

Jeanne Marie Penvenne

WOMEN, MIGRATION & THE CASHEW ECONOMY IN SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE 1945–1975



Women, Migration & the Cashew Economy in Southern Mozambique

Women, Migration & the Cashew Economy in Southern Mozambique 1945–1975

Jeanne Marie Penvenne

*Department of History
Tufts University*

James Currey
is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF (GB)
www.jamescurrey.com

and of

Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620-2731 (US)
www.boydellandbrewer.com

© Jeanne Marie Penvenne 2015
First published 2015

The right of Jeanne Marie Penvenne to be identified as
the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with
sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation
no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system,
published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted,
recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for
external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that
any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-84701-128-2 (James Currey cloth)

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Até que enfim

to

The cashew shellers of Tarana
with admiration and in solidarity

to

Norman Robert Bennett
John Norman Bennett
& Louis Penvenne Bennett
for your patience and loving support

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>Glossary</i>	xvii

Introduction	1
---------------------	---

Mozambican women and the cashew economy	1
Historical context	4
The cashew economy and the cashew shellers	11
The people and the place	13
The process	20
The challenges of women's history and orality	25
History, memory and statist narratives	27
Structure and arguments	34

1 A Century of Contestation around Cashews	42
---	----

From first fruits to Tarana	42
Cashew anatomy: Apples, nuts, kernels and liquid toxins	45
Southern Mozambique's cashew orchard	48
Cashews in the context of family agriculture	50
<i>Sul do Save</i> women and cashew trees	53
The rituals and business of summertime drinking	55
Brewing and social capital: Household, gift and informal economies	59
Cashews in the formal economy: Export and industrial processing	62
The industrialization of cashew shelling	65
African farmers and cashew sales	73
The cashew economy: Expertise, policy and practice	75

2 Tarana	
<i>History from the Factory Floor</i>	80
Layered stories	80
Tarana: The hoe of the city	83
Industrial woman comes to town	90
Mapping Tarana: From <i>djamangwana</i> to <i>tinumerini</i>	92
Relations of production: Names and address on the factory floor	95
Tharani's era: From satellites to Chamanculo	97
'We counted for something': Papa Tarana remembered	100
The BNU Era: Roquette and <i>Malalanyana</i>	105
The bonus / quota system: 'Nothing but trouble'	111
Contrasting perspectives on price, pay, policy and production	116
3 Migration	
<i>Pathways from Poverty to Tarana</i>	121
Gendered rural migration: Natives and agency in late colonial Mozambique	124
Raced and gendered labour control concepts	126
The women in men's migration: <i>Magaiça</i> , <i>n'wamacholo</i> and <i>n'wasalela</i>	131
Rural women without men: Layered ironies of the Limpopo scheme	136
Mátchiuassane Boa takes matters into her own hands	141
Men in women's migration: 'Go to Tarana! You will forget your suffering!'	142
Death and misfortune	144
The solidarity of siblings and <i>hahánis</i>	149
4 Lives around Livelihoods	
<i>'Children Are Not Like Chickens'</i>	155
Childcare dilemmas	155
Leveraging discounted wages: <i>Vales</i> , <i>chitikis</i> and <i>biscates</i>	159
Resilient and collaborative households	163
Joana Tinga Chilaule: '...Someone had to look after those children'	164
Raquelina Machava: 'Our mothers suffered to hold together their marriage'	166
Poverty, humiliation and isolation	168
Seeking gendered perspectives through song	170
'Agostinho, my husband. Oh Mother!'	172

5 African Urban Families in the Late Colonial Era	
<i>Agency</i>	180
Drawing out the black city from projections of the white city	181
Interface of cement and <i>Canico</i>	186
Changing employment profiles: Housework and domestic service	190
Cashew shellers in context	195
Families, fertility and poverty	199
Urban family forms	202
Conclusions	
<i>Gendered Perspectives on Work, Households and Authority</i>	210
The value and visibility of women's work	210
History and memory: Narrating a new respectability	213
Epilogue	
<i>Mozambique's Cashew Economy, 1975 to 2014</i>	217
The Decline of Mozambique's cashew economy: Weather and war	219
Producers, processors and struggles around policy, 1975–2014	221
The World Bank debacle	223
Cashew initiatives since 2000: North and south	226
Gender, markets and complex contexts	230
Sources and Bibliography	
<i>Primary Sources:</i>	
Oral history narrators	232
Archives	237
Unpublished documents, reports and theses	237
Press	240
Published documents	241
<i>Secondary sources:</i>	
Published books, articles, essays in edited collections	242
<i>Index</i>	265

List of Illustrations

Maps

1	Southern Africa, 1974	5
2	Late colonial Mozambique, 1974	6
3	Cashew orchard conditions for export, harvest of 1971–1972	76
4	Lourenço Marques neighbourhoods, 1974	81

Graphs

1	Raw cashew nut exports 1937–1974	64
2	Cashew kernels exports, 1955–1974	72
3	Cashew kernels and CNSL exports, 1955–1974	72
4	Cashew nuts exported, 1970–1984	74
5	Cashew kernels exported, 1975–1984	74
6	Trend in area and production of raw cashew nuts, 1961–2013	222

Figures

1	Jiva Jamal Tharani, c. 1945, founder of Cajú Indústrial de Moçambique	12
2	Cashew shellers Rosalina Tembe and Raquelina Machava, 1993	13
3	Joaquina Boane Machava, research assistant, 1993	23
4	Xiconhoca and Pita, Frelimo didactic cartoon, 1977	31
5	Cashew apple with nut [<i>anacardium occidentale</i>]	46
6	Cashew sheller Rosa Joaquim Tembe, 1993	83
7	<i>Djamangwana</i> , vernacular name for the shelling and peeling section of Cajú Indústrial de Moçambique	94
8	Cashew sheller Cristina Miambu, 1993	157

Acknowledgements

I am deeply embarrassed that it has taken so long for this book to appear in print. I postponed writing up this research in order to diversify my dossier for a tenure and promotion review at Tufts University. It worked. Transcription, translation and analysis of oral narratives in three languages take a lot of time. Research, writing, and rewriting at a glacial pace is unfortunately what I do. Thank you for your patience. I have accrued a great many debts. I hope that the people who helped me a great deal and whose names I forget to include below will forgive me.

The first and most important acknowledgment is to the workers, staff and administration of Cajú Industrial de Moçambique. More than a hundred people from throughout the Chamanculo and Machava cashew shelling factories took this project seriously. They shared their own thoughts and memories, and listened intently to others. Their words and faces have lived with me throughout this process, helping me refocus and try to get it right. I obviously do not pretend to speak for the women and men of Cajú Industrial. They spoke for themselves and their taped words are available in the *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*. They taught me a great deal. I tried to share that in this book. I am also sure I misunderstood things they tried to convey, and I am grateful for their patience. I hope this effort honors their time and words.

The generous funding I received from the Fulbright Regional Research Award (1992–1993), Fulbright Scholar-Lecturer Award (2004–2005), U.S. Speaker and Specialist Award (1998), Gulbenkian Foundation International Fellowship (1993), and Tufts Faculty Research Awards (1995, 1996, 2008) was thanks to the efforts of wonderful colleagues who wrote endless references and authorized funds to support my research program: Sara Berry, Frederick Cooper, Allen Isaacman, James McCann, Jean Hay, the late Gerald R. Gill, Howard Malchow, Leila Fawaz, Sugata Bose, David Northrup, Kevin Dunn, and Laura Walters. Thank you for believing that my efforts might amount to something. The late Leroy Vail was one of my sharpest critics and most loyal supporters. His ability to draw connections among archival, text, song and interview perspectives, and to keep competing narratives in play provides a high standard for us all.

All of the Fulbright and USIA grants were awarded through the Council for International Exchange of Scholars and administered through the United States Information Agency and the Public Affairs Office of the United States Embassy in Maputo. Special thanks to Harriet McGuire, David Ballard, Edward Kemp, their families and the truly wonderful professional staff at the Public Affairs Office.

Many people made the oral research project at the core of this book possible, beginning with my Portuguese, Zulu, Changana and Ronga language teachers: Katherine Demuth at Boston University, Aurélio Simango and Bento Siteo of the Department of Modern Letters at UEM. Bento Siteo has unfailingly responded to queries about Changana and Ronga words. I secured research authorization for both the cashew shelling and tobacco processing industries with help from José Mateus Katupha, and Arlindo Lopes. They introduced me to the then Secretary of State for Cashews, Juliano Saranga, who authorized the project. Filipe Guambe guided me through the Chamanculo and Machava plants, providing introductions to the factory administration. They all made the cashew factory oral history project possible. Devica Nystedt provided an introduction to George Tsilhakis, proprietor of Sociedade Agrícola de Tabacos [SAT], who generously hosted an interview session with a group of SAT retirees.

Bento Siteo introduced me to Joaquina Boane Machava who worked with me from January to August 1993 as a research assistant, interpreter and transcriber in Changana and Ronga. I discuss our working relationship in more detail in the introduction. Joaquina Machava's sunny spirit, quick wit, transparency and deep humanity set the tone for our relationships with everyone we encountered. We laughed a lot, cried sometimes, and truly enjoyed working as a team.

My archival work was shaped by the generosity and competence of the staff of the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique [AHM]. The late Director Maria Inêz Nogueira da Costa, graciously allowed me access to the archive's largely un-cataloged warehouse in the lower city. António Sopa guided me through published newspapers, periodicals, business journals, archival correspondence, documents and especially photographs. He is simply a national treasure. Since Joel das Neves Tembe succeeded as Archive Director, he and his team have unfailingly supported my work. I appreciate the professionalism and warmth I always associate with AHM leadership and staff.

Manuel Araújo, then Director of the Faculty of Letters, and the staff and colleagues at the Department of History and Centro de Estudos Africanos [CEA] at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane [UEM], Arquivo de Património Cultural and Universidade Pedagógica all shared their work and gave critical consideration to my research proposal and incremental publications. Thanks to Bento Siteo, Arlindo Lopes, Joel das Neves Tembe, David Hedges, Amélia Neves de Souto, Carlos Serra, Arlindo Chilundo, Aurélio Rocha, Luís Covane, Benigna Zimba,

Gerhard Liesegang, João Paulo Borges Coelho, Mário Chitaúte Cumbe, Adriana Cândida Biosse de Caifaz, Vitorino Sambo, Olga Iglesias das Neves, Denise Malauene, Fatima Mendonça, Matteu Angius, Sidney Bliss, José Fialho Feliciano, Ana Maria Gentili, Yussuf Adam and Alexandrino José. Women's history has been pioneered at the CEA, Núcleo de Género and the Women and the Law in Southern African Project [WLSA], Muleide and Forum Mulher. I am especially grateful to Teresa Cruz e Silva, Ana Maria Loforte, Isabel Casimiro, Valdemir Zamparoni, Eulália Tembe and Terezinha da Silva for sharing sources and discussions about their work on gender. Alpheus Manghezi generously encouraged me to use his unpublished work. David Hedges, Alda Saúte Saide and Joaquim Saide repeatedly and generously critiqued my work, made difficult translations and shared sources.

Scores of colleagues have supported me with materials, critical discussions and friendship. Kathleen Sheldon's critiques and materials were essential as were Signe Arnfred's unpublished materials. I thank David Morton for sharing an unpublished report that he painstakingly photographed. Tufts University students, staff and colleagues from History, Women's Studies, International Relations, and Africa in the New World, the African Studies Center, Boston University, and the Lusophone African Studies Organization of the African Studies Association all supported my work. It is a pleasure to thank colleagues for their enduring support: Joseph Miller, David Birmingham, Landeg and Alice White, Sherilynn Young, Anne Pitcher, Derek Peterson, Rosemary Galli, Ayesha Jalal, Randall Packard, Eric Allina, Maurine Flanagan, James Armstrong, Heidi Gengenbach, Pauline Peters, Kenneth Wilson, William Minter, Michel Cahen, Didier Péclard, Eric Morier-Genoud, Patrick Harries, Joana Pereira Leite, Hermínia Manuense, Nuno Miguel Rodrigues Domingos, Edward Alpers, Steven Lubkemann, Nazneen Kanji, the late José Soares Martins, Modhumita Roy, Rosalind Shaw, Pearl Robinson, Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Sol Gittleman, Angela Raven-Roberts, Astier Almedom, Karen Jacobsen, Leila Fawaz, Sonia Hofkosh, Elizabeth Remick, Laura Walters, Regina Raboin, the staff at Tisch Digital Design Studio, Annette Lazzara, Lori Piracini and my wonderful new cohort of young historians at Tufts.

The late Mucove Joaquim Cossa took care of our family for fifteen months. We loved him and miss him. Many people, including those already mentioned, extended themselves on our behalf during every trip, and it is all too little to thank them: J. Michael Turner, George and Susan Jenkins, João Paulo Borges Coelho, Maria Manuel Rodrigues Seno, Teresa and Jacinto Veloso, Bento Siteo, Alzira Machanga, and the late Gabriela Mukavele, Rita and Arlindo Lopes, Joaquina Ferreira da Silva, the late José Soares Martins, Mateu and Fernanda Angius, Manoela and Joel das Neves Tembe, Benigna Zimba and Gilberto Cossa, Lara and Renato Carilho, Patrocínio and Lucia da Silva, António Sopa, Amélia and Luis Souto, Nadja and Alpheus Manghezi, the Katupha

family. When we had a crisis in Maputo many people came to our rescue. Alda Saúte, Joaquim Saide, Teresa Cruz e Silva, Humberto Coimbra, Manuel Araújo, Terezinha da Silva, David Hedges and Sophia Beal were excellent friends, neighbours and colleagues. I especially miss the jingling of keys and fresh-caught fish cooked amidst laughter!

Nancy Warner, Eileen Penvenne, Perry Penvenne and their families supported my work always. My aunt and uncle, Eileen Shugg and the late Tillar Shugg, took excellent care of our sons John and Louis. That enormous gift can have no adequate thanks. Our sons have since added wonderful people to our lives: Shauna Sadowski, Simrin Parmar, Mika Sage Sadowski Bennett and Kavi Norman-Singh Bennett. I shared this project from the start with Norman Robert Bennett, John Norman Bennett, and Louis Penvenne Bennett. We learned together, laughed a lot, argued loudly when necessary and inspired one another always. Of all the miracles I count on, the most important is having my beloved family in my life.

Finally, the publishers and I are grateful to all the institutions and individuals listed for permission to reproduce the materials in which they hold copyright. Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders; apologies are offered for any omission, and the publishers will be pleased to add any necessary acknowledgement in subsequent editions.

Jeanne Marie Penvenne
Tufts University & Duxbury MA

Abbreviations

ACLM	Administração de Concelho de Lourenço Marques
AHM	Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique
AHR	American Historical Review
AIA	Agribusiness Industries Association
AICAJU	Associação de Industria de Cajú
ASR	African Studies Review
BNU	Banco Nacional Ultramarino
BSEM	Boletim da Sociedade de Estudos de Moçambique
CEA	Centro de Estudos Africanos, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
CEP	Centro de Estudos de População
CIM/M	Cajú Industrial de Moçambique in Machava
CJAS	Canadian Journal of African Studies
CMM	Câmara Municipal de Maputo
CNCDP	Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
CNSL	Cashew Nut Shell Liquid
Cx	Caixa – Box
DGS	Direcção Geral de Segurança, formerly PIDE
DPAC	Direcção Provincial de Administração Civil
DPCCN	Departamento de Prevenção e Combate as Calamidades Naturais
FGG	Fundo do Governor Geral
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IJAHS	International Journal of African Historical Studies
ILO	International Labour Office
INCAJU	Instituto de Fomento do Cajú
Inh	Inhambane
ISANI	Inspecção dos Serviços Administrativos e dos Negócios Indígenas
JAH	Journal of African History
JAPA	Junta Autónomo do Povoamento de Baixo Limpopo
JSAS	Journal of Southern African Studies
LM	Lourenço Marques

MRLS	Mozambique Rural Labour Market Survey
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana
OT	Oral Testimony
PAM	Posto Administrativo de Munhuana
PIDE	Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado, later DGS
PNG	Personal Narratives Group
R/ Cx	Uncatalogued Red Box
RCNI	Repartição Central de Negócios Indígenas
RIEA	Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos
ROAPE	Review of African Political Economy
RTE	Repartição Técnica de Estatística
SAT	Sociedade Agrícola e Tabacos
SINTIC	Sindicato Nacional dos Trabalhadores da Indústria do Cajú
SPSS	Soft Programming for the Social Sciences
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
USACLM	American Consul General, Lourenço Marques, Mozambique
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WLSA	Women and the Law in Southern Africa
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

Glossary

Acção Social	Colonial era social work agency in Mozambique
Amancebado	Living as lovers or in common law marriage
Amêndoa	Cashew almond or kernel
Arrumar	Literally to clean up, commonly to set aside the day's shelling efforts to fulfill a daily quota the next day
Assimilado / a	People of African heritage considered citizens in colonial era
Bairro / bairros (pl)	Neighbourhoods
Bairros de caniço	Urban neighbourhoods where housing had to be built from impermanent materials
Bebidas cafreais	Literally kaffir drinks, home brewed or distilled alcoholic drinks
Biscate	Odd jobs, petty sales and services
Brincadeira / Brincadeiras	Literally 'little games' but generically foolishness, also sexual intrigues or harassment
Cajú	Literally cashew, vernacular for the cashew industry and factory
Cajueiro	Cashew tree, <i>anacardium occidentale</i>
Caníço	Reeds used in home construction, vernacular for bairros de caniço
Cantina	Small dry goods shop often combination bar / shop / rooms
Cantinho	Shopkeeper / Barkeeper
Capulana	Multi-use length of cloth worn by women as a skirt wrap or shoulder shawl or used to secure a child on one's back
Castanha	Whole unshelled cashew nut
Chitiki	Rotating savings system
Colono	Portuguese settler in Mozambique
Criado / a Djamangwana	Person working general domestic service Literally 'difficult', vernacular for shelling and peeling sections of the industry and for

	political prisoners and prison where they were held in Machava
Dono / a da casa	Literally 'master' or 'mistress' of the house, husband or wife'
Épocha de Ucanhé	Season of ritual first fruits and accompanying drinking
Escudo / Escudos	Portuguese currency in Mozambique from 1911 to 1980
Haháni	Paternal aunt, the father's sister whose bridewealth accrued to his marriage in patrilineal southern Mozambique
Indígena	Literally native, colonial subject, non-citizen
Indigenato	Body of laws that applied to persons considered indígenas and subjected them to special taxes and controls
Ku thekela	To call in social debt for food in time of famine / difficulty
Kwakwanana	Literally 'rush rush', vernacular for brusque, undignified treatment by Native Affairs personnel
Lar	Hearth, conjugal home
Lobolo	Bridewealth paid by husband's family to wife's family
Machamba	Garden plot
Magaiça	Mozambican man who returns to Mozambique from employment in South Africa, historically in the mines
Malalanyana	Literally 'skinny one', nickname for A. H. Ferraz de Freitas
Mamamele	One who walks quietly like a cat, nickname for Roquette
Mamana	Mother, polite form of address for adult woman
Mamparra magaiça	Alternatively mambarha gayisa, magaiça who squandered wages before returning home
Marcar	To mark a cashew shelling quota sheet as complete for payment
Mathlothlomana	Unending chaos, vernacular for brothels and the areas of town with brothels
Matrikin	People related through one's mother
Mestiço / a	People born of multiple heritages
Metical / meticais (pl)	Mozambican currency, replaced Escudo in 1980
Milando	Disputes, often around bridewealth or claims on women and children

Monhês	Vernacular for South Asians especially Muslims
Mudahomu	A ritual herb necessary to settle disputes
Mugwaza	Volunteer paid labour, but could elide into forced labour if employers were short of labour, especially for women and children
Mulher sem dono	Woman living outside the authorization / care of a man
N'wamafasitela	Literally 'the man who wears glasses', nickname for Duarte Eduardo da Silva
N'wamagange	Literally 'the man who wears blue jeans', nickname for Bardin da Silva
N'wacholo	Literally 'old boys', vernacular for men who were repeatedly seized for forced labour
N'wasalela	Literally 'person who remains behind', vernacular for a man wealthy enough not to have to migrate for wages
Palmatório	Portuguese instrument for punishment, paddle with holes used to beat the palms of hands, buttocks, breasts
Pancada de graça	Literally 'a gratuitous beating', vernacular for domestic violence
Pombe	Home brewed maize beer
Quintal	Backyard, enclosed area around home
Sul do Save	Southern Mozambique, South of Save River
Tarana	Vernacular for Jiva Jamal Tharani and his factory
Tinumerini	Vernacular for people who could count
Uputsu	Home brewed maize beer
Vale	A debt chit from a shopkeeper
Wusiwana	Ordinary poverty
Xaniseká	Poverty that creates great suffering
Xawani vamamana	Respectful greeting of adult women
Xibalu	Alternative spellings, forced labour, poorly paid labour
Xicaju	Cashew based alcoholic drinks
Xicalamidade	Used clothing, used goods, divorcee or widow
Xiculungo	Socially isolated, very poor person
Xidanguane	One who lives by the sale of home made cashew alcohol
Xilunguine	Lourenço Marques, place of the whites
Xipswahla	Native Affairs Office in Munhuana
Xungwa	Woman who lives alone, suggests promiscuity / prostitution
Zaunzwanas	Gossips and rumour-mongers

Introduction

Mozambican women and the cashew economy

In the early 1970s at the close of its colonial era, Mozambique was a global leader in cashew production. The Portuguese colony's cashew processing industry was inaugurated in the 1950s and by the 1970s it accounted for the largest share of the world's production of raw cashew nuts and the country's foreign exchange earnings. The cashew economy was big and important. At almost every stage, from planting to exporting cashews, the industry rested fundamentally on the work of Mozambican women. The women who sustained the factories of the emergent cashew industry put aside their usual work implement, the hoe they used to till their family fields, to embrace what they called 'the hoe of the city'. Celeste Mpandane explained: '*Axikomu xa lomu i kutihra* – The hoe of the city is a job.'¹ Jobs for women in Mozambique's cashew shelling factories became a beacon; fueling urban migration by Southern Mozambican women who wanted or needed to turn in their field hoe for a job. Although it is irrefutably true that the entire cashew processing industry depended upon the labour of African women, the raft of colonial era press, scientific and business literature about the promising industry made virtually no mention of the labour force in this labour intensive industry, and the handful of articles that mentioned the women portrayed them as a constraint on production rather than the backbone of the industry. This is the history of the most successful industry in the late colonial era. It was reconstructed through an extensive oral history project anchored among three generations of women who comprised the great majority of the cashew industry's workforce from the late 1940s through to independence in 1975. It also draws touchstone concepts from four popular songs performed by women of Southern Mozambique. Each song captures themes and images that run through narratives and the following chapters.

The colonial era's print media may have failed to acknowledge Mozambican women when charting the spectacular growth of the era's signature cashew industry, but the women whose narratives

¹ OT, Celeste Marcos Mpandane, 26 May 1993.

comprise the basis of this study claimed their due. Rosa Joaquim Tembe was among the original cohort of workers at what became the colony's largest cashew processing factory, Cajú Industrial de Moçambique, in the Chamanculo neighbourhood of Mozambique's capital city, Lourenço Marques. After independence the city was renamed Maputo.² Tembe spoke for her cohort and subsequent generations of cashew shellers when she claimed: 'We worked hard for this factory. It grew from our strength.'³ In one way or another the women's narratives highlighted their contribution to the founding, growth and endurance of Mozambique's cashew economy. Their oral testimony revealed a great deal about the industry, the people and power relationships of life on the Chamanculo factory floor and also about migration and life in the African neighbourhoods of the late colonial capital city. They recounted the many paths that led women from the countryside to the cashew shelling factories. They explained their determination to make a life and livelihood in Lourenço Marques, and in so doing provided nuanced understandings of urban family formations, quotidian rhythms and women's strategies around housing, subsistence, partnerships and children. Their narratives and songs insist that women's perspectives are co-normative with men's. They comprise a treasury of complex and contrasting stories, and a window into the quite different ways women and men experienced and explained migration, factory labour, and urban living in the late colonial era.⁴ They fill a big gap.

The oral history narratives at the heart of the study capture a great deal of important information, but they also have a very important bias – they are the stories of those who survived working in the toxic and dangerous cashew shelling industry. The people who shared their recollections with this project included those who were barely surviving, those who were flourishing and many in-between, but if the historical actors here seem disproportionately strong, it is because they were. We did not hear from the thousands of women who 'couldn't take it,' and left.⁵

Mozambican women played an integral role in all aspects of the colony's developing cashew economy. Women planted, tended and harvested cashew trees to sell the fruit and nuts to wholesalers. They

² This study retains the colonial era name, Lourenço Marques.

³ OT, Rosa Joaquim Tembe, 2 June 1993.

⁴ As detailed below, many scholars highlight the different ways women and men explain the past. Jan Bender Shetler, *Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); Jan Bender Shetler, 'The Gendered Spaces of Historical Knowledge: Women's Knowledge and Extraordinary Women in the Serengeti District, Tanzania', *International Journal of African Historical Studies [IJAHHS]*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2003): 283–307; Nancy Rose Hunt, 'Introduction', *Gender & History*, 8, 3 (Nov. 1996): 323–37; Nancy Rose Hunt, 'Placing Women's History and Locating Gender', *Social History*, 14 (1989): 359–79.

⁵ As detailed in Chapter 2, 'Couldn't take it' was the phrase most women used to explain why some left their jobs in the cashew factory and others did not. OT, group of retirees, 2 June 1993; OT, Ester Tafula, 3 June 1993.

processed the fruits and nuts into food and drink for consumption in the household and gift economies and sold them in the informal economy. Finally, they were the core labour force for industrial cashew processing. Although the women's narratives focus on the industrialization of cashew shelling and life on the factory floor, they also shed light on the broader economy of cashew alcohol and food, on regional migration patterns and urban African social and economic history. The introduction sketches the appropriate historical context, explains the research methods and suggests how these findings and interpretations enhance contemporary scholarly literature. It seeds the main arguments and previews their location in the subsequent chapter order.

Women's knowledge and core concerns about factory production and urban life de-centre the essentially androcentric narrative of colonial labour history. That narrative inadequately embraces the pervasive and foundational contributions of women, and reproduces analyses that obscure women's historical contributions.⁶ Women's experiences and explanations explicitly conflated their participation, social claims and obligations across the home, gift, informal, and formal economies, highlighting the need for an analysis that allows historians to see connectivity and overcome artificial divisions that weight male dominated sectors of the economy over those populated by women and children. The discourses of first and second-generation migrants delightfully imbricated images from rural and urban, formal and informal, household and factory.⁷

Women ordinarily developed resources, invested and staked claims in multiple family lineages and social networks in ways that scholars still neglect and misinterpret rather than anticipate and assess. Although the great majority of women who shared their experiences lived in societies accurately described as patrilineal, patriarchal and virilocal and upon marriage, most women moved from the lands and from the control of the appropriate people in their father's home to the lands and the control of the appropriate people in their husband's home, they did not then relinquish or cease making claims on resources in their father's or mother's lineages and lands upon marriage. The great range of urban and rural household and family forms that women developed suggests the need to test embedded assumptions about the superiority of and preference for some household and family forms over others. Scholarly literature often portrays women headed households, common-law marriage and polygyny as disadvantageous for women, but many women explained the advantages and disadvantages they experienced in these and other forms.

⁶ That was certainly true of my earlier work, Jeanne Marie Penvenne, *African Workers and Colonial Racism: Mozambican Strategies for Survival in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1877–1962* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995); Jeanne Marie Penvenne, *Trabalhadores de Lourenço Marques, 1870–1974* (Maputo: AHM, 1993).

⁷ OT, Celeste Marcos Mpandane, 26 May 1993; OT, Rabeca Notião, 24 May 1993.

Finally, historical analysis of labour migration and urban labour that is grounded in the wholeness and connectivity of women's experiences and explanations, must open the field for women's agency and interrogate the utility of the gendered and hierarchical distinctions drawn among formal, informal, gift and household economies.⁸ This is particularly important for the cashew economy. The formal sector industrialization of cashew shelling and cashew by-products and the export of unprocessed cashew nuts generated foreign exchange and were charted in government statistics, but throughout Mozambique, cashews and cashew based drinks were important seasonal staples in the household, gift and informal economy, but were not understood or valued in the same way. These components were an integral part of the overall cashew economy. Women's broad and important contributions are only fully revealed when Mozambique's economy and society are treated as whole cloth. The important work women do is eclipsed if the focus is limited to the formal economy, or even the formal and informal economies. This is an effort to broaden the lens.

Historical context

This section provides the briefest historical context for Mozambique in Southern Africa, and as a colony of Portugal.⁹ Portugal and its African colonies (Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé, Príncipe and Cabo Verde) were broadly engaged in colonial, regional and international relationships and tensions in the twentieth century. Mozambique's late colonial era, 1945 to 1975, was shaped by many factors, but four were particularly important: Portugal's authoritarian New State regime and its strategy of sponsored white settlement of her mainland African colonies; neighbouring South Africa's capacity to draw migrant labour from the southern African region into employment in its mining, agricultural and manufacturing sectors; South Africa's engineering of white minority rule at home and its support for white minority regimes in the region, including Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Namibia; and finally, the Cold War's shadow over this strategically and economically important southern African region. Although political control, economic domination, mineral and resource wealth were quite uneven, the southern African region clearly featured authoritarian white rule and the development of resources to profit colonial and minority populations at the expense of the majority African population.

⁸ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza brought attention to many of these dynamics in 'Gender Biases in African Historiography', in Ayesha M. Imam, Amina Mama, Fatou Sow, eds, *Engendering African Social Sciences* (Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series, 1997): 81–115.

⁹ Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); Malyn Newitt, 'The Late Colonial State in Portuguese Africa,' *Itinerário*, 23, 3/4 (1999): 110–22.



Map 1 Southern Africa, 1974
(Based on maps-africa.blogspot.com)



Map 2 Late Colonial Mozambique
(Based on David Birmingham and Phyllis Martin *History of Central Africa: The Contemporary Years* (Longman, 1998), 230)

In the wake of World War Two, when Britain, France and Belgium began to transition away from colonial over-rule, Portugal's so-called New State regime (1930s to 1974), under António Salazar (to 1968) and Marcello Caetano (1968–1974), perversely committed itself to state-sponsored white settlement in Angola and Mozambique.¹⁰ Despite the intransigence of Portugal's political exclusion and economic exploitation of the African majority, her investment in Mozambique's economic growth and diversification in the closing decades of the colonial era provided increasing employment for Africans and white Portuguese alike. State and private investment in import substitution industries for the growing settler market and agricultural processing for the national and export markets opened more and better jobs. When the New State opened investment to international companies in the 1960s, in part to court support for Portugal's continuing colonial rule in Africa, some of those companies pushed for a more settled, better qualified, higher paid majority workforce.¹¹ The New State's bureaucracy aspired to place white Portuguese in the most attractive positions, and thereby antagonized educated and skilled black Mozambicans.¹² Africans comprised the rank and file workforce in the new processing and manufacturing jobs in Lourenço Marques and its suburbs.

Portugal's investment in Mozambique's infrastructure and opening to international and national expansion of processing industries took place in tandem with South Africa's reconfiguration of migrant to local labour in its mining and other employment sectors. From 1900 to 1970 between 60 to 80 per cent of South Africa's mine labour force was comprised of international migrants. In the early twentieth century men from Southern Mozambique made up as much as 70 per cent of the

¹⁰ Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens para a África Portuguesa: O Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com Naturais da Metrópole (c. 1920–1974)*. PhD thesis (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2005); Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen, eds, *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Valentim Alexandre, 'The Colonial Empire,' in António Costa Pinto, ed. *Modern Portugal* (Palo Alto, CA: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1998): 41–59; Jeanne Marie Penvenne, 'Settling against the Tide: The Layered Contradictions of Twentieth Century Portuguese Settlement in Mozambique', in Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, eds, *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices and Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2005): 79–94.

¹¹ Newitt, 'The Late Colonial State,' 110–22; Michel Cahen, 'Corporatisme et Colonialisme – Approche du Cas Mozambicain, 1933 –1979,' [Part I, 'Une Genèse difficile, um Mouvement Squelettique,' Part II, 'Crise et Survivance du Corporatisme Colonial 1960–1979,'] *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 92 (1983): 383–417 and 93 (1984): 5–24; 'Annual Economic Report' and 'Annual Labor Report' [titles vary] from the US Consular Office in Lourenço Marques from the 1940s to the early 1970s make this clear. Many are available in the collections 'Documents concerning Labor and Economic Conditions in Mozambique from 1951 to 1963,' and 'Documents concerning Labor and Economic Conditions in Mozambique from 1964 to 1974' obtained from the Department of State through the Freedom of Information Staff, Bureau of Public Affairs, US Department of State, bound and held at Boston University's African Studies Library.

¹² The implications of white settlement on black workers is discussed in Jeanne Penvenne, 'Here Everyone Walked with Fear': The Mozambican Labor System and the Workers of Lourenço Marques, 1945–1962', in Frederick Cooper, ed. *Struggle for the City: Migrant Labor, Capital and the State* (Berkeley: Sage, 1983): 131–66 and 'Settling against the Tide'.

total. By the late 1920s the percentage of Mozambicans had dropped to the forties, and after World War Two, they were around a quarter of the total, but even at that percentage we are still talking about over 100,000 men. South Africa increasingly recruited from Lesotho and eventually more South African men took jobs in the mines. As opportunities for employment in South Africa diminished in the 1960s and 1970s, Mozambican men looked to jobs in Lourenço Marques. Women had never been recruited for jobs in South Africa, but Mozambican women also increasingly sought waged labour in the capital city's newly diversified manufacturing and processing plants, particularly in agricultural processing, textiles and garments. These economic shifts fueled and were fueled by the drive for political change.

Portugal's authoritarian New State did not tolerate political contestation in the metropole or colonies. Mozambicans and Portuguese ultimately mobilized political and military support to challenge colonial rule. In 1962 the group of Mozambican insurgents who emerged from contestation for leadership named themselves the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, and became known by the acronym FRELIMO.¹³ FRELIMO organized bases in Tanzania and launched an armed insurgency into Northern Mozambique in 1964. Portugal's counter-insurgency strategy required greatly expanding the transportation and communication infrastructure. As was the case with Portugal's economic investments, most new infrastructure was designed to benefit Portuguese settlers, and support the colonial state. The press and archives revealed that most colonial administrators continued to view the African majority as either implements for or impediments to settler driven development. Nonetheless, these changes and Portugal's push to Africanize the colonial military and court some level of elite African collaboration in light of the FRELIMO insurgency, provided a window particularly for men to move into more secure, better-paid jobs and even some positions of authority in the civil service and military.¹⁴

Although infrastructural and economic investment and relatively stable currency characterized late colonialism in Mozambique, growth was regionally and racially uneven. In the southern regions and Lourenço Marques investment and economic growth were strongest and white settlement was most dense.¹⁵ These regions did not directly

¹³ Walter Opello, 'Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: FRELIMO in the 1960s,' *Journal of Southern African Studies [JSAS]* Vol. 2, 1 (1975): 66–82; Georgi Derluguan, 'The Social Origins of Good and Bad Governance: Re-Interpreting the 1968 Schism in Frelimo', in Eric Morier-Genoud, ed. *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique* (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 90–98.

¹⁴ John P. Cann, *Counterinsurgency in Africa: The Portuguese Way of War, 1961–1974* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997).

¹⁵ During the 1950s the capital's share of the nation's installed industrial capacity increased from around 10 per cent to 62 per cent, and by 1970 was nearly 89 per cent. Maria Clara Mendes, 'A rede urbana em Moçambique', *Livro de Homenagem a Orlando Ribeiro*, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1988): 609–17; Penvenne, 'Settling Against the Tide,' 79–94.

experience the violence of the anti-colonial insurgency by the time the Portuguese military coup of 25 April 1974 signalled the beginning of the end of the New State and its commitment to continued colonial rule.¹⁶ In the wake of the coup, FRELIMO forcefully negotiated Mozambican independence with Portugal, claiming to be the sole legitimate representative of the Mozambican people and rebuffing attempts by competing groups to contend for political power. When FRELIMO transitioned from a military insurgency to political leadership it retained the name Frelimo, but no longer as an acronym.¹⁷ On 25 June 1975 Mozambique became independent. Within two years Frelimo declared itself a Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party, signaling its alignment with the Soviet Union and Eastern Block countries who helped train and support Frelimo's military and political cadres.

The rush tide of Portuguese white settlement in Mozambique had diminished throughout the 1960s and in 1971 it actually turned. Thousands of Portuguese whites left in the early 1970s, particularly after the coup in 1974.¹⁸ After independence, the nationalization of some properties and businesses, in combination with the Eastern block alignment encouraged a further exodus of both Portuguese and South Asians from Mozambique. Portuguese whites dominated management and skilled labour in industry, manufacturing, transportation and civil service, and South Asians were key to commerce, particularly rural trade. Their flight meant economic disruption was widespread and quickly resulted in a scarcity of basic goods.

The situation of economic scarcity, communication and transportation breakdowns was exacerbated by the late 1970s when a new insurgency emerged. Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, Mozambican National Resistance Movement, known by its Portuguese acronym, RENAMO (usually written as Renamo), was recruited, trained, funded, and fielded by the intelligence branch of the white minority government in Rhodesia. When Rhodesia was about to transition to majority rule in 1980 as Zimbabwe, the South African security and intelligence forces took over support of Renamo from the Rhodesians.

Renamo also picked up support from Mozambicans who had either never embraced Frelimo or had become disillusioned. By the mid to late 1980s Renamo's insurgents were widespread and had inflicted horrific violence and destruction, particularly in the centre and south of the country.¹⁹ With the political transformations in the early 1990s,

¹⁶ Norrie MacQueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire* (New York: Longman, 1997).

¹⁷ John Saul, *Recolonization and Resistance in Southern Africa in the 1990s* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 1993): p. xiii, n. 1. From this point I use Frelimo, rather than the upper case acronym, FRELIMO, to refer to this group regardless of the period.

¹⁸ Castelo, *Passagens para a África*, p. 178 fig. 3, p. 179 Quadro 17.

¹⁹ William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue, Run for Your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1988); Karl Maier, *Conspicuous Destruction, War, Famine and the Reform Process in Mozambique* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992); David

Renamo could no longer count on South African logistical and arms support. Regional, international and Mozambican attempts to forge agreement between Renamo and Frelimo were many and protracted. They eventually produced the Rome Peace Accord in October 1992.²⁰ By that time, more than a third of Mozambicans were refugees, internally displaced or affected by the war. Hundreds of thousands had been maimed or killed, many more thousands died of disease and starvation. Mozambique's economy and infrastructure were in complete ruin. Poorly mapped or unmapped land mines were planted all around the countryside. The capital city was under daily curfew. Travel everywhere was dangerous even if by military convoy.²¹ The decade 1982 to 1992 was a time of starvation, insecurity, dislocation and disillusion for hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans. It should never be forgotten that the country's industries, infrastructure, and plantations were neither simply neglected nor mismanaged, they were intentionally wrecked.

Despite continuing tensions and occasional violent flare-ups between Frelimo and Renamo in the decades since the Rome Peace Accord, Mozambique has maintained peace. The country has held elections and incrementally rebuilt its infrastructure and economy. Foreign and state investment is more regionally balanced than in the colonial era, but the southern capital city is still the power centre. Some parts of the colonial era economy recovered but others did not. Completely new sectors were built, changing the country and region's overall economic profile.²²

(contd) Birmingham, *Nationalism in Angola and Mozambique* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1992); Phyllis Johnson and David Martin eds, *Frontline Southern Africa: Destructive Engagement* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1988).

²⁰ Alex Vines, 'Renamo's Rise and Decline: The Politics of Reintegration in Mozambique,' *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.20, No.3 (June 2013): 375–93; Margaret Hall and Tom Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique Since Independence* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997); Cameron Hume, *Ending Mozambique's War: The Role of Mediation and Good Offices* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994).

²¹ Jeanne Marie Penvenne, 'A Tapestry of Conflict: Mozambique 1960–1995', in David Birmingham and Phyllis Martin, eds, *History of Central Africa: The Contemporary Years* (London: Longman, 1998): 230–66.

²² Numerous scholars have assessed Mozambique's economy since independence. Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco and colleagues at Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos http://www.iese.ac.mz/?__target__=home, Fernando Lima and colleagues weekly paper, *Savana*, <http://www.savana.co.mz/and> Joseph Hanlon all provide regular posts, <http://www.open.ac.uk/technology/mozambique/>. Hanlon also published a series of monographs on Mozambican economic and political changes, for example, Hanlon and Teresa Smart, *Do Bicycles Equal Development?* (Woodbridge, Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2008); Kathleen Sheldon, *Pounders of Grain: a History of Women, Work and Politics in Mozambique* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002); Anne Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique: the Business of Politics, 1975–2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Merle Bowen, *The State against the Peasantry: Rural Struggles in Colonial and Postcolonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Chris Alden, *Mozambique and Construction of the New African State: from Negotiations to Nation Building* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Carrie Manning, *Politics of Peace in Mozambique's Post Conflict Democratization, 1992–2000* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).