able to take advantage of the new economic moment of the country. Men also arrived from Europe  
185 and other parts of the world to work in the multinational companies. These men were considered "rich" compared  
186 to locals with lower purchasing power. Young poor men, principally from rural areas and the cities' peripheries,  
187 remained in an extremely disadvantaged position in relation to these groups and became less attractive to young  
188 women as potential partners (Fry, 2000).

189 With the effects of economic adjustments imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) quickly  
190 worsening, and the government mainly concerned with this problem, poor communities had difficulty developing  
191 and implementing survival strategies. With few possibilities, prostitution and the networks supporting sex work  
192 strengthened and managed to recruit a growing number of young people, especially females, into their workings.  
193 Groes-Green (2011) states that at this moment, a cultural conflict settled upon Mozambican society. Specifically,  
194 we observe a divergence between those once inserted into prostitution, use the erotic and sexual knowledge  
195 transmitted by older female relatives and healers as a way to overcome economic fragilities, and those who saw  
196 this strategy as a violation and misuse of traditional teachings and values.

197 Despite these tensions, a lucrative sex industry formed in Maputo with direct links to human trafficking.  
198 At the same time, the recruitment of young people for labor exploitation and prostitution was being adjusted  
199 to smuggling and drug trafficking networks already in operation throughout sub-Saharan Africa. According to  
200 Volume XIX Issue VII Version I 4 ( C ) Muianga (2009), the young Mozambicans recruited to work in mines,  
201 mainly migrated to South Africa -where important gold, graphite, diamond and other ores of high international  
202 value are found. Feliciano (1998) shows that parallel to these movements, Mozambicans have also travelled to  
203 work on large plantations.

204 Studies conducted by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF, 2012) show  
205 that in addition to migrating to work in mines and on plantations, there is an increase in flows of Mozambican  
206 children and women for sexual exploitation.

207 Data on Figure 1 show the annual averages of migration related to human trafficking both into and out of  
208 Mozambique. The Mozambican government began to show interest in issues human trafficking and prostitution  
209 in the mid-1990s. The country's reconstruction and the degree of political stability achieved after the civil  
210 war influenced governmental attitudes in this sense. Concern with human trafficking as a political agenda was  
211 demonstrated by the participation of Mozambican representatives at the World Congress against the Commercial  
212 Sexual Exploitation of Children held in Stockholm in 1996. However, the protagonists came from international  
213 organizations with representation in Mozambique and civil society -from which the primary denunciations  
214 against criminal networks and ineffective government actions to curb their activities originated.

215 Table 2 demonstrates the financial resources involved in the different modalities that compose these criminal  
216 activities in Mozambique. As a result of their situation of greater vulnerability, women are the primary victims  
217 of both human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Women are more accessible to the criminal networks who prey  
218 upon their desires for a better life and/or the possibility of having earnings for themselves or for their families.

219 Mozambican governmental officials have recognized the issue of human trafficking since the 1990s, as  
220 Mozambique is a signatory country of international agreements and conventions against these crimes. At the  
221 same time, however, authorities' inertia with regard to the issue is also clear. This inertia can be understood  
222 by considering two important variables: the first is a lack of institutional structure to effectively deal with the  
223 issue, an aspect that we will not dwell on; the second relates to the cultural factors (constraints) present in police  
224 institutions, which are responsible for a certain indifference to the problem. We will address this issue in the  
225 following sections.

226 The northern region of Mozambique is made up of several ethnic groups, including the five main ones: the  
227 Macuas, the Tongas, the Macondes, the Nhanjas and the Swahilis. The Macuas form the largest ethnic group  
228 in the country. In addition to Mozambique, they can also be found in Tanzania, Malawi, Madagascar and the  
229 Seychelles. Nampula province, located in the northern region of the country, is predominantly inhabited by  
230 the Macua people. According to the National Research Institute of Mozambique (INE), this province has a  
231 population of approximately four million people, of which 98% belong to the Macua ethnic group.

232 The social life of the Macua is traditionally linked to certain rites of passage that incorporate, among other

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233 teachings, culturally legitimated ways of manifesting sexuality. Men and women, at a certain developmental  
234 stage should marry to affirm themselves as insiders within the group. Osório (2013) comments that these rituals  
235 aim to counteract fears of community instability if young people, especially women, do not opt to marry. Sexual  
236 relationships for Macua women are considered legitimate only in the case of marital relations. This stems from  
237 the fear that women who do not opt for marriage may possibly have sexual relations with married men. Not  
238 observing these precepts constitutes a rupture of community rules passed down to young Macua women through  
239 a ritual called "Mualy."

240 This ceremony is little known outside of Mozambique and consists of a rite of passage to which teenagers are  
241 subjected: men must go through this ritual once and women twice -one time in adolescence and once just before  
242 marriage. During this ceremony young people essentially learn what it means to behave properly as a man and  
243 as a woman and what their specific roles are. For men, this means becoming aware of his responsibilities related  
244 to food production system, and for women, it implies assuming the duties and skills to care for and sexually  
245 satisfy their husbands. This skill is acquired from older experienced/knowledgeable women in the family.

246 Knowledge gained through the Mualy should be assimilated by young people and after passing through the  
247 ritual, young people are separated from those whose behaviors are not in line with the Mualy. Those who display  
248 transgressive behavior in relation Mualy's teachings are called "Amalapos." Thus, any sexual behavior at odds  
249 with the teachings of Mualy is not recognized or respected by the community. In this way, Amalapos are a  
250 kind of undesirable outcast, from which all, especially young people, must seek to keep their distance. Among  
251 reprehensible behaviors is prostitution, which, regardless of the reasons why it is practiced, is considered abnormal  
252 behavior, and the person who sells sex is considered responsible for his/her actions.

253 Police officers share these traditional cultural values and practices in Mozambique. In general, these  
254 professionals see the behavior of female Amalapos as a threat to harmonious living within a community. For  
255 this reason, victims trafficked into prostitution are not considered victims. Police authorities may even deny the  
256 existence of such a phenomenon. Expressions such as, "we have never heard of women trafficked for prostitution  
257 occurring here in Nampula, neither trafficked from here or this being a destination [...]." "We have also never  
258 received any complaints related to trafficking of women" represent this perception. Such ignorance, intentional or  
259 not, directly interferes with identifying and dealing with this type of crime and delays the promotion of preventive  
260 actions.

261 It is hard to believe that police officers are unaware of this phenomenon, especially in light of the data presented  
262 here and the fact that Mozambique is a signatory to the 2000 UN-sponsored Palermo Protocol criminalizing human  
263 trafficking, especially that of women and children. The definition of this type of crime in Mozambique's Law No.  
264 6, decreed on July 9, 2008 was fully transposed from the definitions used in the Palermo Protocol. Police also  
265 seem to ignore data from the 2014 Attorney General's report, which highlights occurrences of women trafficked  
266 for different types of exploitation, including sexual exploitation for prostitution. In this report, the Nampula  
267 province is specifically referred to as a place where this type of crime occurs.

268 This indifference thus seems to stem from the fact that the victims are considered Amalapo. The police belong  
269 to the same culture that stigmatizes prostitution and construes female prostitutes as people who compromise the  
270 harmonious coexistence of their communities, and therefore do not deserve attention or consideration. Police say  
271 in regard to female prostitutes that "they do not respect themselves," implying that they are more concerned  
272 with protecting women who behave according to local standards of sexual behavior and that the condition of  
273 prostitution is an abnormality, and thus should not be one of their concerns.

274 One police officer's comment is particularly enlightening: "there are cases where women like to prostitute  
275 themselves or do so by their own will; in some cases, it is a bad spirit that enters the woman and induces her to  
276 practice this activity." Such a manifestation is profoundly imbedded with the sacred attributes of the Mualy, which  
277 makes the victim responsible for her condition as an Amalapo. Other officer commented: "times are different  
278 now; before the Mualy taught women to take care of the home and her husband; [today], after the teachings,  
279 many girls use these lessons in sexual practices linked to benefits earned from men." The words of another officer  
280 clarify this point: "we have received complaints from many prostitutes and it being our professional obligation  
281 to attend to citizens' concerns, we welcome them and their demands, and advise them to leave behind this type  
282 of Human Beings. Following this event, a National Human Rights Plan was approved. However, until 2006,  
283 there were no official record of how many people were trafficked for prostitution since no legal provision for  
284 such crimes existed. Only in 2008, were the first cases of women trafficked to South Africa officially recognized  
285 by Mozambican institutions. In 2009, a specialized government sector dedicated to violence against women was  
286 finally created, called the Department of Assistance for Families and Victims of Domestic Violence (Departamento  
287 de Atendimento à Família Vítima de Violência Doméstica).

288 Osório (2013)'s comments are clarifying when he affirms that representations of sexuality play an important  
289 role in subjects' experiences and the normative standards that traditionally regulate them. This is perhaps one  
290 factor underlying the social intolerance of Mozambicans regarding the sexual behavior of women categorized as  
291 Amalapo or prostitutes. It also explains the lack interest of law enforcement authorities in treating the trafficking  
292 of women for prostitution as a human rights violation -one that should be prevented and controlled.

293 In the 19 th century, officials in Europe were concerned about the trafficking of women for prostitution. They  
294 focused essentially on preventing the trafficking of white women to African colonies and other continents. During  
295 the twentieth century, and especially in the early twenty-first century, concerns about prostitution were placed

296 within a more complex framework of human trafficking connected to attempts of illegal immigration, forced labor,  
297 and sexual exploitation.

298 The African continent has historically been affected by trafficking -from the capture of people to be sold into  
299 slavery within the colonial economy since 15th century, to the latest forced migration flows induced by wars,  
300 political problems, ethnic persecution and financial hardships. It is in this context, that we can understand the  
301 trafficking of Mozambican men and women, but more prominently women, for prostitution.

302 The failure of the Mozambican authorities to fully implement international agreements, to which the country  
303 is a signatory, stems from the country's institutional limitations. These limitations, in turn, are related to the  
304 devastating effects of two wars -a war for independence and a civil war -from which the nation is still recovering.  
305 On the other hand, it is also linked to the traditional cultural configuration of Mozambican society, which as we  
306 presented above, constitute how police in the city of Nampula represent and perceive prostitution and the women  
307 involved in these activities.

308 Mualy's ritual institution gives legitimacy to the sexual practices of Macua women, while legitimizing the  
309 stigmatization of those who display Amalapo behavior. Thus, the legal instruments that criminalize the trafficking  
310 of women for prostitution do not resonate with local police perceptions of this phenomenon. The officers  
311 interviewed for this study largely see Amalapo women as responsible for their own condition since prostitution  
312 violate the harmony of social life and threatens families; these types of women, in their view, should have married  
313 and prostitution should not exist.

314 These values, when present in Mozambican policemen's worldview, result in a certain indifference to the  
315 problems of human trafficking and prostitution. As a consequence, they can help us understand and explain  
316 the failures of governmental actions to curb these activities. Because prostitution is identified as a characteristic  
317 of Amalapos means these women are not seen as victims, and the legal resources available to protect victims  
318 and prevent and combat these crimes are not applied. Rather, this phenomenon is simply viewed as socially  
319 inappropriate behavior. Prostitutes are thought to be responsible for his/her involvement in the activity and its  
320 consequences. Thus, while the legal apparatus that corresponds to the national republican State may contemplate  
321 a social practice as a crime, and it is recognized as such by international human rights treaties, the behavior of  
322 public security and criminal justice authorities, based in traditional values and references, can contribute to the  
permanence and reproduction of harmful criminal activities, such as human trafficking.<sup>1 2</sup>

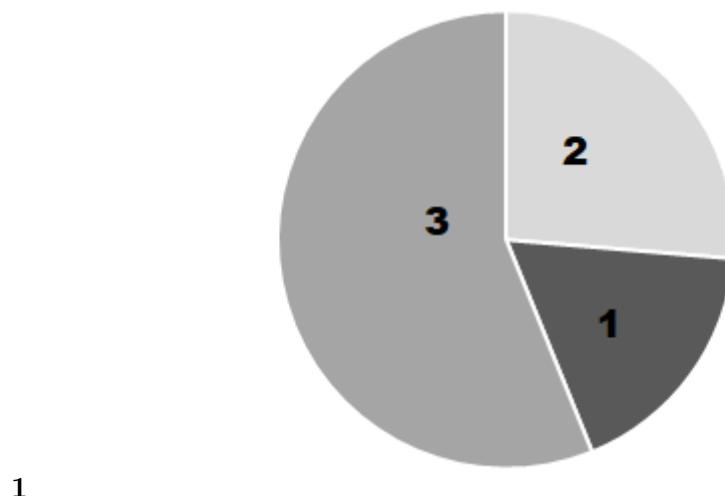


Figure 1: Figure 1 :

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**1**

Annual profits from forced labor	US\$13,100,000,000
Average profits per victim of forced labor	US\$ 3,900
Number of forced labor victims at any given time	3,500,000
Percentage of victims used for sexual exploitation	52%
Percentage of victims used for forced labor	40%
Percentage of victims used for other types of exploitation	8%

Source: Statistic Brain Research Institute, 2018.

Figure 2: Table 1 :

**2**

Annual profit from forced labor

Figure 3: Table 2 :



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324 [] , 10.7560/JHS24105. <https://doi.org/10.7560/JHS24105>

325 [ Lusotopie ] , [https://www.repository.utl.pt/bitstream/10400.5/1125/1/DocTrab\\_57.pdf](https://www.repository.utl.pt/bitstream/10400.5/1125/1/DocTrab_57.pdf) *Lusotopie* p. .

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330 [Average annual number of Mozambican women forced into prostitution: 3 (200)] *Average annual number of Mozambican women forced into prostitution: 3*, 200.

331 [Average annual number of women trafficked for prostitution in Mozambique: 1,000/Main destination] *Average annual number of women trafficked for prostitution in Mozambique: 1,000/Main destination*, South Africa.

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