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Author(s): Kathleen Sheldon
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Markets and Gardens: Placing Women in the History of Urban Mozambique

Kathleen Sheldon

Résumé


Introduction

Women’s choices about how to make a living in Mozambique have had a decisive impact on the development of Mozambican cities, and urbanization has likewise informed women’s experience of work both within and outside their homes. Looking at markets, gardens, and other ways that women supported themselves and their families reveals changes over time and shifts in the uses of urban space. Women’s work activities are a starting point for investigating their families, their involvement in the development of

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urban society, and their struggles over the transformation of urban localities. This article will focus on the urban work history of women who moved into or who were born and raised in the capital city of Maputo (situated in the southernmost area of the country, formerly Lourenço Marques), Beira (Mozambique's second largest city), and other cities (see Grest 1995; Lachartre 2000; Pinsky 1985 for broader discussions of urbanization in Mozambique).

Examining women's experiences highlights a circuitous path of development that includes new ways of living such as urban market vending and prostitution, while simultaneously continuing with familiar practices such as brewing beer and producing food to feed their families. Women's stories demonstrated that there was not a simple trajectory of migrating to the city and becoming an urban worker, as was more often the case with men. Women brought rural skills to urban areas and retained rural sensibilities while establishing new lives. In some cases, that migration marked an important break with unwanted aspects of their rural lives. While some women migrated to the city with husbands and other male kin, others were deliberately leaving abusive or non-supportive husbands. They came alone, with children, or with female kin such as sisters and aunts.

The new family formations that emerged brought unwanted attention from police and other authorities. During the colonial era women were first seen in the official records because they were living with non-African men and were suspected of being prostitutes. Although there were marriages and relationships between African women and non-African men in the rural areas, the dynamic there often involved the incorporation of those men into rural families. Such women in urban areas were already separated from their communities of origin and were building new networks for survival in urban surroundings. Unattached women continued to make up a large portion of migrants from the rural areas. By the 1950s, women who came to work in the cashew factories of Maputo were overwhelmingly single mothers who were living in the city without a male protector. The scale of social life in urban areas allowed women greater freedom to live outside of the stricter circle of kin and village neighbors that was common in the rural communities. That urban women were able to develop new family formations that were less reliant on male control was not specific
to Mozambique, but was seen in other African countries as well as other world areas (White 1990; Stansell 1987).

Despite their history in the city, women were not always welcome there. Their access to schooling, jobs, income, land, and housing was restricted under colonialism. Their attempts to continue brewing beer for sale met with colonial police displeasure, and those who tried to survive through prostitution or begging were arrested and sent home to rural areas. But simultaneously women were planting maize, sweet potatoes, rice, and vegetables in urban machambas (cultivated plots of land) which were invisible to the colonial settlers. Around the world, women farmers have been rendered invisible, sometimes under the familiar term “farmer’s wife,” often assumed to be cultivating as a hobby or sideline to their domestic work as mothers (Benería 1981; Spiro 1987). Farming was not considered a typical urban activity but was an anomaly which might have attracted attention. But African women operated below the gaze of colonial authorities when they cultivated in cities.

Women were visible and troubling when they transgressed perceptual boundaries by behaving in overtly sexual or entrepreneurial ways. The idea of using boundaries as a way of investigating urban women has appeal because boundaries can be physical or social, exclusionary or inclusive, and can be assessed from inside and outside (Miranne and Young 2000, 1-3). As long as women continued their customary work, such as weeding a patch of ground or pounding grain in a mortar, they were not seen, although that work was essential to African family survival and brought a rural sensibility into the center of urban development. But they entered into the historical record as a problem when they began to sell their bodies or their beer and when they married or joined in relationships with men outside the usual circle of acceptable marriage partners. By the end of the twentieth century, their efforts to sell produce outside the official markets and even their legal waged work in cashew factories came under attack, as women continued to insist on their active presence in the cities while men and governments tried to control them.

One aspect of that control was seen in how women were labeled when they became visible on the city streets and in city life. As was the case in many areas of Africa, women who dressed or
behaved in western styles were seen as loose women, "stray women," or perhaps as prostitutes (Wipper 1972; Cooper 1995; Jackson 1999). Both colonial and socialist leaders decried the presence of women involved in the sex trade and tried to control prostitution. Labeling was different for urban women farmers, who were not seen by the colonial government but were welcomed and supported by the post-independence socialist government under Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, the Mozambique Liberation Front, that became the ruling party after independence in 1975). There was governmental support for the Green Zones in the urban periphery, home to many cooperatives run by women and to the cooperative union (UGC for União Geral das Cooperativistas, General Union of Cooperatives). Yet business owners and others who wanted access to land under cultivation in urban and peri-urban neighborhoods showed their own displeasure with women's urban activities by categorizing farming women as ignorant about the value and use of urban land. Here the boundary that women overstepped was the place where they were doing their work, not the kind of work that they were performing. In this instance, the women benefited from official policies that championed women's and poor peoples' rights.

The impact of war with Renamo in the 1980s brought many more women and families into the cities as they escaped from the dangers of war in the rural areas (Renamo was the Resistência Nacional de Moçambique, National Resistance of Mozambique, the anti-Frelimo forces supported by South Africa; Renamo was transformed into a legitimate political party in the 1990s). The immense increase in the numbers of urban residents brought pressure on Mozambique's plans for urban development (Jenkins 2001). Maputo grew from just under 70,000 residents in 1940 (45,632 Africans, 14,312 Europeans, and 8,275 classified as other) to 378,348 in 1970 (83,480 Europeans and 294,868 Africans) (Lachartre 2000, 37). After independence, the total number of urban residents in Mozambique was counted at 1,539,119, divided between 805,176 men and 733,943 women (Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento 1983b, 11). By 1990 Maputo's population alone exceeded one million, including more women (514,600) than men (493,000) (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 1999). The official number of residents in Beira was still overwhelmingly male into
the 1980s: out of a total population of 87,114, there were 61,663 men (seventy-one percent) and 25,451 women (twenty-nine percent) (Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento 1983a, 43). In those same years, the unofficial number of residents in Beira was usually counted at 250,000, and as more rural refugees crowded into the city, some observers believed the population had swelled to 400,000, including the greater peri-urban areas in that total.

While earlier generations had more options for building new lives in urban areas, the most recent migrants found those options were disappearing. Land was no longer easily available for urban farming, and many more women turned to market vending in their attempts to survive. But women also suffered from restrictions on curbside marketing in the 1990s and from the closing of cashew factories, once a primary location of women’s waged employment, following the imposition of International Monetary Fund (IMF) regulations. I do not attempt an overall view of women in Mozambican cities in this article, but by putting their work at the center, I suggest how the contributions and activities of women shaped Mozambique’s cities spatially and socially.

**Urban Living**

In the first half of the twentieth century, women began to migrate to urban areas, particularly to Lourenço Marques. They were motivated by a combination of factors: the great difficulty of surviving in the rural areas, the desire to repay lobolo (bridewealth) and free themselves from burdensome marriages, and the possibility of finding waged work or other sources of income in the city. As I discovered in interviews with female cashew workers in Beira, most of them sought work in the city because their situation in the rural areas had become intolerable. Commonly, women found that the baseline troubles of a precarious life based on agriculture exceeded the threshold of tolerance when they were confronted with family tragedy or adversity, such as the death or illness of a husband or other close family member, or abandonment or maltreatment by a husband (Sheldon 1991). As Jeanne Penvenne (1986) notes in regard to cashew workers in Lourenço Marques, they were not drawn by urban “bright lights,” but were forced to move to the city as they searched for alternative livelihoods when their rural support systems collapsed (Penvenne 1997, 365).
Prior to World War II, very few women were in the cities, and those who settled in urban areas faced many obstacles in finding employment that would support them as their options for work within the colonial economy were quite limited. The accelerated pace of colonial settlement and industrialization after World War II did not bring appreciable benefits to women. Positions which in other countries were commonly filled by women, including domestic service, nursing, teaching, and garment factory labor, went to men. In Lourenço Marques in the first part of the twentieth century women were sometimes able to find work at the port or in early factories that processed tobacco. But until the cashew processing factories opened in the 1950s, the number of women working for a wage was never more than a few hundred (Manuense 1994; Mitchell 1975, 34-35; Penvenne 1997).

In Beira during the 1950s and 1960s, there was a general absence of waged work for women in contrast to men's more common experience of participation in the work force. Without that option, women carried over familiar tasks from their rural homes. The Beira newspaper *Voz Africana* reported on women working at rural tasks in Chipangara, said to be Beira's most typical neighborhood, and one that was centrally located adjacent to Portuguese neighborhoods. Describing the neighborhood as "neither city nor country," the writer referred to the many gardens in peoples' yards. An accompanying photograph showing women pounding maize in their pilões (large wooden mortars) was captioned, "In Chipangara old and young women pound as in the country" ("Chipangara, o bairro mais típico da Beira," 21 July 1962). Some of these women sold produce in the local markets, as they had no other way of earning an income ("Um mercado improvisado," *Voz Africana* 17 November 1962). Their work brought a rural ambiance into the most central urban African neighborhoods.

During the colonial period access to formal education had been obstructed for all Mozambicans, and especially for women. Nonetheless, girls were more apt to attend school in the cities than in rural communities, and some women were able to acquire skills that could potentially bring more opportunities for employment (Sheldon 1998). But finding work that called on the domestic skills learned in mission schools remained difficult until after independence in 1975. Although some girls had learned to sew, that skill
did not easily transfer to the job market. The cost of the sewing machines made working as a seamstress difficult if not impossible for most women to achieve, and garment workers in factories as well as in small tailor shops in colonial Mozambique were almost always men.

The style of cooking which was taught in the mission-run schools also depended on equipment to which African women generally did not have access. Maria da Silva commented:

At the Escola Albasini [in Lourenço Marques] the students learned European cooking, even though they probably would not be able to practice their new skills at home. Most of them do not have a stove nor even the money necessary to buy the ingredients (1960, 55).

Girls were being trained in housekeeping skills in order to develop them into appropriate wives for newly educated men. It was not assumed that they would enter into domestic service, as the vast majority of domestic servants were boys and men. In Beira in 1940, for example, there were 8,572 men in domestic service, but only 225 women (Colônia de Moçambique 1944, 6-7). Throughout the colonial era, men were more likely than women to perform all kinds of waged domestic work, including work as cooks, laundry workers, and general servants (Zamparoni 2000a).

Some women may have utilized their new cooking skills to make food for sale in the markets or near urban work sites, although there is little evidence that this was widespread. The 1950 census listed only 29 women as cooks in Beira, when 2,762 men were thus employed (Moçambique, Repartição Tecnica de Estatística 1950, 182-184). Women who sold food generally offered roasted nuts and corn, which were not part of the school cooking curriculum. A photograph of a "fresh air restaurant" in colonial Lourenço Marques showed workers buying meals cooked in oil drums which were located along the open streets. Although one or two women were visible in the background, it was clearly men who were actively cooking and selling what appeared to be typical Mozambican food such as massa, a stiff maize porridge, rather than food prepared in the European style (Rita-Ferreira 1967-68, 384).

Urban public spaces had a distinctly male appearance, as reflected in colonial era photographs of the downtown areas (cidade do cimento, cement city) (Lobato 1970; Zamparoni 2000a).
Photographs of the African bairros do caniço (reed neighborhoods) tended to include more women, seen collecting water at neighborhood taps or involved in other work (Guedes 1971). In Mozambique's urban areas, housework was extremely difficult and continued to be demanding into the 1990s. A 1992 study of poverty in the provincial capitals found that nearly seventy percent of families were in a situation of extreme poverty. Close to twenty percent of all families were headed by women, with twelve percent of "extremely poor" families headed by women, five percent of "poor" families, and only slightly over one percent of "non-poor" families (Ibraimo 1994, 8; see also Iliffe 1987, 180-85 on urban poverty and women across the African continent). The population over forty-five years of age was 56.8 percent female, a dramatic reversal from the predominantly male cities of the colonial era (Sahn and del Ninno 1994, 4).

Women's domestic responsibilities in city centers were time-consuming. Urban living was difficult with the increasing population density. Women who worked outside the home faced the responsibilities of the familiar "double day," exacerbated by a community situation in which they lacked running water, adequate food, and basic supplies such as soap. General living conditions in the 1990s were characterized by scarcity, including a continuing dearth of access to electric power (only 28.3 percent of households had electricity). Residences were located at some distance from a water source, as nearly half of the households surveyed (43.8 percent) relied on an outside faucet, and of these, one-third traveled ten minutes to get to the faucet they used, a significant impact on women's domestic chores (Sahn and del Ninno 1994, 45; Abreu 1994, 10-11). Washing clothes, for example, involved standing in line to collect cold water at a community tap and then laboriously scrubbing the clothing by hand before hanging it to dry. Laundry alone could require three or more hours a day.

A serious issue in Maputo was the increasingly longer distances that women needed to travel to collect firewood as the resources close to the city were depleted. One report suggested that journeys of four to six hours to find and gather firewood were not uncommon for residents of Boane, and that Maputo itself was acquiring fuel from sixty to seventy kilometers outside the city (Dejene and Olivares 1991, 14, and see contributions to Lee-Smith
Women talked about the long hours of heavy labor required simply to procure the necessities of daily life and the sacrifices that they made in order to care for their children. Travel was perilous, as they perched on top of goods being carried to market in large trucks. One woman said that she spent the journey thinking of her family because she feared that she would die as a result of the dangerous driving practices of the drivers (Matsinhe 1998). Another woman commented, "But what can we do? Life obliges us" to take such risks (Henrique 1999).

People's work in the 1990s was markedly divided along gender lines, with men much more likely to have waged employment, while women were more often self-employed. These categories obscured the reality that nearly one-fourth of the respondents were involved in two or more sectors, most often a combination of waged work and informal sector activity, such as market vending, or a mixture of the informal sector and urban agriculture (Abreu 1994). Based on a survey of 1,816 households, researchers found the following categories of work divided by gender (see Table 1).

Table 1: Gender Division of Work in Maputo in the 1990s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent of All Women</th>
<th>Percent of All Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>54.58</td>
<td>21.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>22.11</td>
<td>73.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owned their own field</td>
<td>21.36</td>
<td>3.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural wage labor</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sahn and del Ninno (1994, 15).*

Urbanization in the 1980s and 1990s was characterized by women's work choices, their increasing public presence, and the continuation of intense poverty. As women looked for ways to support themselves and their families, they most often found work in the informal sector. Waged work remained elusive. Women were only six percent of all industrial workers in the 1980 national census, when there were 23,064 women working in industry compared to 346,794 male industrial workers (Conselho Coordenador de Recenseamento 1983b, 33). In war-torn and poverty-stricken Mozambique, there was little possibility of
expanding industry or the economy in general so that women could find increased options for work. When investors did develop local industry, it was more often in sectors that hired male labor, such as Mozal, the recently opened aluminum plant outside of Maputo. While women wanted to work for a wage, from financial necessity as well as for personal fulfillment, they faced continuing social barriers despite the newly supportive laws. But their absence from the usual categories of work designated as "urban" has not meant they were absent from the process of urbanization.

Prostitution, Brewing, and Begging

Most urban female residents were illiterate, despite the fact that urban girls had more opportunity to attend school than rural children. In the colonial era, women who came to the city from rural areas that were not well supplied with schools confronted limited job openings. Many women turned to illegal activities such as prostitution and brewing alcoholic beverages for sale. An increase in tourism from South Africa and Rhodesia and the presence of sailors at the port of Lourenço Marques contributed to women turning to prostitution in order to earn an income. Residents of urban neighborhoods confirmed that women came into the city with no legally marketable skills, learned to say a few words in Portuguese and "I love you" in English, and began work as prostitutes (Matusse 1983ab). Reports of urban prostitution appeared in official files throughout the colonial era, from a 1906 report of two women from Marracuene who were imprisoned for begging and prostitution, to a 1945 account of an eleven-year-old girl who was repeatedly seen at the Catembe beach "where she entered into the practice of immoral acts, improper for her young age." During a sweep in 1948, seventy-one women were arrested for prostitution, of whom thirty-nine were found to be infected with venereal disease and sent for treatment.¹

Women in Lourenço Marques also allied themselves with non-African men in long-term relationships, a situation that was conflated with prostitution by Portuguese officials (Lobato 1970, 141-45). Many of the shops had small rental rooms available at the back for assignations (Zamparoni 2000b, 205). As a police report from 1915 stated, "Some shops employ native women to sell alcoholic drinks, food and other merchandise for use by the natives, and
they exploit these women allowing them to enter into prostitution.” The report went on to ask that the Native Affairs section of the government intervene and punish the shop-owners. In reply, the government official commented that they were investigating the problem, but “nearly all of the shop owners based in the Malanga area have native women working at their counters,” and there was reluctance to punish an entire sector of the economy. Further official letters expressed some sentiment for banning African women from working in the shops, but legislation along those lines was not introduced. That approach would have been problematic for the shop owners, many of whom were Chinese or Indian, and who usually claimed the women as their wives, which, as one official noted, was “a fact that is difficult to prove false.” It is not apparent from available evidence if the women were viewed as prostitutes simply because they were living with [and possibly married to] non-African men, or if in fact they were earning money through sexual activity. They were suspect because they had crossed a boundary into what colonial men believed to be improper marital and sexual activity for African women.

The police also attempted to control African women selling home-brewed alcoholic beverages. The law only allowed maize beer to be brewed for personal consumption. The authorities recognized that making brewing illegal, punishable with six months imprisonment with hard labor, did not stop women from seeking to earn an income by selling alcohol. As one official wrote in a 1947 report arguing for stricter laws, “It has been some days since I sentenced 24 women who were dedicated to making and selling ‘babichoco,’ the brewers having told me that they easily acquired fermented beverages, the prisoners thus have continued the business.” Women were able to maintain their presence as brewers and their income from brewing despite the frequently expressed desire by the police and other authorities to bring end the brewing activities. Similar patterns of urban women continuing to practice their rural skill of brewing alcoholic beverages were seen in throughout Africa; and while brewing beer was not seen as a problem, the attempts of women to become entrepreneurial and sell their liquor met with arrest and jail (Bonner 1990; Mapetla and Machai 1998; Nelson 1979; Redding 1992).

Women also appeared in official reports as beggars, where they
were noted as being widowed or disabled, conditions that could leave women with no other support. A group of twelve women arrested for begging in 1953 included five widows. The others were all single women, and five of them were described as being of advanced age, from seventy to eighty years old. Women were visible to the colonialists when they left the acceptable arena of domestic work and stood about on the streets where their requests for help interfered with the daily excursions of urban workers. Women who migrated to urban areas could face severe difficulties in supporting themselves, as these colonial records attest. Some women sought the independence that was possible in urban areas, but that independence could become an impairment as they aged and could no longer cultivate machambas or, less legally, work as prostitutes. Women who might have found a place in rural kin networks were abandoned and without recourse on city streets, which offered a less hospitable space for elderly women.

Official concerns with women walking urban streets reappeared after independence. Articles in the news weekly Tempo described the twin efforts to end the exploitation of women and to acknowledge and expand women's contributions in a variety of locales. The efforts to end prostitution were one aspect of the new policies. The Frelimo government was interested in more than simply ending prostitution, which thrived in part because large numbers of white South African men could consort with African women more freely than was allowed in apartheid South Africa. In addition to the racist conditions inherent in prostitution in Mozambique, the popular analysis discussed the demeaning effect of alcohol and drug abuse on those women. The efforts to end prostitution were one aspect of the new policies which received some attention in the international press, no doubt because it supported western preconceptions about puritanical communist attitudes and simultaneously catered to prurient interests. During the 1974 transition government the Frelimo army, the police, and the Portuguese army conducted a joint-operation sweep along Rua Araujo, the primary gathering place for prostitutes in downtown Maputo, and took two hundred prostitutes into custody. It was estimated that twice that number of women worked along the street on a daily basis ("Vamos acabar com a prostituição," Manuel 1984). Although colonial photographs had shown the downtown neigh-
borhood as devoid of women, when women became visible on that particular stretch of public space their work was judged to be a problem, and they were gathered up and removed.

Another kind of sweep was carried out by Frelimo in the early 1980s. Although women were not specifically targeted, they again found themselves outside of legal boundaries and were assumed to be out of place in the city. Operation Production \( \text{(Operação Produção)} \) was a 1983 initiative designed to move urban residents who were judged "unproductive" out to rural areas where they could become involved in agriculture or other productive activities. Some urban residents welcomed an approach that removed unemployed and potentially criminal young men they believed were loitering around the city. There were many serious problems with the program, including the lack of projects in the rural areas that were prepared to integrate urbanites without rural skills. In the urban centers, people were arbitrarily stopped on the streets and asked to show their identity cards and other papers. Some people were turned in by personal enemies who used the state resettlement project as revenge for old animosities.

Women were vulnerable because they were less likely to have a waged job that would provide the necessary papers; they were more likely to be illiterate and unable to follow the complicated directions to obtain the proper identification forms; and they generally were more apt to be outside of the bureaucratic structures of the government. To its credit the government did respond to criticism that appeared in the press, although urban families experienced many difficulties before the program was ended. Women who only worked in their homes, or had a machamba outside of the city and traveled back and forth, were stopped and taken into custody along with women pursuing more suspect activities.\(^7\) Women who were not prostitutes were accused of practising that trade, and they were indiscriminately gathered up in the sweep with women who were working as prostitutes. Journalists and others were critical of the resulting victimization of women from all strata of urban society.\(^8\)

Although prostitution was less visible in the 1980s, by the 1990s it had clearly made a resurgence following more than a decade of structural adjustment programs and the war against Renamo. Street children relied on selling sex for survival, and it
was reported that some mothers demanded that their young daughters obtain food for the family by entering into prostitution. An international scandal occurred when United Nations soldiers from Italy, in Mozambique to safeguard the 1994 peace process and election, were charged with paying young Mozambican girls for sex. In this case, the male soldiers were the ones who were removed from the city, as they were repatriated once they were identified. One obvious factor in this revival in prostitution was the disruption caused by the war that led to thousands of children being abandoned or becoming separated from their families.

Economic difficulties were also a factor that resulted in children trying to survive by begging and stealing on urban streets. Although boys predominated on the streets, girls made up the majority of sex workers. The boys tended to be more visible as they gathered in groups and claimed their space on the avenues, crowding around coffee-drinkers in sidewalk cafés, watching cars while wealthier residents shopped, selling toy bicycles made from telephone wire, and trying to earn a few coins by performing simple tasks. In contrast, the girls' efforts to earn a living on the streets were hidden, as they did not walk about on the major streets during the daylight hours. One study of 250 child prostitutes in Maputo, Beira, and Chimoio included 247 girls between the ages of twelve and eighteen years, but only three boys (Abreu and da Graça 1994, 28-29). Girls and women were drawn by the possibility of earning a comparatively substantial income from prostitution. Female sex workers earned a monthly income that equaled US $250, over ten times that of the factory workers who earned US $23 a month (Liquela 1996).

Officials continued to voice their displeasure with the presence of women working as prostitutes from the colonial era through the socialist period to the end of the 1990s. While women, even very young women and girls, found it a lucrative if dangerous and undesirable source of income, successive governments of all ideologies tried a variety of legal and moral methods to curb the practice of women selling themselves, whether they were employed in small bars run by non-African men, or were standing on the corner of Rua Araujo in downtown Maputo. The practice of this illicit activity emphasized the impersonal nature of urban life, and pointed to the gendered experience of city spaces.
Gardens

Many women were involved in urban agriculture, a heavily although not exclusively female endeavor (Sheldon 1999). Often women in western dress or working in offices in the city centers were seen as the essence of urbanity, but reality indicated that the vast majority of urban women continued their familiar rural agricultural work, wielding their hoes and wrapping themselves in their printed cotton capulanas in a new setting. Urbanization in Mozambique as in other African countries was profoundly shaped by women's urban farming, female cultivation of vegetable gardens affected the way that land was appropriated and allocated, determined what produce was available in the markets and brought a noticeable green aspect to the physical appearance of the city.

Geographer Maria Clara Mendes (1985, 103) commented on the prevalence of gardens in the periphery of colonial Lourenço Marques (see also Gentili 1985). In 1940 the city of Lourenço Marques counted 45,070 African residents, of which 28,525 (sixty-three percent) were men and 16,545 (thirty-seven percent) were women. Two-thirds of the women resident in the city (10,321) were nas terras or on the land, an indication of their agricultural work. Only 2,576 men (under ten percent) were similarly listed. Statistics for the smaller cities of Inhambane, Quelimane, and Tete indicate that around half of all urban women were engaged in agriculture (Colónia de Moçambique, Repartição Técnica de Estatística 1944, 4-7). No other occupation was nearly as widespread.

Information from Beira provided further detail about women's work in urban agriculture under colonialism. Beira's residential neighborhoods, as was common then throughout southern Africa, were racially segregated. The Portuguese built modern homes and apartments for themselves along the coast where ocean breezes minimized the impact of the climate. But African workers and their families also began to settle in nearby areas, building homes from found materials without the benefit of paved roads or regular water supply. The simultaneous development of family-based African communities in the center and periphery of Beira went unrecognized by the Portuguese. Many women in these areas continued their accustomed cultivation to supply food to their families.

In Beira in 1940, where men were able to find work at the port
or railway, only 230 men out of 14,534 male residents (under two percent) were considered nas terras. However, 2,023 women were listed as nas terras out of 3,564 urban female residents (fifty-seven percent). Descriptions from various observers corroborate the statistics and indicate that the most common productive activity for urban women in colonial Beira was agriculture, despite the difficult marshy and sandy terrain of that city (Muchangos 1989). A typical family budget in the 1960s relied on the income from the male head of the family, who was the only one with a salary, but all families had a small machamba. Women commonly combined their agricultural work with other domestic chores, as in the rural areas, and often did their work with infants on their backs. Machambas tended to be small, about twenty-five meters square, and were primarily dedicated to sweet potatoes or rice (Coimbra 1970, 33, 65, 79-84).

Women’s continuation of agricultural labor in urban centers throughout the colonial period occurred in part because they could rely on an established skill and access to seeds and supplies, all carried over from rural experience. The unregulated nature of African community settlement allowed families to appropriate plots for gardens, the capital input was minimal, and the labor was readily available from women skilled in agriculture. The process of urbanization was established in large part by women, who operated outside of Portuguese urban planning and who were invisible to most colonial settlers. While the authorities were concerned with illegal female activities such as prostitution and beer brewing, they paid little heed to women’s primary contribution to shaping land use in the city, thus allowing women to make a substantial imprint on the geography of urban spaces and the elaboration of urban life.

After independence the Mozambican government regarded urban agriculture as a way to increase food supplies to the city. Rural food production was disrupted for several years as a result of drought and war. Poor economic decisions by the state also worked as a disincentive for rural farmers to produce food for sale to the urban areas as they did not in return have access to consumer goods such as soap, matches, or clothing. The state encouraged people to cultivate abandoned truck farms on Maputo’s periphery and in Beira’s peri-urban neighborhoods and provided seeds and tools as incentive to form official Green Zones of agricultural production.
The urban family pattern of the 1960s continued in the 1980s, as men generally earned a wage while women grew food for the family to eat. As Gunilla Åkesson observed,

A woman in the city with a machamba does not belong to a peasant family. She is part of a working family that is urban or in the process of urbanization with a family budget based above all on her husband's salary and on products in the market for the subsistence of the family. But even though they are urban women many of them dedicate themselves to agriculture on a small scale in the city (1988, 13).

Census information from 1980 for the country as a whole indicated the predominance of agricultural work for women. Of the 187,862 urban women who were active economically, seventy percent (132,173) worked in agriculture, primarily as unpaid cultivators on individual machambas producing for family consumption. In contrast, only 55,951 (fifteen percent) of the 370,913 working men were based in agriculture, often in waged positions (Conselho Coordenador de Recenseamento 1983b, 34). Of 22,708 workers in agriculture in Beira, 19,991 (eighty-eight percent) were women (Conselho Coordenador do Recenseamento 1983a, 45).

Maputo's Green Zones, a band of farming neighborhoods that surrounded the city, were famous for the strength of their women-dominated cooperatives, with up to ninety percent of cooperative members being female (Ayisi 1995; Gentili 1989; Muianga 1983). When the cooperatives were first established in the 1980s, women worked without pay, and into the late 1980s the cooperatives did not always pay a living wage to members. But cooperative members could purchase harvested food at low cost and also had access to amenities such as day care centers and literacy classes organized by the cooperatives (Interview with Rosa Nhabinde Machava at OMM Centro de Produção “A Luta Continua” in Maputo’s Green Zones, 7 August 1989). Many cooperative members cultivated personal garden plots as well as contributing several hours each day to the cooperative fields. That women were able to provide for their families with such meager resources was a testament to their intensive efforts.

Urban political life was also affected by struggles over land, as the late 1980s and early 1990s were marked by continuing conflict in the Green Zones over land access and use between the female
farmers and those who wanted to build residences or factories. Struggles over land were also reported within families, as husbands and wives sometimes brought their disputes to local authorities (Personal communication with Paul Jenkins 2002; see Adjekophori 2000 for parallel information from Nigeria). Celina Cossa, the national president of the UGC, spoke out repeatedly for the rights of farming women (Salvador 1986; Marshall 1988). Cossa described the struggles over land as a "war" (Interview, 21 August 1989, Maputo). Speaking to a UGC conference in 1990, she was explicit about the attitudes of some entrepreneurs toward the cooperative women, saying,

Some people, arguing as ever that we are illiterate, incapable, ignorant and above all, almost all women, sum it up by saying that we don't know how to manage our property, our land.... As poor people, we feel the need to unite and work together in cooperatives (Marshall 1991, 7).

President Joaquim Chissano responded by supporting the contribution made by the cooperative women to the nation's political and productive effort. Despite evidence that the cooperatives were not profitable, Frelimo committed itself to defending urban farmers for principled reasons, recognizing the importance of collective endeavor (Dejene and Olivares 1991, 19). Individual women's economic insecurity was ameliorated by the political activity of the cooperatives. They governed themselves by electing directors of the cooperatives and taking responsibility for running the cooperatives as small businesses. In one case, the literate managers of a cooperative took advantage of their position and siphoned off money for their own use. When the farming women discovered this, they removed the corrupt leaders, installed people they could trust, and began to take literacy classes in order to reduce their dependence on others. The cooperatives thus played an important role in developing women's non-agricultural as well as agricultural skills (Mulder 1988). It was significant that the strongest advocates of the political and social importance of agricultural cooperatives were urban women, demonstrating an important intersection of rural work and urban politics. The cooperative women were widely recognized for their contributions to urban development through their political organization and productive activities.
Markets
Selling produce and other food products in the urban markets increased in the 1980s and 1990s, although some women had earned a living as market vendors in earlier decades. From the early part of the twentieth century, there were reports of women selling vegetables in the markets, but those accounts implied that such work was infrequent and often in response to a temporary economic crisis. Women across the continent of Africa have often sold produce in markets, with many differences in the depth of their involvement, in the goods offered for sale, and in their ability to survive on such activity (Clark 1994; Horn 1994; House-Midamba and Ekechi 1995; Robertson 1997).

Although women had not been prominent in city markets in Mozambique during earlier decades, a few had worked regularly vending produce or selling roasted cashew nuts by the side of the road (Young 1977). Women were observed selling fruits and vegetables in Inhambane city in 1916 and were also “seen in the cashew season sitting on the sand by the roadside measuring out their goods [roasted cashew nuts] on a bit of cocoanut shell about two inches in diameter,” earning some extra income in the process (Howard 1916; Haley 1926, 29). At the end of the colonial period, it was noticed:

From time to time, a woman may take a sack of corn or peanuts, or other vegetables in small quantities, to the bazaar in the nearest vila or in Lourenço Marques for sale. They do this when they want money for clothes, usually; it is a sporadic activity at best (Binford 1971, 82).

Over time, marketing activity became a more organized form of work as urban markets were established. Vendors at Mercado 25 de Junho in Maputo commented on the improved organization that came to the markets after independence, when the new government established formal licensing and offered literacy classes and other amenities (Arnfred 1982, 14). As with urban agriculture, the socialist government was interested in supporting women's urban work that they believed contributed to developing the new society.

Women market vendors in Beira working on their own account indicated that during the colonial period they had purchased their supplies from truck farmers cultivating in Chimoio and other areas outside the city limits. When one market vendor sold fruit in the
downtown market in the early 1970s, she would purchase bananas, oranges, tomatoes, and other produce, which she then sold at her stall. As that supply ceased in the early 1980s, she began to cultivate manioc for sale. She had not previously cultivated a machamba but was driven by necessity to plant manioc and sell the leaves for matapa, a common sauce served with rice (Interview with Minalda Maninke 2 March 1984, Inhamudima, Beira).

As Kenneth Hermele (1992, 170) pointed out in his essay on the effects of structural adjustment, the war had its major impact in the countryside, but the new economic policies brought destabilization to the cities as well. One of the most visible results of the adjustment program in Mozambique, which was introduced in 1987, was an increase in food prices, a result of attempts to adjust prices that were set abnormally low prior to structural adjustment. During the immediate post-independence period, the government supported urban residents by rationing basic foods and subsidizing prices, so that nearly everyone had access to some food on the urban markets. While food was often not obtainable in the markets in the early 1980s, prices were controlled and kept to an affordable level. Under structural adjustment, not only did prices rise but also the rationing system gradually eroded, finally ending in 1993 (O'Laughlin 1996). By July 1989, there was a wide variety of vegetables for sale, but the cost per kilogram had risen to ten times that of five years earlier.10 Because wages and salaries did not keep pace with rises in prices, the net impact on families was less money available to purchase food and other necessities. It was commonly understood that an urban family dependent on a single wage earner would only have enough money for two to three weeks of food and essential supplies each month. Thus, the mere appearance of fruits and vegetables in the markets did not signal the end of urban hunger. The war also meant that people could not rely on rural kin to supply occasional bags of maize, nor did they have the option of sending family members to rural home areas to relieve the burden on the urban household. In fact the opposite was taking place, as rural kin moved into the cities to avoid the conflict, adding hungry mouths to already struggling urban households. Women had to make do with less food, and they also had to find new sources of income, which meant more work on a daily basis for the poorest women.
Women responded to the economic difficulties of the late 1980s and early 1990s by seeking out whatever income they could find, and many turned to petty marketing. The numbers of women vendors increased along curbs as well as in the formal market areas of the cities. One study estimated that over half of all households in Maputo had at least one member involved in trading, partly in response to the reduced monetary value of salaries in the formal sector (Little and Coloane 1992, 1, 8). Another study claimed that fifty-five to seventy-five percent of women in Maputo traded, although few of them could afford to pay rent for a cement stall in the formal market (Galli 1992). Researchers in Beira and Maputo commented that they rarely found women at home during the day, as they were constantly out working or looking for a way to earn an income. There was a noticeable shift in gender roles, as women began to work in the markets or other locations while men remained at home, unemployed (Hanlon 1996, 70-72; Torcato 1997; see Tripp 1992 for parallel Tanzanian information). Men sometimes voiced their concern that women would become too independent if they earned too much, although they appreciated the income women could contribute to the family budget.

Even when formal sector jobs were becoming scarce, men were four times as likely as women to hold a wage-paying job, while ninety-five percent of vegetable traders were women. During the late 1980s, most traders were located in the formal markets; but by the early 1990s, the numbers of traders selling from the curbsides had grown to three times those in the established markets, responding to the relaxation of governmental regulations and to the necessity to earn a living (Little and Coloane 1992, 1, 3, 8; Lachartre 2000, 188-89). That vending practice was called dumba nengue, which literally means "rely on your legs," implying that the vendor should be prepared to run away when police or other officials arrived to clear the streets. Many of the street vendors set themselves up with a small pile of tomatoes or chili peppers on a cloth, perched on a patch of ground adjacent to or inside the markets, although not in the stalls that required a license fee. They paid only a nominal fee to the city for the right to sell goods in vacant lots rather than the more expensive cement markets (Amaral 1989).

Market women were not a homogenous group but varied
according to whether or not they had a stall, what kinds of goods they sold, how they obtained those goods, and whether they worked on their own account or for others (Macheieie 1998). A study in Beira suggested that while “the overwhelming majority of street traders are women,” more men were entering market trading in the 1990s. Those men tended to sell non-perishable items such as sugar, cigarettes, clothing, and soap, while women both on the street and in market stalls sold vegetables, fruit, and dried fish (Billetoft 1998, 14). Some of the overhead costs incurred by traders included transport, license fees, and contributions to security and maintenance of the market. The group of traders who had the highest income were those who sold prepared food, and that group also claimed the most male traders (about one-third of the prepared food sellers were men in one 1992 survey). The street vendors in general were younger, more apt to be recent migrants to the city and less likely to belong to a revolving credit association. In general, the street sellers had a much lower income, as little as one-half the meager income earned by cement market traders. In some cases, these street traders organized to facilitate credit arrangements and to share common costs, thus improving their situation. In one example, traders at Ferrovíário market in Maputo requested and were granted permission to build a permanent market at the site where they had been selling in the open air (Little and Coloane 1992, 8-13, 18).

More often vendors appropriated available space, as I observed at Maquinino market in Beira in 1989, where a large field that had been empty in the early 1980s was filled with makeshift counters and mats where people sold consumer goods and produce. A similar arrangement was visible at Xipamanine market in Maputo, which was said to have over four thousand vendors (Little and Coloane 1992). But the informality was not always acceptable to authorities, who were concerned about sanitation and control over the dumba nengue vendors, and therefore periodically tried to move vendors off the streets and into established stalls.11 But in the formal markets the curbside sellers were seen as newcomers and could encounter resentment from the established traders, as was seen in 1991. That year, the city council voted to increase the rent for a stall in Maputo's cement markets, and the mainly female market vendors went on strike in protest. Their demonstration
included an assault on curbside dumba nengue sellers, who were characterized as encroaching on market vendors' territory without paying their fair share. The market vendors were successful in forcing the council to rescind the rent increase, an indication of their political clout and but also of the vulnerability of the poorest vendors ("Stallholders on Strike" 1991). The boundary between respectable market work and dishonorable selling was marked by space and status, as the poor women were set apart by the location of their sales and their inability to pay the market fees.

While sweeps were sometimes carried out with the aim of simply clearing the streets, one event that prompted police attention was a cholera epidemic in 1997 and 1998 that claimed hundreds of lives. The spread of the disease was traced in part to informal markets in Maputo and Beira, which were closed down as a health measure. Aurélio Zilhão, the Minister of Health, advocated closing the market sites, commenting: "There is not the slightest respect for hygiene in the informal trade in foodstuffs" ("Maputo's Cholera Epidemic Worse than in 1992"). He suggested that other factors contributing to the epidemic included the incursion of refugees from the Great Lakes area of central Africa, poor management by the local municipal governments which did not collect garbage regularly or provide clean water for urban neighborhoods, and flooding from the heavy rains that plagued southern Mozambique.

But the only group that was directly affected were the poor women selling food along the curbs, perhaps a more contemporary example of labeling and scapegoating of urban women who had crossed a boundary, selling food from illegal (but usually tolerated) curbside vending spots rather than in legal market stalls. It was difficult for the vendors, many of them women, to relocate and continue to earn money. They were given very little time to leave their established locations, and in cases where they did not comply with police orders, the market sites were forcibly closed ("Cholera Epidemic Continues to Kill"). As one woman who sold meals from an informal restaurant explained,

I know that bad sanitation conditions can bring cholera, but I need to survive. I've got a family of five and I need to feed them from this business. So I decided to restart, even without the government's permission ("Cholera: The New Enemy").
The women vendors faced a difficult choice between the meager earnings gained through street vending and the risk of spreading serious illness through selling food processed with contaminated water. They made a living on the streets and persisted in claiming their right to set up business where they could find buyers. They were not willing to close up shop or to move to government-sanctioned space where their customers could not find them.

Not all new immigrant women sold vegetables. Some could be found selling firewood, charcoal, and tins and bags of stones broken down to the size desired by people constructing buildings. Their work sometimes involved traveling outside of Maputo to Boane, where women dug the rocks out of the ground, transported them back to the city, and broke them up with hammers. In 1997 a tin of rocks sold for 30,000 meticais (then about US $3, reflecting further devaluation of Mozambique’s currency in the 1990s), and as competition increased the women were not able to make a living despite the hard work they performed (Mugabe 1997).

When families moved to urban areas from rural areas, they often experienced an alteration in family and kin relations. The difficult economic circumstances notwithstanding, one study found that women in newly-urban families could benefit from “the growth in social mobility, the limitation of the power of kin, and the tendency toward [smaller] families.” As women began to earn some income to support themselves and their families, their activity could “influence the creation of new spaces for women’s intervention” (Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Trust 1997, 112; also see Espeling 1999).

Women’s efforts to support their families continued to imprint the urban landscape as more of them turned to petty marketing, taking up sites along the city streets and setting out their piles of cabbage leaves, cans of rocks, and other items. They crossed boundaries establishing the appropriate locations for their work, and in some cases, they became involved in new organizations protecting their livelihood, whether in the formal markets or in vacant lots. As part of the ebb and flow of street life, their presence brought necessary goods to the urban populace while bringing in a small income for their own families and opening new arenas of activity for women.
Factory Work

Another arena of urban women's work was in factory labor, although only a small percentage of women ever found work in the few factories that were established. Nonetheless, women working in factories were a distinctly urban feature, and even for those women who were not hired in the factories, the possibility of doing that work was one of the reasons that rural women came to the cities. Beginning in the 1950s, many women in Lourenço Marques were finding work at the cashew processing factories, which became the most prominent site of female waged employment. In 1956 three-quarters of the 1 672 cashew factory employees in Lourenço Marques were women (Penvenne 1983, 149). From a different perspective, by 1958, 1 308 (63.4 percent) of the 2 176 employed women in Lourenço Marques worked at the cashew factory Caju Industrial (da Silva 1960, 56), so that most working women were in cashew factories, and most cashew factory workers were women.

Women working for a wage were developing new family configurations as well. In the 1940s, the majority of the women in Lourenço Marques were single heads of household supporting minor children (Penvenne 1983). In just one sector, the cashew industry in the 1950s, 1 127 out of 1 308 cashew workers “lived without a man,” and 883 of them had children. The common experience of single mothers working for a wage concerned officials, who saw the lack of husbands as a “grave social and moral problem” (da Silva 1960, 56). Women sometimes left children in the rural areas with relatives, but often they brought children with them to the urban center in search of work, and at times even worked at the cashew sorting tables with their infants tied on their backs. Authorities preferred women under the control of male kin, and women on their own violated the boundary of proper female behavior.

Although most of the female cashew workers were in Maputo, my own research was at the factory in Beira where I interviewed women in 1983 and 1984. The cashew factory in Beira opened in the waning years of colonialism in September 1972 and began hiring women immediately. The factory was marked by a strict gender division of labor. Men worked in the areas that relied on machinery, including the first stage of shelling which required
ovens, and the packaging sector where cans were welded shut. The women were hired in the sections dependent on hand labor, especially where they cleaned and sorted the nuts after the oven treatment. Men also predominated in all the auxiliary areas including maintenance, warehousing, laboratory, and all managerial positions with the exception of the woman who ran the child care center (Sheldon 2002, 66-69, has more detail on working conditions in the cashew industry).

Other industrial jobs were not open to women. Despite the common association of sewing with female labor in much of the world, women were a minority in the garment sector in Mozambique. In the years immediately following independence, women’s working conditions and opportunities met with significant improvements in some areas, as the pay system was improved in the cashew factories and women were hired in greater numbers at the garment factories. The women’s organization (OMM for Organização da Mulher Moçambicana) established cooperatives where women could learn to sew. Women who worked in the Cooperativa Emília Daíssse, a sewing cooperative organized in 1977 by OMM in Maputo, appreciated participating in what they termed “creative work” where they earned a salary and felt increased self esteem. A newspaper article in 1983 included photographs of women modeling a variety of dress styles developed at the cooperative, showcasing the advances possible for women (Torcato 1983). But that era was short-lived, and by the end of the 1980s the impact of structural adjustment meant that the OMM sewing cooperatives could not afford to pay salaries to all those who were cooperative members, and the costs of supplies such as cloth, thread, and sewing machines became prohibitive (Interview with Paulina Mateus, OMM Secretary-general, OMM headquarters, Maputo).

Women became involved in civic life through their work in the establishment of trade unions, which was focused in urban areas. Trade unionists had an abbreviated history in Mozambique, where unions were completely illegal until after 1975 and were not autonomous of the government until 1990. Beginning in the early 1980s, a number of unions were organized, for the most part affiliated with the national confederation of unions, OTM (Organização de Trabalhadores de Moçambique, Workers’ Organization of
Mozambique). The development of trade unions accelerated in the late 1980s, although membership remained around thirty percent of eligible workers in Maputo (43,600 members) (Schmid 1990, 203). Individual workers were members of the union at their workplace, and the unions affiliated with OTM.

The cashew workers established a union, SINTIC (Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Indústria do Caju, National Union of Cashew Industry Workers). Although the statutes included a reference to providing social and cultural support for members, there was nothing that specifically discussed women's special needs, such as establishing day care centers. Women were a tiny minority in trade unions, and even in the cashew industry that relied on women workers, it appeared that they played a small role in the union. Leaders in OTM continually discussed how to address women's issues and how to encourage women to join unions. In 1995 women and men involved in OTM organized a Working Women's Committee known as COMUTRA (Comitê das Mulheres Trabalhadoras), which was a coalition of the women's committees already existing in each OTM-affiliated union.

Members of OTM and other unions continued to debate issues related to women's trade union work. At a workshop in 1997 participants reported that women were being unjustly dismissed from their jobs if they were pregnant and that they were frequently victims of sexual harassment. By the late 1990s it appeared that an increasingly important factor in the disregard for working women's legal rights was the high rate of privatization. Companies that had honored women's rights under government ownership became anti-women when taken over by private owners (Mucavele 1997, 13; Castanheira 1997). Women added their voices to widespread dissatisfaction with the low level of a minimum wage increase that was introduced in 1998. Cesta Chiteleca, COMUTRA coordinator, commented that prices at markets in Mozambique would increase by far more than the wage increase of 13.5 percent. As part of the 1998 May 1st activities they "organized an exhibition of products made by women" to demonstrate the contributions women workers were making to the Mozambican economy.

But these efforts were overtaken by larger economic events as workers in factories suffered from job losses following the imple-
mentation of structural adjustment and other international economic initiatives. An instructive case study of the impact of World Bank policies on urban women can be seen in decisions made in the late 1990s about cashew exports (Hanlon 2000). Cashews had long been a major export and foreign exchange earner for Mozambique, with a high of 240,000 metric tons exported in the early 1970s. The impact of war, disrupted production, and aging trees meant that the level had plummeted to only 50,000 metric tons by the early 1990s, when the World Bank set a goal of exporting 100,000 metric tons. The cashew industry was privatized in 1994-95, following IMF structural adjustment guidelines, along with other industries that had experienced state intervention or that had been nationalized in previous decades.

In 1995 the World Bank decided that it was more efficient to remove trade protection by reducing the surtax on exports of raw cashews. The result was that it became more profitable for cashew traders to export raw nuts to India, rather than having them processed domestically. In the early 1990s, the cashew processing factories employed 10,000 to 12,000 women, representing an important source of income for many families in Maputo and other areas in Mozambique. One of the first factories to open in Maputo in the 1950, Caju de Chamanculo, had a workforce of 2,500 that was eighty percent female. When these tax and export changes resulted in the export of unprocessed nuts, the factories could not remain open; and those women, many the sole income-earners in their families, were out of work. The plight of these urban working women was not taken into consideration when the economic policies were formed.

Factory work could be viewed as the epitome of urban labor, and women who worked in factories, although a minority, were pushing back the boundaries of women's work. Yet they could not withstand the encroachment of global changes in the economy despite their efforts in women's and workers' organizations. Factory work had offered a way out of the confines of rural life and the seasonal round of agricultural labor, and women cashew workers were a vital part of the urban Mozambican experience, using their income to support their children and to establish themselves in the city. That history and those working women were disregarded as the socialist project was being dismantled in the 1990s.
Conclusion

Women's involvement in urban life in Mozambique has been multi-faceted, and "neither cities nor women remained unchanged once women settled in urban areas" (Sheldon 1996, 3). While some women found jobs and new desirable lives both in the colonial period and after independence, others faced immense obstacles and turned to prostitution or continued their arduous agricultural labor on city plots. African historians have drawn attention to the division between urban and rural African life, yet the persistence of women's agricultural labor served to blur those boundaries. In earlier urban studies, the attention paid to male workers had the effect of emphasizing an urban-rural dichotomy and of hiding the important activities of women that contributed to urbanization in Africa. Urban residents commonly experienced urbanization as a series of changes that incorporated rural practices in the urban milieu rather than as a sharp break with their rural past. Women's urban gardening is a clear indication of that process.

At the same time, urban women have interacted with city life in important new ways, laboring in factories, working as prostitutes, and selling food in the markets. Their political and social horizons widened as they became active in trade unions, cooperatives, and women's organizations. Urban life included women on the streets as they collected water for their households, women in the fields as they cultivated rice and sweet potatoes, women in the factories sorting cashews for export, and women on the curbs selling fruit and vegetables. They constantly crossed boundaries into new work and new lifestyles, making their presence known on city streets and in urban neighborhoods.

Notes


2 AHM, SNI, Sec. A, Administração, A/5/1, file titled "Emprego de Mulheres Indígenas na Cantinas na Venda de Bebidas ou Outras Artigas," 1915-1916. This citation is from a letter from the police, 18 October 1915, with a reply from Native Affairs, 21 February 1916. There are a number of subsequent letters concerning this issue. See also Zamparoni (1998).
3 AHM, SNI, Sec. A, Administração, A/5/1, "Emprego de Mulheres Indígenas na Cantinas na Venda de Bebidas ou Outras Artigas," 1915-1916, letter from the police to Native Affairs, 17 May 1918. The file includes a set of letters verifying the marital status of women working in the shops and a list of shop owners, many of them with Chinese or Indian / Asian surnames.


6 "Vamos acabar com a prostituição," Tempo 237 (20 April 1975); see also "Para onde foram as prostitutas?" Tempo 256 (31 August 1975): 27-29.


8 "Prostitutas sem prostitutos?" Diário de Moçambique 10 August 1983 asked why women were being victimized but not the men who patronized them; see also "Prostituição: Uma questão complexa," Diário de Moçambique 20 August 1983.


10 My observations and field notes. Some prices began to rise after prices were liberalized in 1985 (Uaene 1985).


13 "Comité da Mulher Será Criado em Março," Notícias 5 December 1995: 6; Fundação Friedrich Ebert, Movimento Sindical em Moçambique, 57-79;

14 "Working Women's Committee Adds Their Protest to Low Minimum Wage Increase," Mozambique News Online 20 [6 May 1998].

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