

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Lives in the Informal Art Trade:
An Ethnographic Case Study of
Maputo Mozambique



Colin Scott Southgate – STHCOL003

Supervisor: Melissa Steyn

A minor dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the
degree of Master of Philosophy in Diversity Studies

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

2007

DIGITISED

- 6 MAY 2013

University of Cape Town

Declaration of Plagiarism

Name: Colin Scott Southgate

Student number: STHCOL003

Minor Dissertation

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and to pretend that it one's own.
2. I have used the APA convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this essay from the work, or works, of other people has been acknowledged through citation and reference.
3. This essay/report/project is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
5. I have done the word processing and formatting of this assignment myself. I understand that the correct formatting is part of the mark for this assignment and that it is therefore wrong for another person to do it for me.
6. This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree.

Signed by candidate

Signature

10/4/07
Date

Abstract

This minor dissertation investigates the lives and businesses of informal artists and vendors in Maputo, Mozambique. The research points to a swell in numbers of artisans in Maputo over the past dozen years. Tourism has developed in Mozambique; expanding the clientele for Maputo's informal artisans. The increase of artisans has had a few negative effects including a drop in prices due to competition and a compromise in artistic quality. The seven interviewees explain the reality of the informal art business as one of subsistence. Prices have risen on artistic materials and profit margins have dropped. Artistic skill, creativity, and intelligence are readily observable in the artistic community. However, craft and merit do not always translate to sales. The art often takes themes from African femininity, community, and natural imagery. To make reliable sales artists and imitators will pursue these familiar African themes. The art is made with the intention of being sold to foreign tourists. Indeed, in terms of tourists pay higher prices for the art than local Mozambicans. The participants in the research unanimously stated that tourists demonstrated respect for their livelihood, art, and culture. However, the artisans remain almost totally dependant on tourism in order to make their living.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take a moment to extend my sincere gratitude to the people who have supported and aided me to the completion of this minor dissertation. Firstly I would like to thank my family starting with my grandmother for her unwavering faith in my abilities and constant support throughout my life. I would also like to thank my brother, mother and father for their continuous support. In addition, I would very much like to thank the Born family who provided room and board for the duration of my project. Without this support the project would have been unimaginable. I particularly want to thank Julie Born for her poignant insights about Mozambican art, culture, and business practice. Within the Born household it is only right to thank by name Helene, Emilinda, and Zerta, for numerous conversations, advice, and the vital support of amazing home cooked meals. Who could forget the Helen's feijoada? You are all fondly remembered. A large thank you is also extended to my advisor Melissa Steyn for taking me and my project on board, and making it a reality. Her support and advice throughout the writing process was both useful and appreciated. My gratitude goes to Diogo Donato and Christopher Born whose command of the Portuguese language made for the most accurate translations of recorded interviews possible. Although all the artists/vendors were personally thanked verbally and in writing, I wish again to reiterate my gratitude for sharing their time to work with me. Collectively they provided the substance of this dissertation. Particular thanks go to Joao Correira Cobo for guiding me through the batik making process and giving me access to a world I had not known before. I would also like to thank the examiners for taking the time to review and mark this minor dissertation with as much care as I took in writing it.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Historical Context of Mozambique	3
1.2 Research Motivation	5
1.3 Research Subjects	7
1.4 Research Aims	8
1.5 Research Limitations	10
Chapter 2: Literature Review	12
2.1 Tourism as Development in Africa	12
2.2 Tourism Development: The Example of Gambia	13
2.3 Comparing Colonial Histories: Gambia and Mozambique	16
2.4 The Globalization of the Tourist industry	19
2.5 The Diversity of Tourism	23
2.6 Culture, Art, and Colonial Frameworks	26
2.7 The Historical Present of Tourism in Africa	36
2.8 Towards a Definition of the Informal Sector	39
Chapter 3: Methodology	42
3.1 The Challenges of Research in Maputo	43

3.2 Night Journals and Field Notes	47
3.3 The Preliminary Inquiry and Research Development	48
3.4 Second Leg of Research	54
3.5 Participant Observation	55
3.6 The Interviews	56
3.7 Distribution of Receipt Books	60
Chapter 4: Findings	62
4.1 Participant Observation: From Bed Sheets to Batiks	62
4.2 The Artistic Product	73
4.3 Ways of Selling: An Overview of Maputo's Streetside Market	77
4.4 The Art of Negotiation	81
4.5 Competition amongst Maputo's Artisans: From War to 2005	85
4.6 Associations, Supply Chains, and Art for Resale	88
4.7 Artisans Perception of the Tourist Client	91
4.8 Typical Earnings and Expenses for an Artisan	93
4.9 Women's Role in the Arts	95
Chapter 5: Conclusions, Recommendations, and Areas for Future Research	98
5.1 Potential Case Study: <i>Aeroporto</i>	102

5.2 Women's Role	103
5.3 Government's Policy	104
5.4 Collection of Quantitative Data	104
5.5 Comparison of Group Localization	104
5.6 Comparison of Artisan Incomes	105
5.7 International Sales	106
Glossary of Terms	107
Appendix 1: Typical Interview Questions	109
Appendix 2: Joao's work during December 2005 – January 2006	110
Appendix 3: Batik Images	111
Appendix 4: Research Sites and Map of Downtown Maputo	112
Appendix 5: Interview Transcript: Geraldo	113
Bibliography	121

Chapter 1: Introduction

The 21st Century is witness to an acceleration of social, cultural, and economic exchanges across national borders. People are moving to and from previously isolated and remote locations with increasing ease due to the development of transportation networks, infrastructure, and technology. These arrivals affect the host areas in complex ways. Increase in tourism and travel creates new business opportunities and opens up space for exchanges with foreign cultures. Particularly in remote or economically isolated countries it is common for this change to occur under the banner of economic development and in the form of tourism. However, particularly in African nations, the development of tourism is entangled with the problematic history of racist formations of power.

Globalization is controversial, and can mean many things. Globalization refers here to an ongoing process whereby various people, economies, and cultures are becoming increasingly interconnected in an age of technological advancement. This definition is informed by the debates and parameters set out in Jan Nederveen Pieterse's 2004 work Globalization and Culture. This figurative shrinking-of-the-world has informed burgeoning academic fields such as global studies, transnational studies, migration studies, development studies, and diversity studies. These fields of study have emerged to document, describe, and deal with the implications of globalization.

Formalizing the study of global systems requires bringing all the various schools of the academy together to form an interdisciplinary body of knowledge able to

grapple with the complexity of contemporary social issues. For behind today's reality is a history of social, political, economic, and cultural processes which have shaped the unique situation of any given individual or group. Thus a scholar's undertaking within the theoretical framework of globalization is to unpack the relevant historical processes that inform the research subject's current situation and provide a complete contextualization of that situation. The research undertaken for this minor dissertation is aligned with this academic vision.

This study seeks to layout the ways in which Maputo's artisans make a living within the paradigm of international tourism. This research needs to be contextualized within the world systems that have shaped the lives of informal artisans in Maputo. This requires an understanding of the specific colonial and post-colonial history that has informed the experience of greater Mozambique, and how this history continues to shape the dynamics of Mozambique's involvement with a globalized economy. It is a history stained with racism and war and will be discussed as it has been the background to much of the current social climate in Mozambique and greater Africa. The crux of the research is the artists and vendors themselves, and how they make a living from tourism. An investigation into the literature of tourism in Africa will be useful in contextualizing artisans' positions. Gathering an understanding of African art (particularly Mozambican art) and the expectations surrounding African art within the framework of tourism will also be useful to this study. Finally, positioning the

identity of the researcher within this socio-historical context will aid in the understanding of specific research limitations and methodology.

It is necessary to make a note on terminology here. Throughout the minor dissertation the term *artisans* refers collectively to artists, vendors, and those who perform both occupations. The term *vendor* refers to anyone who sells art whether they are also the creator or not. The term *artist* refers to the producer of a piece of art. If an *artist* is also a *vendor* I would refer to them in the relevant capacity. The clarification between artists and vendors was an object of the inquiry and therefore care has been used with these labels in the body of this text.

1.1 Historical Context of Mozambique

The setting for this research is Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique. Here we find a complex national legacy of Portuguese colonialism, a war of independence, a subsequent civil war, and finally a lengthy peace process leading to democratic governance in 1994. The effects of colonialism combined with the prolonged instability caused by thirty years of war, left Mozambique in a desperate situation of poverty. In 1992, when talks between combatants FRELIMO and RENAMO were beginning to show signs of the peace to come, Mozambique was considered the poorest country in the world with an annual per capita income of \$60 USD (Nixson 1994:13). As early as 1980 the Mozambican

government began moving away from a socialist based system of economic organization by privatizing certain state owned industries. The process of economic neo-liberalism accelerated over the course of the Eighties and became the policy of the first democratically elected government in 1994 (Hanlon 2002:2). One clear sign of the adoption of this policy was the importance of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in setting the economic course of Mozambique. These international financial institutions gave loans conditional on the relaxation of tariffs and the institution of structural adjustment programs. Indeed, Mozambique adopted democracy but was never able to set its own socio-political agenda. Prolific writer on African political economy, John Saul (2005) recorded one member of Mozambican Parliament as saying,

The biggest moment of Mozambican politics this year [1995] was when the government went to Paris to meet with the donors. That was where parliament really was held in Mozambique this year, the donor meeting in Paris. (Saul 2005: 105)

Regardless of the Mozambican government's limitations, at this point in Mozambique's history, due to peace, liberalization, and donor support, it became more involved in the processes of globalization. Over the past years since collective peace in 1994, economic indicators such as the GDP have indicated tremendous growth (Hanlon 2002: 2).

The positive business environment and continuing infrastructure development is important for Mozambique. The rehabilitation of their devastated economy is a precarious responsibility made more difficult by recurring floods, malaria, a

deepening HIV/AIDS pandemic, the occasional cholera breakout, and the social pressures of widespread poverty and unemployment. These current health and welfare issues correctly suggest that Mozambique is on the periphery of global development and trade. However, there is a market in the globalizing world that Mozambique is well positioned to exploit: the tourist industry. Selling Mozambique to world travelers as a holiday destination is rapidly becoming one of the nation's economic cornerstones. Mozambique caters for those who seek its remote beaches, warm climate, fresh seafood, and easy-going manner. New hotels have brought improved capacity, tour companies have expanded operations. The ground work is set for a robust tourist industry.

This research will closely examine a particular aspect of this industry's development, namely the role of informal artisans in Maputo. Ostensibly, this minor dissertation is a piece of descriptive research about Mozambican informal artisans in Maputo. However, the preparation for the research draws from writings and understandings gathered in the fields of tourism, cultural studies, informal economics, African art, and the arts in general. Consequently, this minor dissertation contributes to several academic fields, albeit from a very specific and nuanced focal point.

1.2 Research Motivation

Motivation for this research stems from my personal experience in Mozambique as a tourist. I first visited Maputo in June of 1998. It was then that I became acquainted with Mozambican art and Maputo's informal street side markets. The

business appeared much the same in 1998 as it does today, with traditional carvings and batik (fabric) work displayed on street corners, sidewalks, and even on medians surrounded by heavy traffic. It is likely that the same artisans work on the same corners today as they did during that first visit in 1998. I found the whole system intriguing, and even at that time a few key issues were obvious to me: the art was aesthetically pleasing, it was distinctly African, and the prices were extremely low. Locals who knew the area suggested bargaining to reduce those prices even further, which I discovered was not a difficult negotiation process. Buying the Mozambican art brought up two contrasting feelings in me; joy at purchasing something to take back to America, and also a sense of guilt knowing how little I had just paid this artisan for his work.

These early observations betray my positionality as a non-African tourist. The literature review will examine this positionality, as notions of the essential qualities of Africaness, what qualifies for art, and a work of art's value have generally been informed by a Eurocentric sensibility. Despite my feeling that the art was of high value, the general approach to negotiating was to barter for half of the originally stated price. It is a curious contradiction to value the art aesthetically but only to purchase it at the minimal price. Bound in this contradiction is my motivation to pursue this research into the livelihoods of Maputo's artisans. For there is a clear power differential between tourist and street artisan. This power is decidedly economic, reflecting the global imbalance of economic power. To address this power differential this minor dissertation will explore pricing and negotiating strategies. Another valuable perspective is the

presentation of Mozambican culture for western eyes. How did I know as a young westerner that the art was distinctly African? Who holds the cultural power to decide what is relevant to Mozambican culture, the artist or the tourist? This research addresses this paradoxical arrangement of cultural power, particularly in the presentation of authentic African art. An examination of these power dynamics is crucial to understanding the informal art business which sustains thousands of Mozambicans.

1.3 Research Subjects

On the periphery of Mozambique's booming tourist industry are thousands of informal artists and vendors. Street artists/vendors are a prominent part of the urban landscape in Maputo, particularly along *Avenida de Julius Nyerere* (See Appendix 4). There are hundreds of Mozambicans making their living through the sale of art on this street alone. For a tourist unfamiliar with Maputo the combination of African stylized art, a street side presentation, and the Mozambican cultural context creates a unique and authentic-feeling "souvenir shop". Perhaps the existence of hundreds of street artists/vendors is a logical and natural market phenomenon given the economic situation in Mozambique. Yet there is little research documenting the particulars of this informal market activity. These artisans collective perspective on Mozambique, its culture, its economic growth and development, its future, and its past is united by their shared experience of creating and dealing art on the street. Conducting research

through the theoretical lens of diversity studies allows the researcher to explore the many cultural, anthropological, aesthetic, and power relations at work in this unique sector.

1.4 Research Aims

The founding question of this research was whether Maputo's informal artisans receive *fair* value for their efforts as artists and/or vendors. This broad question had to be broken down into several supporting questions to provide an informed and meaningful answer. For example, what effort is required to create and sell works of art on Maputo's streets? What do the vendors consider to be *fair* prices? What are the costs of materials? What is their profit? Is this a subsistence occupation? Or is there a certain amount of wealth to be made? Whose efforts result in more profits the artist's or the vendor's? Which selling area is more profitable? Why? As the research was undertaken, more angles to the work of Maputo's informal artisans were discovered. It became important to see how these artisans organized their selling groups into territorial affiliations. I would also need to speak to many artisans; as the experiences of any individual artisan varied depending on their location, group affiliation, personal abilities/knowledge, products, and often enough their luck. These issues were all relevant factors in an inquiry of what comprises the reality of a street side artisan in Maputo.

The research also sought to uncover artisans' opinions concerning tourism. This led to another line of questioning and observation concerning the relation of the business to tourism and how artisans perceived interactions with foreigners.

The art itself was also a worthy consideration. Is the art a manifestation of authentic Mozambican culture or merely imagery that reflects the expectations of Western tourists? I wanted to discover how the artists decided what imagery was appropriate or necessary for their market.

These issues collectively formed my area of inquiry. This research was undertaken in effort to clarify these issues and show how this profession shapes, and is shaped by its members. Understanding their positionality within the context of Mozambique's development is complex, and only they can speak of the reality. Thus I draw the bulk of information from the artisans themselves. Different themes were salient at various points of the project reflecting the information and contacts available.

My expectations coming into the research phase were shaped largely by a review of relevant literature and my previous experiences in Maputo. It was expected that the artists would be generally poor, reflecting their "informal" status, and that there would be a general resentment to the wealth and ignorance of tourists. Thus, artists and vendors could sell mock cultural works that didn't reflect any true tradition of Mozambican culture. Moreover, vendors would use whatever trickery possible to sell their works and artificially raise prices when possible. Other than these few misconceptions, I wasn't sure what to expect in

terms of their earnings, organizations, motivations, or attitudes. My few conceptions would be largely inaccurate, but this just demonstrates my naivety concerning the opinions and work of Maputo's informal artisans.

1.5 Research Limitations

The greatest limitation during this research was time. The total research took place over five weeks. These five weeks were broken into two periods of two and a half weeks reflecting the university vacation schedules for the 2005 academic year. The project was taken up with great earnestness, in an effort to compensate for the limited time. Another two weeks would have been desirable to solidify observations, conduct a few more interviews, and perhaps look more closely at a particular artistic product. The project could have taken many other forms with a bit more time to access the artisans, but it still remains an in-depth and varied examination of a large and complex labor sector. Originally the research was conceived along several comparative axes including; artist v. vendor, the profitability of various locations, the profitability of paintings v. sculptures v. batiks, and best v. low price for various works. The research reflects observations on all of these areas, but was not able to explore these comparisons in great depth. In an attempt to counter this shortcoming, interviewees were selected carefully to represent various elements of these comparative axes.

As the project developed in Maputo, it was determined that some settings were not conducive to the collection of information and data. These were generally the larger markets held on Saturdays, which were originally target areas but were dropped from the research schedule. The factor of my foreignness and whiteness was a bigger issue in these contexts, as it was more difficult to explain my research to many eager and competitive vendors. Attempts were made, and time dictated that approaching this type of market place was not in the interest of recording a large quantity or high quality of data. In the end I decided to visit eight different sites regularly which served as the base for data collection. The majority of these were located on *Avenida de Julius Nyerere* (See Appendix 4).

Other strategies will be outlined in the methodology. Whether interviewing the artists, observing their sales tactics, or participating in the creation and sale of artistic works, I adapted the approach in an effort to gain more perspective on this interesting profession. Undoubtedly, I was actually a limiting factor as a foreign, Portuguese-as-a-second-language, white westerner. I entered the research aware of this dynamic and made every effort to be honest, accommodating, and integrated into the context of artisans' daily routines. In the following pages a unique human story unfolds as layers of theory, history, culture, positional power, and first hand accounts of Maputo's informal artisans are presented and analyzed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review lays out the web of theory surrounding the study of informal artists and vendors in Maputo. Many aspects affecting the lives of artisans will be identified, discussed, and clarified within the context of ongoing discourses of power. The issues are presented separately here for the purpose of clarity only. This literature review develops frames and contexts to critically analyze the positionality of Maputo's artisans.

2.1 Tourism as Development in Africa

The benefits of tourism are most readily seen in terms of economic gains. These gains include a contribution to foreign exchange, Gross Domestic Product, and employment among others (Harrison 2001). These are crucial concerns in countries with high unemployment and astronomical foreign debts. International tourism is a unique opportunity to develop the national economy. The poorer the nation the more attractive international tourism becomes as an answer. Many of Africa's nations are not just poor, but extremely poor. These nations are classified as Less (or Least) Developed Countries (LDCs) and Mozambique is among them (Harrison 2001). As Michael Todaro discussed in his 1994 work, Economic Development, LDCs are more than just economically challenged; there is generally a low level of education amongst their people, a lack of infrastructure, problems with preventable diseases, unemployment, dependence on agricultural products, and a host of other indicators which tend to make LDCs

synonymous with a low Human Development Index (HDI) (Todaro 1994). The poorest nations of Africa are in desperate need of an industry which will bring employment, foreign exchange, and the capacity to develop infrastructure to combat the multiple problems facing the nation, and yet the power to create these avenues of development is in the hands of wealthy foreigners. This wealth, itself often a product of world economic systems such as slavery and colonialism, now becomes the tool of entry into the development of "African" tourism. Tourism is a far cry from slavery, but it has been weak to critiques that expose a neo-colonial power dynamic. Recent history of African tourist development highlights this dynamic.

2.2 Tourist Development in Gambia

In 1975 the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala conducted research in the West African nation of Gambia. The research, entitled *Tourism in Developing Countries- Trick or Treat? A Report from Gambia*, documents several key concepts in African tourism development, at a time when Gambia was experiencing a tourism boom similar to that which Mozambique is working towards today. Moreover, Gambia also creates batik art so that a closer examination of the Gambian example is justified.

The Gambia is a small West African country, completely engulfed by Senegal. The area first came into the European consciousness in 1455, when the Portuguese King, Henry the Navigator, sent an expedition to explore the river

Gambia. Caught in the power struggles of the 17th and 18th centuries, Gambia was taken from the Portuguese by the English, who fought off the French for control of the river, a struggle which eventually ended in the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty established the borders of the English colony "The Gambia" and the French Colony "Senegal". After more than 500 years of contact with European imperialists of various national persuasions, Gambia gained its independence in 1965 (Uppsala 1975).

By the very next year more than 500, primarily Swedish tourists, were making their holidays on the tropical shores of Gambia. International tourism at this stage (1966) did not have the transportation capacity that would follow in the next decade with the proliferation of passenger jets, yet by 1968 cruise ships were stopping at Gambia's port and Capital city Banjul to bring tourists (Uppsala 1975). The industry was promoted by the government whole heartedly, to the point that "as an incentive to tourism the Gambian government offered foreign investors something called a five year Development Certificate, which includes tax exemptions for tourists hotels built under this plan" (Uppsala 1975). The plan appeared to work, by 1972 tourist numbers had risen to over 15,000 per year, an increase of nearly 30 times in just six years (Uppsala 1975). Unquestionably this increase helped change the economic indicators for Gambia, but at what cost?

At closer inspection one can see that Gambia was pressured by foreign investors, and that some of the consequences of mass tourism were reflected in

cultural conflicts between host-tourist. The five year Development Certificate has already been mentioned as one of the promotions of the Gambian government; however, as Uppsala's research report goes on to say, this was just one of many concessions demanded by foreign investors. These included: No duties on building materials, no duties on imported food/drink, no taxation on profits, government protection from any civil unrest, and nationalization of hotels or other related businesses not be done without warning and compensation for investment (Uppsala 1975). Because imported products at these hotels had no duty, Gambian markets and businessmen were actually put at a disadvantage to the foreign owned tourist hotels.

Not only was Gambian business adversely affected by the conditions of tourist development, but the tourist industry was also changing the social fabric. Some Gambians reported that "tourism spoils the culture of the country," or that tourism "is a threat to Gambian culture and tradition" (Uppsala 1975 p.43). Gambians began to fear a "breakdown of respect between older and younger generations" as children would often skip school to go to the tourist hotels to run errands or give informal tours to the foreigners (Uppsala 1975). Meanwhile, the Gambian government continued to support tourism, and had the dubious inclination to invest in that industry over other important industries like agriculture (Uppsala 1975 p.46). The government cited many positive reasons for supporting tourism, including all the aforementioned economic indicators. In addition, the benefit of cultural traders was mentioned as a positive side effect of tourism. Women, who

do what is called “batik” work, were invigorated by the influx of tourism and a trade in this craft emerged (Uppsala 1975). While figures and research into this batik market are beyond the range the Scandinavian research, it documents the fact that the sale of batik art was common enough for a trade to emerge. There is little research about this type of economic activity in either Gambia or Mozambique.

2.3 Comparing Colonial Histories: Gambia and Mozambique

Comparing the case of Gambia to Mozambique highlights the challenges that face the burgeoning tourist sector in Mozambique. Gambia and Mozambique have vastly different histories. Gambia's tourism trade is several steps ahead of Mozambique's. Firstly, while Gambia was literally cruising in thousands of tourists in the early seventies, Mozambique was still embroiled in a war of Independence. Achieving independence in 1975, Mozambique became a site of proxy warfare, entangled in the ideological confrontations of the Cold War. The destabilization of Mozambique by Rhodesia and South Africa led to a prolonged “civil war” that only came to a ceasefire in 1992. This history of nearly 30 years of warfare has severely impoverished Mozambique but the disadvantages in comparison to Gambia do not end here. Gambia's geographical proximity to Europe certainly helped the industry develop rapidly. Mozambique is thousands of miles further south east from the wealth of Europe. While jet airplanes have revolutionized tourism and reduced the relevance of absolute distances, it is also important to understand the cultural distances which can facilitate tourism.

Colonial history also tends to favor the Gambia in developing a robust tourism industry.

Gambia was an English colony. The English language is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. Language is often a factor for a tourist planning their vacation. English is likely to be more accessible than Portuguese for international tourists. Moreover, a former Portuguese colony is more likely to have serious internal transportation issues. While it is not my intention to sanitize the English colonial system, owing to their legacy of imposing a moratorium on the slave trade, liberating Ghana from colonial rule before any other African territory, and the unquestionable proliferation of infrastructure (roads, schools, and clinics) in comparison to other colonial powers, the English colonial legacy should be acknowledged as a more mild injustice than that of the Portuguese. James Duffy's 1963 work *Portugal in Africa* describes the Portuguese pre-colonial interests as slaving, land grabbing, self-righteous settlers. Harries (1994) documentation of the ivory trade out of *Lourenço Marques* (Maputo) in the mid nineteenth century is a portrayal of heinous Portuguese greed. In 1885, when the Portuguese became a colonial power at the Conference of Berlin they were by no means comfortably in control of Mozambique. In 1894 Lourenço Marques "suffered a serious assault by African warriors from the outlying area" (Duffy 1963:119). The Portuguese made a war of pacification that same year and began to solidify their colonial authority. Later Portugal would develop a paternal and benevolent rhetoric to hide the reality of

an exploitative colonial power. Duffy points out the hollow political babble that Salazar's regime used to maintain its colonies until 1974. Only Zimbabwe would gain independence later than the Portuguese colonies. Without descending deeper into debate over which colonizer was better, in terms of infrastructure, which is critically important to the development of tourism, England provided more for its colonies than did Portugal.

Despite this legacy, Mozambique is developing a tourism infrastructure, most centrally in the capital city of Maputo (Mozambican Ministry of Tourism 1999). There are many fine hotels and tourist-friendly backpackers in Maputo. There are tourists from all over the world, although most come from South Africa and Portugal. From a global perspective Mozambique remains extremely peripheral to the majority of international tourism. Tourism is growing at a rate that may be too fast or too slow depending on whom is answering, yet it is not close to levels of growth undergone in Gambia during the late 1960's. Mozambique encourages tourism growth. Take a speech given by Mozambican Minister of Tourism Dr. Pascual Mocumbi (2002) as an example. Dr. Mocumbi stated in his opening address to an ecotourism conference,

Ecotourism is an important mechanism for realizing an income for local communities from their natural and cultural capital, and for the conservation of those resources. (Mocumbi 2002)

While alternative development paths are materializing, Mozambique pushes forward with building the foundations of the industry. Mozambique finds itself of

foreign investment in the tourism trade to capitalize, and the government is already dependent upon foreign aid (Macamo 1999). As the researcher in Gambia pointed out back in 1975, "it is probably hard for the developing countries in question to reject the efforts of introducing tourism as a means of revenue for foreign exchange, particularly when an organization such as the World Bank is acting on their behalf" (Uppsala 1975). In the present situation very little has changed to suggest that this statement no longer carries the same force it did in 1975.

2.4 The Globalization of the Tourist Industry

International tourism is a multibillion dollar industry. Moreover, it is growing. The World Tourism Organization [WTO] estimates that some 592 million international arrivals were made in 1996 world wide; they also predicted that this figure will rise to over 1.5 billion international arrivals by 2020 (WTO 2002). International tourism has become a fixture in the lives of modern people. These numbers speak to the realities of the 21st Century. International tourism is a relatively young industry, having developed within the last half century along with the transportation networks that make it possible. Transportation networks are expanding and the possibility for tourism in the most remote parts of the world is becoming a reality. In this way tourism development is at the forefront of globalization.

The nature of international tourism involves the negotiation of nation-states, the movement of cultures, and the selling of a product. These issues are complex and involve hierarchical power structures that emerge from historical circumstance. African nations are particularly vulnerable to a formation of the tourist industry which uses financial legacies to manipulate African governments, land, people, and cultures. International tourism brings the promise of job creation, investment, and more generally 'development,' yet it also has the potential to exacerbate feelings of hostility towards wealthy elites, widen cultural divides, and introduce behaviors that erode the culture of the host community and/or devalue their traditions. Western and European tourists generally travel to discover themselves, not for the sake of denigrating or disrupting local culture.

A culture of tourism has manifested itself in developed countries; we can trace this manifestation back to periods of time when colonialism had not yet reached Africa. As Harrison (2001) and Hughes (2000) both point out, tourism is a logical extension of the "Grand Tour" of Europe's elites in the 16th century, where young people were sent abroad in order to learn foreign languages and become 'cultured' as part of their education. This ideology of travel and self-improvement still exists today in the sentiments of people who suggest seeing the world or exploring the world broadens the mind (Robinson 1999). These notions are bound up in the notions of white superiority, and one need look no further than "Henry the Navigator" of Portugal to see the connection between exploration and a sense of power and grandeur. While these notions of travel as discovery, or

travel-as-education, are not in and of themselves damaging, as the age of mass movement and jet airplanes came into existence these notions fell to the background of a booming mass tourism phenomenon. The mass tourism, characterized by exotic destinations, and escapist motives, has diversified and once again notions of the explorer and scholar have been taken up. It is often these motivational backgrounds that drive international tourists to travel (Harrison 2001).

International tourists came from primarily developed nations, most particularly, Canada, the United Kingdom, Western European nations, and Japan. This is true of the international tourist industry in general and holds true for international tourists who visit LDCs (Robinson 1999:16). Africa counts for a small fraction of international tourism, about 4.3% of the international tourism industry in 2001, according to figures on international tourist arrivals taken from the WTO (WTO 2002). South Africa is the number one destination for tourism in Africa (Harrison 2001). Most international tourism takes place between developed nations (Harrison 2001:10). It is also noteworthy that Mozambique is not among the top twenty African destinations listed by the WTO.

In its very nature globalization has the potential of creating dialogue between people that was not possible before. Besides the improved communication possibilities of the internet, such as e-mails, blogs, and chat rooms, the internet is used to facilitate movement throughout the world. Tourists plan and book travel

to thousands of locations. Ultimately touring is a luxury for those with financial means. As noted in the Scandinavian research, it is the combination of income, leisure time, and transportation which make tourism a possibility for any individual (Uppsala 1975). More frequently these trips are being booked on the premise of cultural experience, and they are marketed as such. In this way, "tourism has emerged as an important route towards cultural enrichment" (Robinson 1999). This logic has been used to say that tourism could even be a method of creating peace and global harmony. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), has tried to reorient international views of tourism in this light, when it stated in 1997 that "reducing international tourism to economic patterns and flows, costs and benefits, neglects its formidable role as a vector of cultural exchange." Tourism *can* be about cultural exchange, but is quite often about cultural discovery. As Robinson states, "the expansion of tourism continues to reveal and thrive upon cultural diversity and difference" (Robinson 1999). Robinson argues that it is unwise to adopt a notion of tourism that includes only positive cultural exchange and does not consider the equal potential for conflict (Robinson 1999). Particularly in the context of the African LDCs, idealizing international tourism as means of global peace ignores the historical processes that have shaped tourist markets, the inequity of power between the host and the tourist, the tremendous socio-economic gap, the cultural and linguistic barriers, the preconceptions of host and tourist, the dependency of hosts, and the increasing amount of conflict between tourists and host populations. Pieterse (2005) notes how "contemporary

globalization also comes with polarizing effects that deepen uneven development and equality on a world scale”. International tourism is part of this polarization.

Cultural interest is driving a subcategory of tourism, and host countries are willing to display culture in exchange for monetary gain. What other feelings are brought up during exchange? Do hosts feel validated that their culture is recognized and valued, or do they feel belittled by the spectacle that their way of life has become? These are critical questions to the understanding of how cultural tourism is operating in a given locale. The crux of this issue is the commoditization and packaging of indigenous cultures for sale on the internet, the travel agency, the hotel, and eventually the street corner.

2.5 The Diversity of Tourism

The classic image of tourism is sandy beaches, casual drinking, room service, and an escape from the tedious grind of work to an exotic place far from home. Mozambique fits this image almost perfectly, especially after hotels are constructed on beach front property. The image described here reflects what is termed “mass tourism”. In its nascent years, it was this image that drove the development of the tourism industry. Yet as international tourism has grown cultural attractions have become major draws. While many people inevitably seek the sandy beaches, the five star hotels, the umbrella cocktails, and a pinch of the ‘exotic’, there are also those individuals who travel in search of something else. They travel to see difference. Whether it is a difference of landscape,

wildlife, or culture, it has become increasingly apparent that tourists travel in order to experience difference. John Urry's works have termed this desire for difference the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990).

Thus international tourism is adapting to the consumer. This type of tourism is known as "alternative tourism" has taken a few distinct forms, namely ecotourism, adventure tourism, and cultural tourism (Smith 1992). Mozambique is also positioned to exploit these forms of tourism, and the growth of informal artisan market attests to the growth of "cultural tourism". While these forms of tourism may not fit the mass tourism image, there are significant points of interrelation. Most importantly, mass tourists and alternative tourists remain foreigners and they bring notions of otherness to destinations, people, and cultures. Cultural tourism Alternative tourism has historically tended to develop in areas where mass tourism is already established. This is not surprising as infrastructure, accommodation, and accessibility are critical issues in developing the tourism trade. However, mass tourism is not necessarily preferred. As Mozambican Tourism Minister, Dr. Macumbi stated at the ecotourism conference held in Maputo, "low volume / low impact quality tourism strategies rather than mass tourism should be encouraged" (Macumbi: 2002). Besides the freedom to sell on Maputo's sidewalks, encouragement is all that artisans receive from their government.

Maputo based artisan may be peripheral to the “mass tourism” industry, yet they are central role players in cultural tourism. While “cultural tourism” may be a euphemism for seeking out the exotic, this brand of tourism gives value to the culture by seeking out interactions and materials from that culture. Moreover, alternative tourism lends itself to smaller enterprise which has various benefits. To quote from Rogerson’s 2004 work, *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspectives*,

...the economic objectives of increased earnings, foreign exchange, investment, job opportunities as well as minimization of adverse social and cultural effects are not best promoted through inward investment and large tourism enterprise. Instead the advantages of developing local small tourism firms are stressed. (Rogerson 2004:15)

This recent trend towards small firm development is not only a means of limiting social and cultural degradation, but also a means of keeping more money in the host country (Robinson 1999). The reality of large enterprise is that it is often foreign owned and operated, thereby sending “receipts”, or profit, back to the nations of the financiers. Indeed LDCs, like Mozambique, receive less than 1% (.6%) of total international tourism receipts (Robinson 1999). Considering the way that governments are bending their import laws and exposing themselves to largely unregulated processes of cultural interaction, the benefits do not seem to measure up to the costs. Robinson suggests that small firms run by local entrepreneurs is the best way to keep money gained from international tourism from cycling back to the nations that the tourists departed from. Moreover, these

small enterprises appear to be more suitable to the new alternative types of tourism, in particular cultural tourism (Rogerson 2004). However, there is a lack on the part of conventional financial institutions to support entrepreneurial endeavors in the tourist industry (Rogerson 2004 p.23). This lack of capital provision has been noted to take on a racial dimension. In the case of South Africa, out of an estimated 5,000 guest houses in operation in 2002, only 60 were black owned firms (Rogerson 2004). Here it is evident that while small firms may be a way for host countries to benefit more from the international tourist industry, the formation of this sector often takes on the racist formations of colonial development.

White ownership of the tourist industry in southern Africa is not uncommon. Swaziland also had its tourist industry started and developed by whites (Harrison 2001). Speaking generally, Harrison says that "it has probably been the norm for international tourism to be financed and operated by outsiders in LDCs with a poorly developed infrastructure, whether or not they had a colonial background." Thus, international tourism in LDCs is primarily operated by foreigners, often white foreigners, and the operation caters to foreigners.

2.6 Culture, Art, and Colonial Frameworks

One difficulty in discussing the subject of art history in Mozambique is the way that scholarship around art in Africa has taken shape. Art in Africa has often

been the concern of anthropologists rather than art historians, studied through its social function rather than its aesthetic form. In this way African art has been subsumed in the Eurocentric white-supremacist vision profoundly imparted in the era of colonialism (Mudimbe 1994). Within the colonial framework the aesthetics of African art became, by their nature, inferior to the arts of Europe. In an eloquent statement, speaking generally of aesthetics, John Dewey explains how the white colonial mind would perceive and relate to African art.

Esthetic experience is a manifestation, a record and a celebration of the life of a civilization, a means of promoting its development, and is also the ultimate judgment upon the quality of a civilization. For while it is produced and is enjoyed by individuals, those individuals are what they are in the content of their experience because of the cultures in which they participate. (Dewey 1934: 326)

With this understanding of art aesthetics (articulated when colonialism was still a feature of global systems), it is clear why Europeans engaged in a process of colonial rule would subvert African art into a discourse of primitivism and inferiority. Thus, the groundwork for African art history has been conducted in the academic fields of anthropology and cultural studies, where a focus on art as a functional piece of culture or ritual has taken precedence over the art's intrinsic aesthetic value (Mudimbe 1994:186). While contemporary trends in the study and the valuation of African art have begun to reverse this sensibility, the image of African art as an integral piece of cultural function continues to be a popular one amongst Western collectors (Clifford 1993:59).

In Mozambique the vast majority of written literature available focuses on the Makonde sculptors of Cabo Delgado province. The cultural attachment of the Makonde to carving has been noted in anthropological and artistic studies. For centuries Makonde have carved wooden masks for their initiation ceremonies as well as busts of young Makonde women (Nedjma & Sulger 2004:19). When the Portuguese made inroads to the remote area of Northern Mozambique that the Makonde call home, they recognized the skills of the sculptors and asked them to make crucifixes and other religious figures. This was just one demonstration of the Portuguese sense of their own superiority. While the “civilizing” of Africans through Christianity is well documented, the point here is to show how the motivation behind the sculptures begins to change. Today, the Makonde sculptors are renowned for two aesthetic styles, Ujamaa and Shetani. These two styles have evolved in the last half century and relate to a sense of African unity (called “*Ujamaa*”) and spirits that roam in the bush (called “*Shetani*”). Both are highly stylized forms of art, reflecting their unique cultural sensibility and their power of artistic expression. They are also largely produced for the tourist market. However, the art is “often appreciated without knowing their background let alone their names” (Nedjma & Sulger 2004:10).

This is the type of art that James Clifford notes gets removed from the cultural context and becomes a collector's item as much for its exotic origin as for its appeal to aesthetic principles (Clifford 1993). There is still a strong fascination with this group of artists who “unlike other Mozambican artists...are essentially peasants, often requiring to make ends meet by making ends meet by selling

'bread and butter' pieces to tourists" (Nedjma & Sulger 2004:10). These pieces it is noted by Nedjma and Sulger, generally lack the artistic expression of the "Masters" who remain true to their art.

While the days of colonialism are long over Jan Nedeerven Pieterse points out that "cultural decolonization" remains left to be done (Pieterse 1992:9). Even the language of Nedjma and Sulger quoted above illustrates this. "Essentially peasants" is at best a euphemism, and at worst a romanticizing of poverty. Whereas 'bread and butter' is often an expression denoting a source of wealth, the characterization of conditions for the "Masters" in Nedjma and Sulger's work most likely use the money for life necessities. The works of Pieterse, Clifford, and Mudimbe all suggest that this image of poverty actually increases the authenticity of the art for the westerner.

The selling of art on street sides to tourists is common practice in many LDCs. The art itself ranges from wood and stone sculpture to malachite jewelry and cloth prints. In particular, I make reference here to the types of street art most commonly sold on the streets of Maputo, Mozambique; however many similar examples could be noted elsewhere. Not much literature is available on the lives of these vendors and traders. However it is generally assumed, just as with the "batik" industry in Gambia, that they are peripheral beneficiaries of the international tourism industry, whether cultural or otherwise. While it is noted that their lives have not been documented thoroughly, they do promote an image of themselves to tourists. More importantly they produce this image with full

consciousness of tourist's *probable* expectations of them. They also use their perceptions of tourists to sell their art (Steiner 1989). One of the dynamics of this particular host-tourist interaction is that the host is working, while the tourist is engaging in leisure, more specifically in this case the consumption of cultural products (Robinson 1999:8). In Steiner's observation of the Ivory Coast he noted that dealers "experience enables them to discern certain criteria underlying Western definitions of authenticity" (Steiner 1989:2). Their understanding of these tastes was of such a degree that they would often scuff the wooden masks or sculptures with iron wool to lend the appearance of antiquity, which is valued in Western artistic aesthetics (Clifford 1993). Steiner goes on to describe how these art traders would add an "illusion of discovery" to particular pieces, by taking them into a back room of their shop, or unveiling certain pieces of art, thereby increasing their value in the eye of the Westerner as something rare (Steiner 1989). Indeed, while these tactics may easily be construed as dishonest, it plays to the expectations of tourists, and affirms Urry's (1990) theory of a tourist gaze. Moreover, when considering the disparity in wealth, and the cultural ignorance that permeates the relationship between dealer and consumer, "it is hardly surprising that 'normal' rules of cultural and economic interchange are suspended by 'guest' and 'host' in favor of less morally constrained profit seeking behavior" (Harrison 2001: 24).

The dealers in Ivory Coast also responded to the market desires of tourists. It was noticed that tourists, primarily French, bought more naked "Baule statues"

than clothed ones. In response the market became filled with naked instead of clothed statues (Steiner 1989). In this example we find not only the responsiveness of African artists and art traders, but also a glimpse at European (more generally Western) notions of Africa, its people, and its culture. While it could be stated that the tourists just preferred nude to clothed statues, it is at least implied, that nakedness is more authentic, more African, less European, and more exotic (Pieterse 1992). Stereotypes of this nature typify the expectations of tourists. Tourists bring their own cultural frames of reference when they travel, and they apply them when they collect African art.

Certain practices in the art world have become “universal” to a Western understanding of art and cultural art forms. Fundamentally there is a major cleavage between “high” and “low” art. Pieces of high art are unique in that “they are created for their own sake as an expression of the creator’s vision and are not created primarily with a view to making money” (Hughes 2000:13). This definition correspondingly excludes street art from attaining a high art classification. However the collection of art, of high and low status, has played a fundamental role in the west as a way of defining oneself (Clifford 1993). This phenomenon can be linked to the idea of world exploration and self improvement; the desire to “experience other societies and systems of government and to be exposed to great works of art, building, and sculptures.” Thus, from a Western perspective, African art, so easily purchased and often at minimal expense, is clearly inferior to European works that are studied by artists,

preserved in museums, and beyond monetary value. Bound in such an understanding of African and European art is not only a sense of western (or European, or white) superiority, but also a sense that the African does not respect his own art and culture. While the truth may be that the African art sold on the street has little or no cultural value to the African, the perception of a western tourist may very well be that they are selling their culture away. They are desperate. This sort of logic is probably more prone to emerge in the mind of a cultural tourist, who attempts to feel empathy (at least sympathy) for apparently dirt poor artists and traders. It is likely that traders and artists can identify these feelings and use them to their advantage when selling their products.

Besides distinctions between high and low art, are distinctions between cultural artifacts and artistic creations. Necessarily, cultural artifacts are or have been at some point in time imbued with a social function. A classic example is that of the generic African mask, which at one time was used extensively throughout African societies in their cultural festivals and rites. However, it is common today to see such masks sold on the street side along with other art for the consumption of tourists, and more specifically cultural tourists. As Clifford notes, "anthropological culture collectors have typically gathered what seems 'traditional'- what by definition is opposed to modernity" (Clifford 1993: 61). This tradition in anthropological collection is based on the conceptual value of antiquity, as well as the European penchant to collect objects of cultural significance to others (Clifford 1993). It is also a presumption that because an

artifact is of traditional value, than it must be authentic. Cultural or artistic authenticity is a desire of the western art collector, just as authentic experience is the desire of the cultural tourist. Yet in both cases Clifford makes the valid point that “cultural or artistic ‘authenticity’ has as much to do with an inventive present as with a past, its objectification, preservation, or renewal” (Clifford 1993:56). When it comes to host-tourist interactions and the exchange of street art, these points do not make or break the deal. For in the market place the illusion of authenticity alone is enough to sway the consumer. As ethnomusicologist Bau Graves states

...the market place is immune to concerns about authenticity. The heated polemics among traditional artists and academics (actually, it's mostly among the academics – the folk artists just go on doing their work without too much regard for the finer points of theory) are irrelevant to the perpetual requirement of something new to sell. If apparent association with a traditional culture is deemed a commercial advantage, produce will be marketed and accepted as authentic. (Graves 2005 p.58)

Thus when we examine the generic African masks sold in Steiner's observation of art markets in Ivory Coast, the sale is preempted by a comical tale of the masks' use in the indigenous culture as “passports”. In this case, the story was far removed from the real use of the masks traditionally. In Steiner's eyes the story “mocks the true meaning of the masks, reaffirms the tourist's sense of technical and cultural superiority, and provides a comical tale with which to return home” (Steiner 1989:9). Although these artists and traders may be dependent upon income from international tourism to survive, they use their knowledge, or

perceived knowledge, of westerners to their advantage. The various tactics used by traders/artists “[are] not about how [tourists] imagine them, nor [are these tactics] about how they imagine [tourists], but rather [these tactics are] about how they imagine [tourists] to imagine them” (Steiner 1989:13). This concept is interesting because it involves stereotypes which could be deconstructed between host and tourist, if the tourist had the capacity to demonstrate their sincere interest in the life of the host. Despite the disparity in wealth which generally accompanies a tourist and host in an LDC, the ability of the tourist to make a space where the host could assert his own identity would necessarily cripple the reinforced stereotypes laid out by Steiner. In instances where this sort of exchange takes place, it is truly valuable, but involves the initiative and cultural sensitivity of the tourist. Unfortunately, another dynamic of tourism is the brevity of immersion for the tourist, and the extended daily interaction with a tourist industry for the host (Robinson 1999). This temporal structure combined with the essentialization and exotification of the host, indicate that for every valuable piece of cultural exchange there are dozens, if not hundreds or thousands of instances, where superficial interaction dominates. Moreover, this superficial interaction may be perceived as genuine by the tourist.

The system of capitalism promotes the commoditization of culture (Harrison 2001). Although transforming elements of a cultural world into that of the market place can be an affirmation of its inherent value (Robinson 1999), it would be narrow minded to exclude the possibility that other people, particularly the

cultural population in question, would agree with the valuation system of the market. This idea is crucial to the interactions of host-tourist interaction, as by its very nature involves cultural difference and monetary expenditure (air fair), if not exchange. Culture is difficult to define specifically. Most academic definitions view culture in the broadest sense possible, thereby including everything physical, all communication, and the totality of social dynamics within a group. Therefore culture is not just a way of living, but also includes the mediums through which living is done by a group of people. To put it concisely, "Culture defines communities; communities create culture" (Graves 2005). However, as is evident from Graves' definition, culture is created, it is not stagnant, but rather innovated by community insiders drawing on their heritage and applying it to modern life. Thus commoditization which "is generally taken to be the process whereby ways of life, traditions, and complex symbolism which supports these, are imaged and transformed into saleable products," will never fully represent what the true culture is, due to its malleable nature (Robinson 1999). Indeed, this is why the commoditization of culture will always essentialize what constitutes culture. As tourists arrive in destinations, teeming with difference, they may have a sense that they know what to expect. It is these expectations, derived from essentialized images of host culture, which create a context for the tourist's experience. In reality, these assumptions can be, and often are, used to sell a tourist something which either no longer exists in the host culture, or never really did.

2.7 The Historical Present of Tourism in Africa

When examining the tourist industry in African nation-states it is crucial to look at the historical processes that have shaped the state. The history is generally one of colonial domination by a European country, including systems of land and labor exploitation, the incorporation of locals into a monetary system, the promotion of a Eurocentric culture, and the prevalence of the racist ideology of white superiority. These systems have significantly disturbed the social structures of African societies and the ideologies have to some extent become internalized by indigenous people (Mudimbe, 1994). Even the independence of African nations from colonial domination has been clouded by eroding national sovereignty, insurmountable foreign debts, and a lack of professionally qualified personnel (Saul 2005). These realities have forced many nations to look back to former colonial powers for assistance. This assistance is granted at the price of project control and national self-determination. A quick review of chapter 1 section 1.3 shows how Mozambique has become entwined in this dilemma. This paradigm is known as neo-colonialism and its presence is identifiable in the growing industry of tourism in Africa (Robinson 1999). However, the degree to which exploitation is at work varies between African nation-states. Moreover, it is often at the behest of African nations that international financiers, advisors, and managers assist them in planning the nature of the tourist industry in their countries. There are various pros and cons for nations that seek to develop international tourism. A further examination of these issues should help clarify

the ways the industry is developed and its susceptibility to becoming part of a neo-colonial structure.

In general, international tourism stigmatizes Africa with the notion of the “Dark Continent” (Pieterse 1992). Harrison (2001:15) notes that Africa “has a poor international image.” While this hasn’t stopped financiers from creating enclave tourist resorts often enclosed by a sea of poverty in African nations, it has further weakened the bargaining position of African nation states. I have already discussed the difficulty of LDCs in determining their tourist policies, yet African nations in particular are pressured to become sensitive to the perspectives of their tourist clientele who were often former colonial masters. Thus, African nations go to great lengths not only to pacify the imagery of unfriendly, perhaps dangerous black populations, but also give up many of the financial benefits that would be gained from tourism. Competition to gain foreign investment can be counter-productive as,

Many [African] governments offer such incentives as tax holidays and subsidized interest rates to investors, but so do others, within and outside the destination region, and the result can easily be a prolonged auction at which the main beneficiaries are the international companies able to play one tour destination against the other and thus obtain the best deal for the longest period. (Harrison 2001:36)

In terms of altering or euphemizing their culture to become a saleable product to the Western palette, it is common for nations to develop an imagery where

Simplistic and traditionalistic imagery of otherness used in product promotions and travel adverts... hinders the inhabitants of the countries concerned in asserting an identity as modern, industrially developed, or developing people with complex lifestyles. (Classen and Howes 1996 cited in Robinson 1999:13)

The dynamic of both inter-governmental competition and cultural creationism are worrisome and have far reaching consequences for the nature, validity, and authenticity of cultural tourism. The manipulation of impoverished nation states smacks of neo-colonial behavior, and the re-creation of African people and culture for the entertainment of tourist's eyes and ears denies these people their dignity and their independence, particularly in LDCs where alternative forms of development or capital investment are not easily established or implemented. It is important to understand the economic necessity which drives the commoditization of culture, as it is largely a problem inherited from historical processes and the creation of inequities. Now, this history threatens to claim and use cultural identity as a means of wealth production. Is it possible to have real cultural exchange under these circumstances of economic necessity (host) and transient leisure (tourist)? Cultural exchange does take place, however it is necessary to determine what images inform the host and the tourist to understand the value of this exchange.

2.8 Towards a Definition of the Informal Sector

This study purports to be about “informal” artists and vendors and thus this term must be defined and reflected upon with literature on the informal sector. Definitions of the informal sector vary greatly depending on the intended focus and use of research. However, a common definition of the informal sector has been used by Leys (1974), Omari (1995), and Frohlich & Frayne (1991). According to their research the informal sector is easy to enter; consists of small scale operations; relies on indigenous resources; often has family ownership; is labor intensive and uses adapted technology; operates in unregulated and competitive markets; and consists of people with skills acquired outside the formal schooling system. This definition shapes the concept of the informal sector very accurately. Maputo’s artisans fit within this framework of the informal sector.

David Dewar and Vanessa Watson (1991) have sited a key debate in researching the informal sector in their work titled *Urban Planning and the Informal Sector*. They suggest that useful informal sector research should focus either on the household unit as the collective body of income generation and distribution, or a focus on the “informal” economic enterprises themselves. While Dewar and Watson consider the household crucial to an understanding of the operation of the informal sector, they concede that if research is concerned “with the impact of outside stimulatory agents and instruments on informal activities, then emphasis is better placed on economic enterprise” (Dewar & Watson 1991:

182). Following this line of thought, this research focuses more on the economic enterprises of Maputo's artists and vendors. For the purpose of this research "outside stimulatory agents" are represented by tourists. While this research touches on the household lives of informal artisans, the focus was decidedly on their "informal" business and its relationship to tourism.

Dewer and Watson also bring out the debate concerning the relationship of the formal sector to the informal sector. The debate centers on wealth accumulation, and whether an exploitative relationship exists between the sectors. In the context of Maputo, and particularly this research, this issue becomes clouded by the extensive system of "informal" economic activity. Research conducted in 2000 by Felisberto Navalha focuses on Maputo's sprawling informal markets. This research focuses particularly on the growing number of vendors (of various wares) who are grouping together to create savings accounts that can give them the advantages afforded by an amount of capital accumulation. However, the informal marketplaces highlighted in Navalha's research are often the same markets where Maputo's informal artists (the ones in this research) purchase their supplies. Thus while Navalha's research identifies the growth of capital accumulation co-operatives amongst informal traders, these traders may be in a position to exploit others within the informal sector, namely the artists. Thus the works of Bromley and Gerry (1979) as well as Moser (1984) cited by Dewer and Watson as works which expose the formal market's exploitation of the informal market, and the consequent prevention of the informal sector's capital accumulation, may be mirrored within Maputo's layers of informal work. Again,

the inclusiveness of the definition of “informal” is an issue. As Dewer and Watson point out “the conceptual separation of informal, small-scale economic activities from larger, more formal ones is misleading... they do not operate in separated economic circuits; indeed they are vitally interrelated” (Dewer & Watson 1991:183). The two authors make the point that the use of the term “informal sector” suggests an enterprise’s smallness in a system that includes all economic activity. This understanding is too broad for this research, although the implicit suggestion that “informal” refers to those marginal in an economy is enough to qualify the subjects of this research. However, using Navalha’s criteria of the informal sector is useful and accurately describes the participants in this research study; for Navalha a business belongs to the informal sector if, they have no registration, no license, provide no written receipts, provide no statistical information, and pay no taxes. While even these terms include a vast number of Mozambican enterprises and entrepreneurs outside of the arts market, this definition reflects the researcher’s understanding and intention in referring to artists and vendors as informal artisans.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Meticulous effort was taken to ensure that all good codes of sociological research were observed during this research venture. All information was gathered with the consent and understanding of artisans that it was to be used for a minor dissertation concerning their business and experiences. I have reserved the right to use name substitutions for artisans where needed. However, all other personal information such as age and experience is the substance of this research and is presented without alterations.

The research was structured into two distinct periods of just over two weeks each. The first outing into the field took place during June and July of 2005. This preliminary inquiry served to inform and refine the planning for the second research venture during November and December of 2005. The project developed continuously, although each leg of research had unique objectives and methods. Dividing the research into two separate blocs of time was critical to establishing the relevant points of inquiry, in addition to finding trustworthy sources that would provide a meaningful perspective on the ways Maputo's artisans conduct their business. This section on methodology will outline my strategy, planning, and project development while in the field. The first section looks at the potential barriers to the success of the project, as these issues informed the decisions which shaped the research, particularly during the first leg of the research project.

3.1 The Challenges of Research in Maputo

Maputo has a population of approximately 1.2 million people. This capital city is a complex hub of social, political, and artistic diversity steeped in the unique cultural milieu of southern Mozambique. Undertaking research in this city has several potentially problematic challenges. Some of these challenges were foreseen and the appropriate steps were taken to avoid difficulties. However, there were also unforeseen problems that required adjustments to the original research plan.

The most critical challenge to success in this or any research project is effective communication. Portuguese is the official language of the Mozambican state. Signs, billboards, newspapers, radio, and television programming is done in Portuguese. While *Shangaan* and *Ronga* are also spoken by segments of the Maputo population, Portuguese is the predominant language on people's lips. I learned to speak Portuguese after two years of study at the collegiate level and a six week summer study at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. However, my training was in continental Portuguese, which varies in accent and vocabulary from Mozambican Portuguese. Although I entered the research with confidence, I purposefully planned interviews for the second leg of the research project in order to become better acquainted with the speech patterns of Mozambican Portuguese. Although my learning curve was steep I successfully directed interviews in Portuguese (See Appendix 5). I was able to maneuver from prepared questions to the relevant issues of particular artist/vendor's insider

knowledge. Moreover, the tape recorded interviews were prefaced by a statement that subjects were to speak their mind and continue their thoughts through to the end, regardless of what I may have missed or misunderstood. With the aid of a Mozambican translator I gathered all the intended meanings and moods. Without this nuanced translation I could not have gone as deep into the interview responses.

Ultimately I am a White-American conducting research in the Mozambican cultural milieu. Moreover, the artisans of Maputo are fairly attuned to the ways of foreigners. My racial and national identities are critical issues that were both a help and hindrance to this study. I entered the field concerned that my identity markers might form a certain social dynamic between the vendors and the researcher. Artisans frequently perceived me as a potential customer in the beginning. I would try to dispel this atmosphere by stating that I was not there to purchase art. Unfortunately this is a common statement by tourists who share the researcher's color, and is even a negotiation tactic. After being asked to exchange my old tennis shoes for a piece of art, I also became more conscious of how I dressed and subsequently wore sandals during my field work. My race did not seem to affect interaction with the artisans as they were comfortable in dealing with whites through the day to day of their business. It was only during participant observation that race was a challenge, as at least one vendor in *Xipamanine* market artificially raised prices when I was present.

I also had difficulties at large markets, where vendors were generally not interested in forming a part of the study, but rather in selling their products. Developing an awareness of vendors who wanted to tell their story was essential to deciphering who would contribute well to the study. After an attempt at profiling artisans at the extremely large Saturday market, I determined that it was preferable to approach smaller, less competitive enclaves of artisans.

Perhaps the largest challenge of undertaking this research was focusing the research within a sizable labor sector. I wanted to capture a sense of the entire informal artist system operating in Maputo. This required a commitment to going beyond a single area or section and drawing on several different locations throughout the city. Within these various localities different business dynamics were at work; different products, group arrangements, various family associations, varying levels of group organization and size were all considered relevant issues for the artisan business sector. The modus operandi of particular artisans followed some regular patterns but I had no idea what that might be. Originally I felt it would be useful to focus on a single product and/or just artists who sold their own works. However, this informal network of artists is integrated to the point that the exclusion of vendors, or particular products would be analogous to doing only a partial sample of the informal art sector. This understanding became clear by the end of the first leg of the research project, and helped to make the second leg more strategic, particularly in regards to the selection of interviewees. The interviews combine with general observation and

questioning to show a cross-section of this business sector covering all the relevant issues.

Still greater focus was ultimately needed to root the research in practical and productive qualitative research. To this end, one particular contact João Cobo became my partner in participant observation. Thus I was able to take part in the process of batik making from the purchase of materials through the creation process and finally to the sale of over thirty pieces of artwork. This research stands apart from the other strategies as I was personally involved in every aspect of production, creating my own batiks with guidance from a local partner.

The most common and confusing aspect of working within this field was vendors' claims to being the artist that made a certain product. After further questioning, and particularly after it was clear that I was not going to purchase the product, the vendor would give a different account of who made the product. This differentiation between artists/vendors and pure vendors was considered a valuable piece of information, and it was somewhat difficult to determine the real from the fake. However, there were some people who had physically visible signs that they were the artists behind the work. The most obvious were *batik* makers whose dyed hands betrayed their profession. For this reason *batik* makers formed a reliable group of artists to focus on. A vendor might sell *batiks* made by a different artist and say that he is the one who made the *obra* (work). This was commonly done in pursuit of a sale. However, I could ask them why their hands were not stained. Ultimately, I would have to make judgments about

people's motivations, what their roles in the informal art business were, and when to believe their stories. I don't wish to associate dishonesty with Mozambican culture. However it can be, and is, used within the informal art business to make a living off of people who are naïve to the ways artists and vendors work together.

It means nothing to the artist if his vendor claims to have done this or that work of art, so long as his work is sold. Vendors have observed that tourists prefer meeting the creator of a painting, batik, or sculpture. Thus I was often confronted by a similar deception while vendors attempted to sell their artistic products. This research examines the validity of these tactics based on the power relations at work in tourist-host interactions and the reality of an artisan's income.

3.2 Night Journal and Field Notes

A nightly journal was established during field research as a matter of good methodological practice. This journal served as a way to summarize the day's events and activities. During journal writing sessions the more important points of the day tended to surface, and I could reflect about the day's events. The journal was particularly useful in synthesizing the research in a clear and chronological manner. My written reflections helped to develop critical questions based on new findings. Journal entries from June/July were critical to the formation of a research plan for my return in November.

Critical to successful and meaningful research was gaining a sense of the cultural context in Maputo. The journal pulled together my growing sense of Mozambican culture based on first hand accounts, continuous observation, newspapers, and historical texts. I was unprepared for parts of the cultural atmosphere in Maputo. For example, my cultural reference points did not prepare me to speak about witchcraft, although artisans referred to this phenomenon at times to explain their hardships.

Field notes were the center of primary data collection. During my fieldwork in Maputo, I kept a notebook to jot down each contact, observations, and anything I might pick up in conversations. These field notes were of primary importance to the development and thoroughness of the case study.

3.3 The Preliminary Inquiry and Research Development

After arriving in Maputo, the first step of research was gaining contacts and establishing the research population. Every initial meeting with an artist or vendors began with an explanation of the project and its goal. That goal was to gain more understanding of what constitutes the livelihood and condition of informal artists' and their business in Maputo. Upon arrival I was nearly totally ignorant of the systems, prices, profits, and work involved in producing a daily street side market with thousands of products on display. Taking to the streets and introducing the project elicited dozens of offers from artists and vendors to

lend their voices to the preliminary inquiry. As a researcher, I made a point of stating that I was not going to purchase art because it would threaten the integrity of the study. Often I was encouraged to make an exception, but throughout the preliminary fieldwork, not a single item of art was purchased.

On June 23rd, I set out by foot toward the Polana Hotel on *Avenida Julius Nyerere* (See Appendix 4). On the twenty minute walk I met and introduced my project to two *vendedores ambulantes* (walking vendors) [Mishike 29, Julio 27]. This was surely a good sign that I was heading in the right direction for Mozambican artists. Outside the *Polana Hotel*, I introduced myself to a man named Fernando [35], who was seated on a stool, sanding a small *scultura* (sculpture). He was polite, engaging, and bore with my early re-immersion into the Portuguese language. At this stage of the project I was eager to talk to lots of artists/vendors and gain some biographical information about the individuals in the business. The same set of questions was used for each artisan. Let us use the meeting with Fernando to serve as an example my line of questioning.

After an introduction to the project, the first question was whether it would be permissible to write down the answers to my questions in the field notebook. If that was acceptable (and it always was) I recorded the subjects name, age, and experience as an informal artisan. Fernando was 35 years old and a 19 year veteran of Maputo's art scene. Satisfied with first names for the moment, I would make a note in the field journal – Fernando 35/19. Subsequent questions remained practical and direct starting with a question about earnings over the

course of any given month. Then it was asked whether they were just vendors or whether they were also the producer of the art. If the subject was an artist, I would inquire about which products he made, how long it took to make a given piece, what the starting (good) price would be, and what their minimum price was. If the subject was a vendor I would inquire about their business and their recent sales record. It was then asked if the subject spoke other languages in addition to Portuguese. Eventually new contacts would be asked open-ended questions about tourism, Mozambican culture, and their association with other artists. At this point the notebook was generally closed, and the conversation would lead to various relevant topics. Some of these initial conversations lasted for well over an hour, although I tried to keep introductory conversations between 15-30 minutes. This was my basic formula for establishing a contact and gathering more angles on the research topic. It was quick and informative.

In the example of Fernando, after half an hour I knew that Fernando 35/19, sculpts and sells wooden masks, speaks a bit of French and English, earns an estimated 3-4 million *meticals* per month, lives in *Zona Verde*, has three children, would ask 450,000 for a small hand crafted wood table, but would sell it for 300,000 if pushed, and he describes his business as difficult [“é deficit”]. The first phase of research was to collect as many profiles as time permitted. I collected nearly sixty of these profiles during the course of the research project. It was from this pool of contacts that interviewees were chosen. In this way I was able to interview a cross section of Maputo’s artisans representing various age groups, experience levels, and business roles.

Each day began by approaching artists/vendors at different locations to introduce the research, in this way first name relations were established with people across the entire research area. An artisan's location became part of their profiles. The research area stretches about a dozen kilometers along the coastline of Maputo. Most sites were clustered along *Avenida de Julius Nyerere*, except for *Costa Do Sol*. I was determined to visit each major grouping of vendors in the first few days. Listing them from the city center outward, the research sites were *esquina de Vinte Quatro de Julho (Piri-Piri Restaurant)*, *esquina de Hotel Avenida*, *esquina de Ahmed S. Toure*, *Julius Nyere Middle*, the Polana Hotel, and the three restaurants along Marginal, *Sagres*, *Miramar* and *Costa Do So* (See Appendix 4). Each location was visited and introduced to the research and its aims. I have listed their names here to demarcate not only location but association as well. Subtly different organizational dynamics are at work within each area group. In addition, I met and profiled several *vendedores ambulantes*, as they appeared to make up a sizable portion of artisans that fell within the research area. These "walking salesmen" were unique to the informal art industry and offered a valuable perspective on Maputo's informal art business.

The research sites run along *Julius Nyerere* and then down to the beach side *Marginal* (See Appendix 4). This stretch includes the vast amount of street side art in the city of Maputo. A few other places were potential target areas as well, namely the *Sabado Baixa Mercado* and *Feira Popular* on *Avenida de 25 do Setembro*. I observed these locations during my preliminary inquiry. However, vendors had little interest in talking unless it was business. Some vendors just

continued to offer me their wares. They might have said “my friend” or, “good price for you” in English. “*Chefe!*,” the Portuguese word for boss, or the simple “*bom dia, Senhor*”, were verbal pleas common amongst vendors. Some vendors were louder than others. There were over a hundred vendors in the downtown courtyard at the *Sabado Baixa Mercado*. *Fiera Popular* was slightly smaller, but also full of eager art vendors. I couldn’t speak to one before another had arrived and begun to lay out their batik for me on the sidewalk. My whiteness was a likely factor in drawing their attention. At first they were noticeably in competition for my attention as well. They didn’t necessarily mind speaking with me, but they might also break mid-sentence to pursue another potential client. This was not conducive to a thorough investigation of any individual artisan. I encountered a situation like this on the first day of field research at the *Julius Nyerere Middle* location.

The introduction at *Julius Nyerere Middle* was difficult to deliver because of overcrowding. I approached the area where approximately twenty Mozambican men of various ages were seated beside their artistic products. As I began to explain my purpose the vendors abandoned their posts and began to form a small crowd around me. At the *Polana Hotel* a hundred meters further up the street this sort of group curiosity had not been encountered (See Appendix 4). My Portuguese was clear enough to explain the basis for the research to the group, yet because of their numbers it was difficult to begin creating profiles of the individual artisans. However, I forged ahead by engaging with Americo, who seemed to be asking questions on behalf of the group. He wanted to know (and

presumably the other gentlemen wanted to know), where I learned to speak Portuguese, where I was from, what it was like there, where I was staying in Maputo, and what I thought about Mozambique. Answering his questions was part of building a relationship with the people at this location. I answered his questions, and then asked Americo some prescribed questions. However, when I asked an open ended question, for example, "has business been good this week?" a dozen simultaneous answers responded in a disgruntled cacophony.

Frequent returns to *Julius Nyerere Middle* reduced this crowding effect until my presence was commonplace. By the end of the field research, five of the twenty artisans at *Julius Nyerere Middle* were engaged in an hour long profiling session, and one artisan (Americo) became an interviewee. Because this research takes into account a locational dimension it was not desirable to speak to every vendor at one location. Time would not allow it. Moreover, this minor dissertation discusses in depth far fewer artisans than actually engaged in dialogue with the research questions. The contribution of many led to the question-framing and my general knowledge of their unique profession and workplace particularly during the first leg of the research project.

Reflecting on the preliminary inquiry led to several significant understandings about the day to day business operations of Maputo's informal artisans. Some expectations were confirmed. Others ended up being less significant. Those issues will be examined in the findings section. The most important information taken from the preliminary inquiry was an understanding of several nuances of

the business. I had uncovered Maputo's informal artisans in terms of who they are, what they do, and where they do it. In the second leg of research I wanted to discover how they operated and to what end they earned an income. Thus the focus of the preliminary inquiry on the difference between artists and vendors, work schedules, price variation, language ability, and experience in the field set the structure for more qualitative data concerning specific people and types of work. In this way the research shifted gear and went more in depth. Upon my return in November, I began to understand personal situations, motivations, and work processes. As the findings will show, there is a wide variance in work and task before the art reaches the sidewalks.

3.4 Second Leg of Research

The second leg of research began in November 2005 and carried on through the beginning of December. Three distinct approaches were taken during the course of this research period. The first was pursuing participant observation with at least one batik artist. To be present and participative in the entire process of batik making was considered vital in identifying dozens of variables within the life of Maputo's artisans. The second was to do a series of structured interviews representative of various styles, area groupings, job descriptions, age, and experience. The third approach to data collection was the distribution of receipt books in an effort to gain some quantitative data for the month of December 2005.

As was the case in June and July there were expected and unexpected challenges which naturally arose. Dealing with the realities of a Mozambican summer was challenging in more ways than one. Besides the heat which would be difficult to tolerate for long periods, it also promised to be a busy time for the artisans in comparison to June and July. Despite all, the research took its own shape beginning with follow ups with my profiled artisans at all the various target sites. Thanks to proper notes I could essentially pick up where I left off by debriefing myself before approaching a particular location. Within three days of walking between sites I had collected several more profiles, made second contact with many previously profiled artisans, established a few interview candidates, and most importantly made arrangements with a batik maker to go to *Xipamanine* market to purchase materials. This would be the first step in the process of participant observation.

3.5 Participant Observation

My first contact with João Correira Cobo took place in June during the preliminary inquiry. João was working on the corner of *Rua de Ahmahd S. Toure* and *Avenida de Julius Nyerere*. When interest was expressed in making batik work, João offered to assist me and this proved to be the most crucial relationship in gaining a perspective on the artistic process. Our collaboration led to the purchase of *tinta* (paint), *pano* (cotton sheets), and *velas* (candles) at Xipamanine Market, and several days of art work at João's home in *Maotas*. This experience was invaluable to uncovering the specifics of the informal artist's

lifestyle. This participant observation took place every odd day. The rest of the time I continued to work in Maputo scheduling and conducting interviews.

Scheduling interviews was frustrating at times. I scheduled several early on in November, and planned them several days in advance. The day would arrive and the individual had stayed home that day. This led to two missed appointments, and consequently I adopted a schedule-for-tomorrow-only technique to scheduling interviews. The only other missed appointment was due to record breaking heat of 43 degrees Celsius, which kept the artisan from making the commute to Maputo from *Maotas* (See Appendix 4). The same heat took a physical toll on me, as I consistently spent 4-6 hours a day walking, talking, and making observations in the open air. While other researchers may guffaw over the “harsh elements” of summer time in Mozambique, the dangers of heat and sun exposure are just as real as any other variables in conducting field research. Sunscreen and water were prerequisite to embarking on a day’s research in Maputo. Ultimately enough organization and work was done to take a full observation of the batik process and conduct seven in depth interviews.

3.6 The Interviews

My interview subjects came from a cross section of Maputo’s artisans. The interviews built on existing knowledge of the interviewee, and flushed out their opinions, experiences, and difficulties. I asked some structured questions designed to lead into more open and contextualized dialogue (See Appendix 1 &

Appendix 5). In this way the interviews followed a flexible template, allowing the subject to take the lead and relate personal experiences.

The sample of interviewees was taken mostly from contacts made during the preliminary research of June and July. However, two of the seven were new contacts. One of these new contacts (Enoque) served as a substitution for another artist that was not present at *Polana Hotel* on the day arranged for the interview. The second new contact (Geraldo) was dealing in Makonde carvings on *Marginal* in front of *Sagres Restaurant* (See Appendix 4). After speaking with Geraldo for an hour it was clear that his position was unique to the other artisans I had already interviewed. Each interview subject had a unique situation and role in the informal art market.

My first interview was with Americo [35, 6], who worked on *Julius Nyerere Middle* with a loose association of artists. He had a varied experience as a vendor, and had traveled to South Africa and Swaziland in pursuit of the artisans' trade. Although older, he had only settled in Maputo for the past six years. He was chosen for his assertiveness, and his observable skill in negotiation.

Timore [26, 14] was a young man who had been selling art works since he was no more than twelve years old in the streets of Maputo. A pure vendor who takes no part in the creation of art, Timore had the experience of a *vendedor ambulante* and was chosen on this account. His openness to the interview process cinched his participation in the study.

Muzima [35, 10] was a middle-aged batik artist/vendor in the bustling art market at the *esquina de Vinte Quatro de Julho*, also the location of *Piri Piri Restaurant*. Muzima was eager to take part in my study. I had already sat down with several of his colleagues, and had actually had a different artist in mind. Yet the daily inconsistency of any particular absence led to Muzima's inclusion as an interviewee. Because I was keenly interested in batik work Muzima was a welcome addition and was able to talk more in depth about the designs and techniques of batik than others.

Henriques [25, 10] was a young man with over ten years of experience in the business of batik making and dealing. He had an interesting perspective on the internal workings of the informal art market. Henriques was having tough times finding clients despite his efforts as a *vendedor ambulante*. Henriques proved to be one of the most valuable and unique voices in the interview pool.

The fifth interview subject, Enoque [44, 17] was a replacement for an earlier contact made at the *Polana Hotel*. The forty four year old Enoque was certainly qualified to speak about the business having been an artist and vendor in Maputo since the late 1980's during Mozambique's civil war. He was very open about his location outside the Polana Hotel and was patient with the interview considering that this particular interview was not preceded by an initial contact discussion.

I met Geraldo [27, 5] outside *Sagres Restaurant on Marginal*, very close to the Holiday Inn. Geraldo quickly exposed me to several of the processes necessary to finish Makonde sculpture statues for sale. After a lengthy discussion he agreed

to be interviewed about his role in the informal art market of Maputo. Geraldo's experience as a vendor of products imported from the northern Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado was at once unique and representative of a number of vendors making their living in a similar fashion. His interview was invaluable in flushing out the variance of experience amongst informal artisans in Maputo.

The seventh interview was arranged with João [28, 13], my partner in participant observation. João and I shared many conversations about his work. His experience typified that of many others I had spoken with in Maputo who were having a tough time making ends meet in the informal art business. This interview was arranged in João's home in Mahotas, where we were continuing the process of finishing our batiks. At this time João's older brother, Arture [41] himself an experienced carver of 14 years, was at home. It was only logical to include Arture in the interview process, and thus the seventh interview was actually a double interview. This opportunity allowed me to ask questions about their family and artistic associations. Arture spoke particularly well on issues of materials, negotiation, and the lifestyle of the business.

The seven interviews, and eight participants, explore a wealth of perspectives on the business of art on Maputo's sidewalks. It is unfortunate that I could not include a female voice within the interviews, although this is a reflection of the situation within the sector. All the participants were asked about women's participation in the business with varying answers. This issue will be explored in the findings section.

3.7 Distribution of Receipt Books

Seven receipt books were given out to the interviewees for recording their sales during the month of December. After the interview process was complete the receipt book was presented along with a pitch to record their daily work schedules and sales. My research time frame disallowed the possibility of following an artist for a month. The receipt books were an attempt to gather some quantitative data to balance the inquiry. It asked a lot of commitment from the seven contacts who each willingly accepted the receipt books and a pen. Each book contained my name, the vendor's name, and the address where the book could be returned. An incentive of 100,000 *meticals* was offered for the return of December's sales and work record. It was imperative to get vendors their books by 1 December. Due to various time constraints and other research commitments two books were delivered on 2 and 3 December respectively after interviews. However, I used these missed days to demonstrate how the data should be presented in the receipt book using their actual business experience over the past few days. The data in question began with the date on each page, followed by a description of the work sold, the number of pieces sold, individual price of the item, and total cost of all items. At times when they were working but didn't sell anything they were asked to record this by writing "*nao vende nada*" or another equivalent expression. Likewise, if they were working on art, or taking

the day off from selling they should specify that in writing as well (See Appendix 2).

By the time the last receipt book was distributed there were only a few days remaining to conduct research in Maputo. Besides the return of the receipt books, all the data collection was effectively finished. I spent the last day delivering personal hand-written thank you cards to the interviewees for participating in the study. This gesture gave me the opportunity to make the last rounds of the research sites and say farewell to the many people that contributed their experience to this minor dissertation.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 4: Research Findings

The five weeks of research that I embarked on led to many interesting findings concerning the lives and works of artisans in Maputo. The artisans' experiences are varied and their success is the result of several factors. In this section these factors will be discussed in depth; drawing on observation, participant observation, casual conversations, and direct interviews that formed the research. Although the work of these artisans is described as informal, it is a decidedly professional pursuit. This business environment is, like any capitalist centered business activity, replete with competition, innovation, savvy entrepreneurs, and imitators. It is a difficult place to make a living as increasing numbers of people enter the field. Newcomers enter into an environment that is already full of talented artists, clever vendors, and experienced artisans who may have established clientele. The process of art creation and sale varies depending on the individual artisan's skills, capital, and motivations. I will begin the findings section with a discussion of my participant observation experience in batik work. In this way a particular process can be explained and serve as reference for the methods of other artisans.

4.1 Participant Observation: From Bed Sheets to Batiks

During the preliminary inquiry I met João Jose Correira Cobo selling batiks on *esquina de Ahmed S. Toure*. We spoke for a few hours that day along with Ikó, the only other artisan at that site. When I met João again in November he

showed a willingness to demonstrate the batik making process. We made plans to go to a local market called *Xipamanine* to purchase the materials.

We met at about nine in the morning in the district of *Museu*, near the city center where *chappas* (mini-bus taxis) can be caught to most destinations in and around Maputo. João arrived a bit late, and then we boarded a *chappa* together bound for Xipamanine market place. Although we had not spoken directly about the cost of purchases, I was prepared to make all the purchases of material as he was providing me with a critical perspective on the work of batik artists. When we arrived at Xipamanine, we headed towards the section where clothes and bedding were sold. Our first task was to find the right *pano* (cloth material).

João informed me that we were looking for white or off white bed sheets. Although we saw several such bed sheets, João was quick to show me how many were too thin to absorb the colors richly. Slightly thicker cotton bed sheets were considered the most desirable material. Some artists, perhaps newcomers, might get very poor cloth. João rubbed each fabric between his fingers to determine its utility. After close inspection of several white bed sheets, we had passed up several potential fabrics. After about twenty minutes, of wandering, inspecting, and deciding against particular pieces, I asked if there was not any good material. João was confident that there was and eventually we found what we was looking for. He then asked the vendor the price, which was given at 150.000 *meticaís*. João was floored by the offer, telling me it was ridiculous to even suggest such a high price. I said it was probably because I was

white and accompanying him. João agreed with me, but continued to haggle with the vendor. The vendor would only drop his price to 120.000 which was still unfair by João's standards. We continued to other stalls, and eventually happened upon some appropriate material, four queen sized bed sheets, one of which was a mattress cover, all white. We paid 100.000 *meticaís* for the four and then went on to find candles.

Passing through the crowded and vast market place was a bit disorienting. We left the open air market place and entered an area designed for dining customers. There were many women engaged in food service and other enterprises at *Xipaminine*. Indeed it looked as if most vending was done by women. We carried on into a section where general food stuffs and household items were being sold in dozens of metal green stalls. When we reached the candle vendor, João gave a frown as the price of candles had risen from 15.000 to 17.500 *meticaís* since the last time he was at the market. The white wax candles were sold in bunches of five. We purchased eight sacks at a total price of 140.000 *meticaís* before heading out of that section towards the area where dyes were sold.

Passing pens full of chickens and goats we arrived at the man who sold the proper dyes. Although he looked to be selling other sorts of items, including cigarettes, pens, and note pads, he and João exchanged a familiar hello and he produced several newspaper cones filled with different powders. He poured an eye-measured amount of five different powders into smaller paper cones, which

he then twisted and handed to João, each was 7.500 *meticaís*, a total of 37.500 *meticaís*.

Having finished the purchase of basic materials we headed back out of *Xipamanine* market to catch a *chappa* to João's neighborhood of *Mahotas*. Although João later told me he had forgotten to purchase the coal that was necessary in the batik making process, for a total of 277.500 *meticaís* we had more than enough raw material to begin the artistic process. To put this amount of money in perspective, the exchange rate at the time was just above 25.000 *met*s to the US dollar, making a total of \$11.00 US, or around R70.00. Coal, the one material we had forgotten to buy, was being sold in standard plastic shopping bags for 5.000 *met*s, and was therefore the cheapest of all materials. Macamo's 1999 figures suggested the tender sum of US \$50 to enter the informal market (Macamo 1999). João and I had spent a fifth of that for our materials.

We exited the *chappa* before noon that day and began walking to João's home in *Mahotas*. His house turned out to be about eight kilometers from where we were dropped off. This gave us ample time to discuss issues of the business and particularly the vendor who raised the price on account of my race. As it turned out it would not be the last time that people reacted to João differently because he was seen walking with a white person.

We arrived together at João's home, circled by hedges, and a makeshift plywood door. His home was made of brick and corrugated iron roofing. There were

some holes in the brick work as well as the ceiling, and besides a table, a stool, a old rocking chair, and some bedding, it was empty inside. He shares this home with two older brothers, who are artists as well. A pile of wood shavings on the floor spoke to his brother Artur's profession as a sculptor. Despite the undeniable humbleness and material poverty of the house, the yard had a friendly ambiance, with a flowering shrub near the pit latrine in back, and a large mango tree which provided the shade for us to sit and work under.

The first step was to tear the bed sheets into appropriate sized pieces. João demonstrated his way of doing this, emphasizing how everything he does is by hand and eye. He never uses scissors or rulers. After he demonstrated to me, we both began ripping the sheets into batik-sized rectangles. João's neighbor and friend Domingos stopped by to watch us and chat with us. We spoke at length about tourism, the war for independence, America, and racism while João and I worked. It was all very friendly, and I was made to feel welcome.

After we had torn all four bed sheets into small batik sizes, we had eighty two blank works. The first artistic phase is to put down the preliminary design in pen. While seated on the ground, using a wooden plank to lay each piece out flat between his legs, João started each design by drawing a 10cm-20cm border on all the sides of the rectangle. Then it was time to be artistic. I looked on as he penned images of skinny women with bundles on their heads and huts in the background. He varied this theme on each new batik canvas. He called these slender Mozambican women figures *magrinhas*. He could finish a design in just

under five minutes. I asked what other types of designs he liked to do, and he demonstrated by doing a giraffe, an elephant, a fisherman on his boat, and a musician playing a drum. Then it was my turn to do some designs. Following his instructions and mimicking his designs, I made a *magrinha*, which proved a bit difficult for me, as the end product was not as shapely as his. Next I made a fisherman design in his fashion. After this one, I asked if he ever liked to do something out of the ordinary, like a nude woman, or a city scene. We chuckled over the idea, and he said no that he was content to do dozens of batiks featuring *magrinhas*, the occasional animal, and fisherman without much variation. This was his standard, as well as several other artists in Maputo (See Appendix 3).

I made a few more designs, including one with the written words "*Batiks por João*" – batiks by João – which I said he could hang with his other works like a sign. He was polite and thanked me for this thought. As late afternoon approached we stopped to eat some of the mangoes that were beginning to ripen on his tree. Not long after João walked me to a different circle much closer to his house, called *Magoanine* where I could catch a ride back into town. We arranged to meet two days later to continue our work. Without a cellular phone, it could be difficult to get in touch with João so we did our best to ensure that we could continue the work then. This time I would come directly to the *Magoanine* circle and he would wait for me around noon.

The next meeting we began painting. First it was necessary to start a fire and then place a half dozen candles in the pot to be melted down. Fortunately, João owned two brushes so we could both work at the same time. Once the wax was hot we began to paint areas within the design that were to remain white. Two layers of hot wax on both sides of the fabric was João's standard approach. Since I intended to color most of the parts of my batiks in, this first application of wax was fairly quick, about ten minutes for each of my designs. João was quicker and more accurate, and put his work down quite a few times to guide me and improve my technique. After about an hour and half I had finished my designs and began working on a few of his designs. We went at a casual pace, chatted a bit, and made up some silly songs while we worked. I was also teaching him some new English phrases to try out on his clients. Towards the end of the next hour he was praising my improvements, telling me I would be a true Mozambican artist in no time. I was flattered but also eager to put some color onto the designs that were ready for it.

João sent a young girl from the neighborhood to fetch some water for our dye. She returned with several liters of water in a plastic tub on her head. João gave her a 1.000 *meticais* coin, also referred to as a *conto* for her service. We poured a few liters of the water into a wash basin, and then João brought out one of the powder filled cones we had purchased at the market a couple days before. He placed about a third of the powder in the water, mixed it and then took a work from me to demonstrate the application of the water-based dye. The dye was a blue color, he explained, and would be well suited for the sky in my pictures, or

perhaps the ocean in my design of the fisherman. Thus, I was only to place the appropriate third, or half of the fabric into the dye. This must be done carefully because the wax cannot break; otherwise the colors will seep into the other sections of the batik that have already been completed. I did as I was instructed, and then carried the dripping wet fabric to a clothes line at the back of the yard to pin it up. My hands were now a pale blue, and I recalled my reasoning in being able to identify the true batik makers by their dyed hands. With one color finished, there was now a period of waiting for them to dry before continuing. For the next color João produced a different bucket of dye from the day before, which he explained could be reused again and again until the color became murky or faded. Bright colors, he explained help to sell the art. He also explained that the wax itself could be broken off a finished batik and be re-melted for use on a new batik. You could only use the wax twice though before it started to stain the fabric with unwanted colors. We were preparing to do the second color when it began to rain. This was not good because the wet batiks on the line would have their color stripped by the rain. So we grabbed all the batiks back off the line and hung them in the house where we could find space. I waited for the rain to subside a bit before heading back to Maputo. I figured it would take at least another day or two before we could complete the batiks at this point. João agreed to meet me in the city the following day, because he wanted to try and sell some of the works he still had at home.

When the day arrived it turned out to be 43 degrees Celsius, easily one of the hottest days I've ever experienced. I kept my appointment with João passing by

his new selling location between *Julius Nyerere Middle*, and *Esquina de Ahmed S. Toure*. There were a few other vendors out in the sweltering heat, but João was not around, and the others had not seen him. A bit frustrated, I returned to my base camp where there was some refuge from the heat. It would be three more days before I found João again. He came by my temporary residence and explained how it had been too hot to go to the city that day, and that he rather just stayed inside and continued to paint the wax on to the batiks and dye them in the ink. While I wished to return with him to finish up my own works, I had an appointment for an interview to keep, so I made plans for the following day to meet him at the circle in *Magoanine*.

When we arrived back at João's home his work spoke for itself. There were twenty batiks completed with more in the process. His color scheme was really vibrant. The backgrounds of his *magrinha* designs faded from dull orange to vivid green and finally into a sky blue at the top of each batik. The borders were a dark red. He had signed them "D'juas 06" as was his fashion. I was frustrated that I had missed so much, but João told me not to worry, as he had saved all of mine for me to paint and dye. For the next four hours I did just that, painting, dyeing, drying. Color must be applied in a certain order, generally with the darker colors last. Once a color is done and dried, that color is covered in wax to protect that color from the next dyeing. While I waited for my batiks to dry, I did a formal interview with João and his brother Artur, who seemed pleased to be included in some way with my research. Artur, Joao's older brother, is a man who has achieved the level of master carver. Throughout our interview Artur

continued to craft a piece of wood into an animated face. When the interview was over we looked over my batiks. They had the same winning color scheme, but I was clearly not of the same skill level as João. I was convinced that his batiks were high quality. We chatted about them and agreed that fifty thousand *meticaís* each would be the low price. The asking cost of the negotiation would start typically at one hundred thousand.

The following day was Saturday, and João was going to go to sell his new batiks near *Feira Popular* on *Avenida de 25 de Setembro*. This is a fairly large marketplace. I told him that I would like to join him, he agreed. João was already setting up when I arrived at 9:15 am. I stayed with him for several hours, in which time he sold two small “magrinha” batiks to two different clients. One client was a white tourist (based on his English-only negotiation) who paid 60,000 *meticaís*, and the other was a Portuguese man and wife who purchased one at 50,000 *meticaís*. Some others seemed interested, but were already turning their heads to other vendors when João approached them, he tried to steer them back, but only half-heartedly. It seemed to me he had set up at the far side of the market, away from *Avenida de 25 de Setembro*. It was observations like this, combined with interviews with other vendors who had more success than João that led me to believe that João was not the best vendor. He lacked a bit of enthusiasm when approaching new customers, particularly in comparison to other vendors at that market. I don't wish to conflate this with his character, because I came to know him fairly well, and he is an honest and caring person, who has seen enough hardship to lose those honorable qualities. However it is

likely his passiveness that allowed me to become so close to him and share in his work and art, whereas other vendors were only interested in an interview at most, where they often made me a sales pitch to go into business with me at the end. This happened on more than one occasion.

My suspicion of João's lack of dealing and negotiating skill was confirmed when I saw him in early December, and he confided in me that he had sold thirty *magrinhas* at 20.000 a piece. I was stunned as these were the pieces it had taken us well over a week to produce, and he had spent at least two hours total on each piece. These batiks had bright colors, and good skill was evident. We had said they were worth fifty. I figured he might drop as low as thirty, but twenty was too cheap. João knew it too, and it was difficult for him to reflect on the transaction. João explained that his brothers were counting on him to provide for the house in the upcoming weeks, and this influenced his decision to accept such a low offer. He explained this with lots of regret in his voice. João's situation is not unique amongst artisans as price negotiations are distorted by needs like food for one's family. Many comments about such desperate negotiations were noted during casual conversations and interviews.

One disturbing situation that happened with João which he also pointed out to me that day was that some people from his neighborhood had been teasing him about being with me, a white person, at his house. They accused him of being rich, and "too good for us, huh?" I could see this was a burden to him and I

apologized profusely. He brushed it off and said that he was used to hardships and that people will talk there is nothing he or I could do about it.

Thus, I became more self-aware of whiteness within Maputo. Artisans had generally been so forth coming with information and help concerning the project that I was beginning to get the impression that people were really moving beyond race. However, this incident was a stark reminder of how race continues to be a salient feature to identify and profile people in Mozambican society. In this instance whiteness is an associated with wealth and status. This association is echoed during the in depth interviews by some of the subjects.

4.2 The Artistic Product

The research target areas contained primarily batik work, oil painting, and wood sculpting. Other types of merchandise were available at different locations, such as jewelry, sea shells, and souvenir pieces (mostly wooden cups which have the word "Mozambique" or "Maputo" carved and dyed on them). However, the large majority of art products fell into the main categories. These products have similarities in concept and image.

Batik works, particularly smaller sized pieces, thrive on the image of African Femininity. This is denoted by the carrying of an object on the head. This design is common (See Appendix 3). While styles can be discerned between two batik artists the themes and imagery remain fairly static. Joao and I were certainly not

the only ones making batiks with *magrinhas*. Larger works a meter or more in length allow the artist more room to develop a visual concept. However these concepts are generally related to Africa. The Mozambican batik artist Henrique confirms this in his interview “yes, that’s how we work. We represent the culture of life in the country side.” I observed works with afro-fauna, village scenes, beach scenes, fishing scenes, and also piece of batik depicting the horrible floods of 2003. The flood batik seemed a very interesting anomaly. In the batik a red-cross helicopter is dangling a ladder to some Mozambicans on the roofs of their flooded homes. Anything is possible to create, yet artists generally stay within particular thematic paradigms. Larger batiks are more expensive to produce, which is likely to affect an artist’s decision to rather make something he has seen selling fast and at a good prices. Even within the dynamic of market demand for this imagery, artists manage to develop stylistic markers that differentiate them from others. Some develop creative nicknames to sign their works. Others focus on using a variety of colors, like Joao Cobo. Still others lay claim to developing the basic themes and styles that are the staple image of many “copy cat” artists.

One such artisan was Muzima, a ten year veteran batik maker who works on the corner of *Vinte Quatro de Julho* and *Julius Nyerere* (also the location of Piri Piri Restaurant). Muzima discussed his techniques with me before our interview. He brought me to his works, hanging on one of several clothes lines at that location. He identified the cracking wax lines in the background of his works. Muzima claims to be one of the first to pioneer this style of purposefully breaking the wax

after each application to create a unique effect. It is now a common style on the street gauging from my observations. Muzima agrees with me and went on to say in his interview that “there are many who make copies to survive...the good artist makes art to develop, the other only fights for the market to survive.” Batik work is simple and cheap enough to start out without a fully developed skill. Even on my first attempt I was able to do a modest piece of what Muzima calls “Cultura Africana.” This is what Muzima sells most. Indeed it is the whole of what most artisans sell (Appendix 3).

Oil paintings on Maputo’s street side take mainly two forms: Abstracts and Cultura Africana. Oil paintings are more expensive than batiks. This is not surprising as painting materials are also more expensive. A painting that is one meter by 40-50 cm costs from 250,000 meticaís and up. Whether it is an abstract with contorting faces, or a clear image of a Mozambican family walking through a typical village scene the asking price would start above 300,000. Paintings were generally sold at the *Vinte Quatro de Julho* and *Mira Mar* locations. *Vendedores Ambulantes* also sold paintings as they are easy to carry from place to place when rolled up. The paintings themselves are mostly done in singular color patterns. Whole compositions, particularly abstract, will be done with shades of blue or red. There are clearly some talented painters in Maputo. However, the work that makes it onto streetside in Maputo uses the same themes of African Culture which dominate the work of batik artists. One such painting I encountered at *Vinte Quatro de Julho* was a vivid blue impressionistic piece, with several African characters dressed in oranges and greens. On the right of the

canvas was the typical *Mozambicana* (Mozambican woman), with a parcel on her head, a baby on her back, and holding a smaller child's hand. At the center of the work was a masculine figure who had one hand caressing the aforementioned *Mozambicana's* posterior. His other arm was around another woman on the left side of the canvas. The woman on the left and the man in the center are posturing for a kiss. The vendors had a lot of enthusiasm in explaining the way that their culture works. While polygamy is not regularly practiced in Maputo, it does exist. Why should this be the image sold to tourists? It must have been a popular type of painting, because there were another two just like it with different background colors.

Wood Carving is the art which has garnered the most acclaim as a culturally unique craft in Mozambique. Sculptures, busts, figures, abstracts, boxes and other wood carvings made up the bulk of material sold by informal artisans in the research area. As has been mentioned by Nedjma and Sulger (2004), the Makonde cultural group of Northern Mozambique are particularly well known for their sculpting. During a visit to *Sagres/Mira Mar* on *Marginal* next to the Holiday Inn, I met Geraldo a 27 year old man with four years experience as a vendor. He was selling Makonde sculptures made from ebony or *pao preto*. Geraldo gets virtually complete Makonde sculptures then sands and polishes them on the streetside. I would conduct an interview with Geraldo about his unique position in the business. However, many were producing locally with local woods. On a visit to *Costa Do Sol* at the end of *Marginal* I met Gostinho. Gostinho was a jovial 42 year old man, who had been sculpting for 20 years. He produced large

works of over a meter in height. These works would be made from the trunks of trees, and were exquisitely crafted into the likeness of coal miners, teachers, fisherman, etc. Gostinho explained that just to complete one of these works could take as long as three weeks. However, the pay off was good at a starting price of 3 million meticaís. Unlike Geraldo's sculptures which clearly portrayed a traditional imagery and craft of Mozambique, Gostinho's works connected with a more contemporary African reality. Many were selling *pao preto* products, although rose and sandalwood were also in wide use. Rose wood has a nice red color which lent itself to functional pieces such as boxes and jewelry cases. Sandal wood has the added feature of a pleasant aroma, which undoubtedly has been the selling point of more than one sandalwood sculpture. Vendors use all sorts of techniques and strategies to make a sale, in the next section this will be examined.

4.3 Ways of Selling: An Overview of Maputo's Streetside Markets

Maputo's informal artisans are not alone on the streets. Along *Avenida de Julius Nyerere*, where the majority of my research sites were located, there are also cashew dealers, peanut sellers, music hawkers, cigarette vendors, and traders with sandals, shoes, watches, belts, sunglasses, hats, even coconuts (particularly along *Marginal*: see map on appendix 4). Most of these vendors are *vendedores ambulantes*, and thus can, and often do, accompany a prospective customer from one place to the next offering their wares as they walk. This tactic of following a customer with the product occasionally happens amongst art

vendors, but is more common with those who have commercial merchandise, generally because art vendors are using the available space to display their offerings. However, there are several vendors who walk with their products as well.

I interviewed Timore, a twenty six year old with fourteen years of experience as a vendor in Maputo, and in his opinion “you got to walk in this business. Some like to stay and wait for clients but me I prefer to walk. Mimmo’s, Mundo’s...” He mentions two restaurants, Mimmo’s and Mundo’s that are about a kilometer apart. Mundo’s is on *Avenida de Julius Nyerere*, the focus of my research. It would not be uncommon to see an artisan with a painting above his head walking around the outside of either of these restaurants. Timore explains that he has sold at night as well in this fashion. Most stationary vendors will pack up just before sundown. However, as a walking vendor, Timore is free to stay in the city with several paintings rolled up under his arm. He explains to me “the place I sell most is Mimmo’s” located on *Vinte Quatro de Julho*. This is a pizza restaurant popular among foreigners and locals, and there are no stationary vendors around this restaurant, unlike Costa Do Sol, Mira Mar, or Piri Piri restaurants. Timore’s tactics have served him well, as he explained how he sold a painting (1 meter by 40cm) the day prior to the interview for 400,000 mets, approximately \$16 USD. Many other vendors would have sold nothing on that day.

The plethora of vendors on *Avenida de Julius Nyerere* can be confusing to an outsider. The more vendors in a given area, the more they are in competition for

a client. This was my experience at the *Sabado Baixa Mercado*, where calling out to a customer in raised voices was a standard form of competition to attract a client. Many of the artisans I spoke to had disdain for this approach to selling, and they had an observably calm demeanor when interacting with clients.

Artisans who set up at regular street sites were generally more laid back; making verbal contact with a client only after an interest was taken up. Invariably, when twenty artisans are lined on a sidewalk one of them will say something to a passer by. Talking is a natural part of the business. Negotiation does not seem overly influenced by the language barrier. Deals could either be good or bad for the vendor depending on what sort of deal he is willing to make. Selling at good prices is important to the survival of artisan economy. On Saturdays everyone is trying to earn.

There are two reasons why artisans are more likely to use more aggressive style at the larger *Sabado Baixa Mercado*. Firstly, artisans tend to sell their work in the same areas with the same people who often have different types of work to offer, and this structure dissolves as hundreds of artisans from around Maputo, often with similar works of art, compete for the limited numbers of clientele. Secondly, the *Sabado Baixa Mercado* is a vendor dense context. Artists will often give their art to a vendor to sell on their behalf. The agreed upon price then needs to be augmented by the vendor to get his own share of the sale. The incentive for the vendor is to sell as much as possible, at the largest mark up as possible. Their skill lies in convincing people to buy from them, even if their products are not of the highest standard. This is a skill I observed time and again, as potential

customers were given piece after piece of artwork to hold before they purchased something. The skill of a vendor is making a sale and doing so at a profit, and it is not a skill that all artists possess.

I met Americo at *Julius Nyerere Middle*. I remember he and I began speaking while several other vendors gathered around us early on in the field work. He openly offered to help me with my research and we continued to talk in an interview that December. The day of the interview I went to his area and watched him make a small sale. I asked him about it,

Americo: Two small carvings. One hundred and twenty thousand. That's almost five dollars [US]. And I paid five rand for them in Swaziland.

Scott: Then it is a big profit, heh?

Americo: Yes but there is transport. It is eighty thousand meticaais to go back and forth. Now if I sell that thing for ten thousand I earn nothing because of transport.

Scott: Is it more important to be a good artist or a good vendor?

Americo: *Aypah*. I decided to be a good vendor because my cousin is already an artist.

Americo spoke freely about his advantages as a vendor. He was multilingual, speaking Portuguese, Shangaan, Ronga, Zulu, Sotho, Afrikaans, and some English. In addition, his brother and father provided him with art to sell. He spoke of earning better than the others at his sight, which was not unbelievable considering the fine job he'd done closing that deal. He mentioned a few other ways of closing a sale. For example, you could carve using *chafuta* (wood type)

instead of rose wood. Rose wood is expensive so *chafuta* may be used, Americo explains, “*chafuta*, on the outside it is red, but on the inside it is white. But we know that the Portuguese really like *pao rosa* so we call the *chafuta pao rosa*. I mean money is money.” This sort of approach leads to a greater income.

While artists can also be vendors, it is rare to find one that has talents in both areas. Virtually everyone I spoke with was a vendor, although not all of them were artists. There was a wide range of approaches taken by various individuals. Some downplayed the noisy aggressiveness of other vendors as annoying to a customer, and preferred to take a more moderate approach to a customer. One common phenomenon that was noted in this research was the number of artisans who spoke about the profitability of their business in the tourist destinations of *Tofo*, *Xai-Xai*, and *Vilinculo*. Many speculated about the profits they would make there, while others like Geraldo talked about regularly going to these destinations to sell (See Appendix 5). While approaches vary, the result of the negotiation is ultimately the bottom line for everyone involved.

4.4 The Art of Negotiation

Maputo’s informal artisans are steeped in the art of negotiation. There is no starting price that can not be negotiated. How far the price drops depends on the outcome of a negotiation process. Local Mozambicans tend to drive the hardest negotiations with vendors, yet tourists can also be demanding when it comes to fixing the right price. For example, on 28 July 2005 I observed a young man with a clear American accent argue over the price of a small batik. He claimed that

another person down the street was offering similar batiks for as little as 15,000 *meticaís* (\$0.60). While this statement may have been accurate, the vendor at *Julius Nyerere Middle* refused to sell at such a price. That price was ridiculous to the vendor and he had good reason to believe so. With limited English the vendor tried to explain to the foreigner how the other guy probably used poor material that the work could not possibly have quality. The young man ended up purchasing the batik at 30,000 *meticaís*, which is also a very cheap price; however his insistence and opening price made it clear that 30,000 was the only figure that both customer and vendor could live with. I have seen similar batiks sold for 150,000 *meticaís*, five times the price that was made for this gentleman. I asked Geraldo about tourists undervaluing the art in negotiations; he responded that this phenomenon “is natural”. Geraldo added, “But it’s not just the whites from outside the country. Mozambicans ourselves try to press for the lowest prices.” Citizens of Maputo are familiar with the artisans on the streets and are clearly more confident negotiators in Portuguese.

Negotiation can be drawn out over the course of several minutes, or can be completed by a client’s quick counter offer. A decent offer is recognized by experienced artisans. Artur explains,

Now, I do a master’s level work. I can’t accept little offers...For this work here ¹ I will only accept 150.000. The quality of work over here is better. Art doesn’t have one price. One discusses the price in front of what is exhibited.

¹ Artur was holding a very small carving of a face which would go on a nice stand, making the entire piece look like a very natural human form. Fine skill is needed in carving such a small face as well. He probably would have asked for 200.000 *meticaís* as a starting offer.

Artisans outside the *Hotel Polana* on *Avenida de Julius Nyerere* are very experienced and know what good value is for their product. It was outside *Hotel Polana* where I observed a wooden mask go through the process of negotiation. Through broken English, this negotiation started with an asking price and ended with a counter offer. The vendor said 350,000 and the client countered with 300,000 and that was the end of the negotiation. This type of negotiation is common and raises a few interesting points; Firstly it demonstrated the flexibility of price and simplicity of reducing a vendor's starting price; and secondly it demonstrates how a vendor will quickly take a reasonable price even when the starting price is significantly higher. As João described in his interview "deals are struck, and nobody leaves arguing. Nobody leaves complaining." João's brother Artur was quick to add, "They don't restrain from complaining. Business is business. But there is no disrespect, just business. I mean they would never buy something just to throw it away; they buy it because they like it. And they like us too."

One particular tactic which is often used is to ask a potential client how much they believe the piece is worth, or how much they are willing to pay. This tactic is particularly useful at exposing tourists unfamiliar with the street values of particular types of art. If the client gives a standard or higher price then the deal is made on the word of the client. If the client gives a low price, then a process of negotiation begins. It is tempting to think that the artisans will give artificially high prices to people they deem unfamiliar with the informal art markets. This was one of the expectations I had when going in to the field. Although this practice may

occasionally happen, the artisans are well aware of the market value of their products and generally don't look to inflate prices unreasonably. It is more accurate to say the initial asking price is at the high end of a price continuum, representing the best price for which they have sold a similar work of art.

Each negotiation is different and happens within a context of the artisans needs. Therefore, if a client catches a vendor who has not sold a piece in two weeks, needs to pay school fees, pay for storage, food, and transport it is likely that a lower price is negotiable. Henrique describes the feeling from the vendor's point of view.

Even though the prices are haggled, it works and I get money to buy my bread. I manage even outside the prices I would prefer selling at because I 'm hungry. But I have worked. I have work. I can't eat my work but I want the money, even if its too little I'll take...

Some artisans are well established with a localized group, repeat clientele, and a stock of marketable art products that provide security from negotiating lower prices. This security helps protect artists from negotiating at a purely subsistence level. Then again, not all artisans have these advantages, particularly those who are just becoming involved in the informal art sector. I met and discussed these issues with boys as young as twelve who were selling batiks made by older family members along *Marginal*. Their inexperience and age made them particularly vulnerable to poor negotiation of prices. Moreover, when the new artisans under sell the existing ones it establishes a precedent for negotiating rock bottom prices. This was the case of the American gentleman at

Julius Nyerere middle. Muzima was of the opinion that this type of underselling might even be a strategy of other vendors. The next section describes the development of competition between Maputo's artisans.

4.5 Competition amongst Maputo's Artisans: From War to 2005.

The research sites covered a stretch of road that was no more than ten kilometers and within this space were hundreds of vendors selling artistic products. This density speaks to the competition that is likely to exist. Discussions with vendors led to the understanding that this density and competition became much more pronounced in the year 2000. I asked the most senior interview respondent Enoque if it wasn't more difficult to sell art during Mozambique's civil war. He replied,

No, It was easier to sell back then. We were fewer and we sold for good prices. But after the war many people joined the artifacts business, and the prices fell. When I started selling (1988) it was only here at *Polana*, down by *Costa do Sol*, and down town at *Continental*. Three places, the rest was done in galleries.

Today there are three groupings of art vendors in between *Polana Hotel* and *Piri-Piri* restaurant. After peace and elections, there was still a relatively prosperous time for art vendors. Timore joined the ranks of street artisans in 1991 when he was twelve, he recalls the year of peace in 1994 fondly.

The year I sold well was 1994. When the United Nations of MOZ came here. They were many, they would buy almost everyday, some would buy for their own businesses, I sold a lot during that time and we were few back then. Now we

are many. It was easy back then, there were fewer tourists but also fewer vendors... we would mostly sell batiks.

Enoque also remembered the days of the United Nations of Mozambique, which brought hundreds of foreign diplomats within reach of the informal art market. Many more joined during this period of time and enjoyed the first waves of tourism during the first years of peace. However, many artisans marked the year 2000 as a division between a good living to a difficult and competitive labor. The year 2000 coincidentally marks the year that the Mozambican national Ministry of Tourism was created. I profiled several artisans that had been in the business for four or five years, meaning there was an influx during 2000 that has remained in the business until present. Beyond splitting a limited amount of sales between more artisans, competition is also a factor in the art itself.

Much of the art on the streets has the same look, concept, and aesthetic feel (See Appendix 3). However, the pieces are often made by different artists with varying levels of experience. Copy cat artists are part of the competition. There were several artists I met who claimed to be the first to use a particular technique, or to paint a particular type of scene, although similar works were readily visible at various locations. Muzima points out that "the real artist creates, he doesn't copy. There are many who make copies to survive, they don't have their own idea, so now it is difficult to find the good artist, it is all mixed up." I asked whether Muzima was a true artist, and he responded, "right now, I consider myself a mixture...no matter how much I want to develop [as an artist], I still need to make my bread." Artisans are acutely aware of which types of

pieces are selling at the market place and often adjust their production accordingly; it is a matter of survival. Within this informal context there is no copyright protection and the appropriation of other ideas is more commonplace than innovating new ideas. Thus competition has increased not just in terms of numbers, but also in terms of the product, as older concepts have been replicated to the point of devaluation.

Some interviewees mentioned foreign artisans moving into areas of Maputo to sell their wares. I never encountered a foreign artisan, but my research pool mentioned Zimbabweans beginning to come into Mozambique. Malawians and Angolans were also mentioned by name. While these foreign artisans certainly add to a total number of artisans in Maputo, they would find it difficult to make the associations that other local artisans have made. This includes the advantages of group positioning, collective material purchases, and substitute vending.

Maputo is a competitive place for artisans today. A vendor's negotiation skills and an artist's creative originality are at a premium. If an individual possesses both of these it is likely they will succeed. Perhaps the largest competitive advantage is to be able to set up your art products outside of a hotel or restaurant where tourists and wealthy people are likely to stay and dine. Indeed, this order was already entrenched when I first arrived in June, 2005 and the same people work in the same locations everyday.

4.6 Associations, Supply Chains, and Art for Resale

One way that artisans strengthen their position is to form groups. Although these groups generally have no more formality than an understanding amongst a number of artisans that they are the ones who can rightfully work in a particular area, groups provide a modicum of business security. Grouping serves the function of establishing a consistent workplace, a consistent group of artisans to form bonds of trust with, as well as keeping other competitors from dealing in that proximity. This group at its most advanced helps provide members with living money, and thus provides security when an artisan sells nothing. This is the way of *Polana Hotel's* group association. Enoque explains "our association is made of registered members...We also have a chief that we choose to make sure things run smoothly...Its an organization to make sure there is discipline inside it." At its least organized, a group is nothing more than a mutual understanding that those around you are the ones who can work that spot, and there may even be an amount of competition amongst members for potential clients. These groupings have grown with the influx of artisans into the business. When I returned to Maputo in November 2005 for the second leg of the research trip, an entirely new grouping had formed in between *Julius Nyerere Middle* and *esquina de Ahmed S. Toure*. My close contact João had moved to this location.

Group security is not always available, and artisans walk the streets with single pieces for sale. However, even these *vendedores ambulantes* can travel in groups. For example, I encountered three gentlemen Francisco, Beno, and

Augusto all veterans of over five years walking together selling *Psikelekedana* (a uniquely Mozambican wood-art that depicts realistic scenes of daily life, “*Exposição Moçambique*”, 2003). They worked on similar pieces together, and sold together as well. They worked on the same strip where most dealers have established daily street side markets on *Marginal* and *Avenida de Julius Nyerere* (See Appendix #4). Perhaps an even more critical association is between an artisan and other artisans in their own family.

It was common to discover, fathers and sons, brothers, and cousins working in the same business. Enoque worked with his brother Fernando outside Hotel Polana. João and Artur were brothers in the business who combined incomes to support themselves. Alfredo worked with his son selling carvings and boxes outside *Mira Mar* restaurant on *Marginal*. Americo began his vending career by selling the works of his father. It is a business replete with familial connections although there are several other interesting associations worth mentioning.

Geraldo was one of few vendors that had actually employed others to help sand, polish, and finish up his Makonde sculptures. Geraldo pays two “kids” Elder and Janito to do the finishing touches. I have seen Geraldo doing this himself, they are not full time employees, but Geraldo offers them 50.000 to sand a work and 30.000 to polish. This luxury speaks to Geraldo's success in the trade of *pao preto* Makonde sculptures. Geraldo's import process is fairly involved, beginning with the arrival of artists from the north of Mozambique. They bring partially complete sculptures to a safe house. They call Geraldo up and he selects what

he wants and what he can afford to buy at that time. Geraldo has made many connections and is known to make a good business, so he is contacted shortly after artists arrive from the North with their works. Geraldo is a middle-man, and an entrepreneur.

The resale of art is a large business in Maputo. As the prices of batiks have dropped, this product has become the favored product of resale. Artisans will give their batiks to others in order to help them get enough money together to purchase materials. This was the case of the day Henrique arrived for his interview. He had nearly fifty batiks and none of them were his own. He collected them from others in his district of *Aeroporto*. Money is often in short supply and artists can often help each other out by negotiating a fair price for the work. This is also the primary negotiation between vendors and artists. For example, Timore does not paint. He sells the paintings of two other artists whom he has worked with for years. He describes his business process as such,

I don't buy from them. The artists give [the paintings] to me, he decides...he tells me his part and then I increase the price for myself. Sometimes, the offer is so low [from a client] that I have to call the artist, to tell him, and ask if he wants to sell it. Sometimes he will say yeah, sell it and he will give me a little something anyways.

Street vendors like Timore are also more likely to meet a good client. While artists must tend to their work on the outskirts of Maputo, vendors are in daily contact with people interested in the purchase of art. Sometimes clients will order in bulk, and vendors undoubtedly do well during these exchanges. To take the experience of Americo,

In the year 2000 when I started over there, I had five tourists... they met up with me, we had breakfast together, when he saw something he liked...I'd get them a good price and they would give me money in dollars, which I would go change and pay. Because they liked me they wouldn't give their money to someone they didn't know. If I told him it cost 2 million, he would give me 300 dollars, I would pay about 120 dollars and the rest would stay with me.

Good relationships with tourists mean more money in an artisan's pocket.

4.7 Artisans' Perceptions of the Tourist Client

In all the interviews artisans were asked if tourists respected Mozambican culture and their art. The initial response was unanimous from all the interview subjects. Tourists appreciated the art, paid reasonable prices, and enjoyed their Mozambican experience. Many artisans shared their experience of talking with foreign clients who would praise Mozambique for its demeanor, natural beauty, and indubitably its art. These exchanges may be the confirmation for artisans that their country and to an extent their culture is genuinely appreciated by foreigners. However comments from tourists maintain a certain superficiality that is removed from the realities of Mozambican culture. Veteran sculptor Enoque expounds in his interview that "[Foreigners] say that Mozambique is a good place, with nice beaches and scenery, and honest people." When pressed on the issue about a tourist's respect for Mozambican culture Enoque pondered "yes they do [respect the culture and business], but at the same time they don't... When they make a bad offer they're not respecting my culture as an artist." Muzima talks of the two different types of tourists,

Some of them come here with no intention of learning anything about Mozambican culture. They are interested in going to the beach and eating seafood. There are some that are interested and want to know how we live. They even eat “*cacana*” and “*matapa*.” They’ll sit with you and try the traditional brews, they are interested in exploring.

Henrique has sold batiks to people from America, Italy, China, South Africa, Swaziland, Holland, and many other European nations, and in his opinion “they have a lot of respect for our profession.” However, the correlation between perceived respect and income dependency may deflate Henrique’s statement slightly. Americo from *Julius Nyerere Middle* was clear when he exclaimed, “Nobody pays more than the tourists. Tourists really pay. Tourists pay.”

João identified cultural difference as the reason tourists appreciated Mozambican art and his older brother Artur agreed, saying

This [art] is a novelty for the tourists they don’t find it in their own countries. So when they see it they admire it. I swear I’ve always liked the ways they’ve treated us, even in the face of our behaviour sometimes, as Mozambicans. They have patience.

Artur was not alone in enjoying his interactions with tourists. Geraldo also noted in his interview,

The best part for me in the arts is that I know I have the courage to be able to speak to anybody from anywhere. I’m able to create friendships. Not just business for the sake of business, you need to have friends, conversations. You have to be a social person in this business. I’ve spoken to many people on the basis of my business, and if it wasn’t for it I probably wouldn’t have met them.

General observations and inquiry led to the understanding that times are toughest when tourism is sparse. Tourists are easy enough for a vendor to spot, with different fashions, languages, and skin tones. Tourists are always potential clients, and are considered some of the best paying. Americo went beyond just spotting tourists but actually planning sales pitches based on their observable nationalities.

The Spanish like the masks very much, and the Portuguese like small statues very much. Here comes the Italian, he likes African necklaces. Over there I have something that I know someone from some country will buy. You Americans like certain thing, the Boer likes a certain thing, the Italian likes a certain thing.

While Americo may have sound knowledge about foreigners' preferences, most other artisans spoke about tourists having a general appreciation for their artwork. Indeed, tourist appreciation can be too generally applied as Henrique points out, "they don't know how to differentiate the artists." Lumping the art together as Mozambican is dangerous for artists that have spent years learning and crafting their trade. However, it is also this perspective that gives young entrepreneurs opportunity despite a lack of artistic knowledge and experience.

4.8 Typical Earnings and Expenses for and Artisan

While there is debate over whether artists or vendors make more money, they are inextricably linked together. Artists can potentially get sponsorship, and vendors can potentially meet big-spending clients. Neither one happens with great frequency according to the findings. At the end of the day, artisans survive

with minimal amounts of money, and to either an artist or a vendor a work sold could be the difference between eating and going hungry. The typical response during the profiling of artisans during the preliminary inquiry was a monthly salary between 2 – 5 million. A few estimated 6 or 7 million meticaais, but only during the height of tourist season in November and December. There were certainly long stretches where artisans would go with out selling a single piece. So much of an artist's capital is bound up in what they have created. To some extent the vendor has an advantage because he can pick and choose what he will try to sell. Or, as is often the case, the vendor takes the order and relays it to the artist and collects money for his role as a middle man. These positions suggest that an art seller would earn slightly more than an art producer. However, the various associations which take shape in an artisan's business are too complex to validate a simple explanation of them.

Artisans also have a list of expenses. From the basics of food and transport to the work necessities of material and supplies, most artisans do not show the ability to gain sufficient financial security to provide income for school fees and household support. The work has its perks. Making art, meeting foreigners, taking a day for rest when you want to, and even good companionship, but the money is not very good. Many said was more profitable in the days of the civil war and during the initial peace in Mozambique, but the profits are declining for experienced artisans today. While material costs vary, storage is generally 200,000 meticaais per month. Transport can be estimated at 15.000 to 20.000 per day of work in the city. A simple meal may cost just as much.

This section of the findings would draw heavily on the return of receipt books. However, only João returned his receipt book. While numerous factors may have been to blame, it is worth reiterating that it is a wholly uncommon procedure to keep a record of sales and expenditures. While the data lacks a comparative sample, João's records represent a common reality (See Appendix 2). In two months João earned 3, 780,000 *meticaís*. That's an income of just over 500 rand a month. He worked nearly every day during the height of the tourist season and his earnings were lower than the low estimate provided by many artisans in the study. As a point of comparative interest, guards who work at the bourgeois neighborhood of Sommershield earn about 1,200,000 *meticaís* per month. While Joao may earn more, guard are provided with food when they work and only work five or six days in a week. There is no such regularity in the Maputo's informal art trade.

4.9 Women's Role in the Art

The absence of women in the business of selling art in the research area did not go unnoticed. The interview subjects were asked their opinions as to why women weren't involved. All testified to knowing women involved with art, but offered some reasons why Mozambique may have fewer women involved than other countries in the region i.e. South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland. Geraldo responded to this by saying "they can do it and even better! But it is our tradition". Muzima offered "I don't know, it might be because of the Mozambican culture. Women are very much based in the sale of things to eat." Timore

pondered, "it is true you only see men in the business, but there are some who paint and sell." Henrique chimed in "there are few female sellars". Henrique also spoke of his wife's potential part in his batik making process,

She could work in that area of bringing wax off the candles and ironing it, since ironing clothes is a woman's habit. But selling on the streets is another story. [Women] don't manage to sell on the streets. They could buy batiks to sell them again like other men do. But they don't manage to sell on the streets because things get messy when a client arrives. They don't sell comfortably because everybody wants to sell to the same client.

While this passage cites competition as a major force in the scarcity of female street vendors, two interview respondents had a different explanation related to the art of wood carving. Forty four year old veteran sculptor Enoque explained

Women can't sculpt. It's not something you do standing up, you must sit down. Back in the days that's how our elders did it, sitting on the floor. And in our African culture women didn't wear pants. So it was difficult for them to sit and use their feet to hold the wood while sculpting. Only nowadays are women wearing pants.

This reasoning was seconded by João,

For women it's difficult. There are very few women sculpting. You'll find many women in the area of clay. For example, in painting its normal to see a woman. But in sculpting it's difficult to see a woman. This type of work is more for a man. Women have to have a lot of patience to do this kind of work.

While woman are clearly outnumbered in the business, there appears to be a cultural preference for women to pursue other employment and lifestyles. Comments suggested that women in other countries were more involved in the

arts than in Mozambique. This research tends to agree for the fact that not a single female artisan was ever profiled on the street. Maputo's street vending is divided by gender. It is interesting to note that women remain the centerpiece of a large percentage of paintings, batiks, and sculptures on Maputo's streets. The artisans I encountered had a certain cultural respect for *Moçambicanas*. Muzima called it "*shitana*", the Ronga word meaning "The beauty is in the woman". Muzima used women frequently in his batiks and it wasn't surprising to hear him say "Mozambique's wealth is in its women. Even better is the woman from the country side, the Kapalana she carries. She doesn't walk with her belly button out." It would be interesting to look at what sort of feminine images are valuable and beautiful in Mozambican art and for Mozambican women. Traditional representations are generally preferred in art and in real life. In terms of cultural tourism it is also the tourist's preference to experience traditional Mozambique.

Chapter 5: Conclusions, Recommendations, and Areas for Future Research

This research describes the business of Maputo's artisans as a struggle for a minimal subsistence income. There is little opportunity for capital accumulation as profits are reinvested into materials and the basic necessities of life. This livelihood shows some variance in success and stability depending on many variables from experience and craftsmanship to location and negotiation skills. New artisans to Maputo's informal art market are more than likely to share the struggles that even the most experienced artisans grapple with today. The cumulative costs of material, transportation, and storage are on the rise. During the course of this report a minibus taxi ride increased from 5,000 to 7,500 *meticaís*. Likewise, the price of a bundle of candles (critical to the batik making process) rose from 15,000 to 17,500 meticaís. While these prices may not seem unreasonable, the prices that many artisans find themselves selling their art at in 2005 are unreasonable. As the costs of doing business rise, increased competition, particularly in batik work, has kept prices low or driven them even lower. In this situation, a successful day is one that ends with food for the artisan and his family and a little something extra for school fees, new material, and fare for the ride to work the next day. This sort of success is attainable for many artists and vendors, yet the reality for the rest is that success of this kind is only fleeting. Currently vendors and artists work long hours without holidays. They rest and work as their cash-flow dictates. Since they must compete for sales, coordinate business partners, and negotiate their bottom line constantly, artisans

are in a precarious position and dependent on being in the right place at the right time with the right product.

My field work left me with a sense that Maputo's informal art scene was incredibly complex. The experienced artisans I spoke with were well aware of their positions as informal businessmen, and worked the system for any possible advantage. They knew how the market was progressing, they keenly observed the arrival of foreigners, and they always sought ways to get ahead. Given their meager earnings (See Appendix 2) this study would validate profiteering behavior. However, *with a few exceptions*, generally artists did not over value their works to earn a better income. This phenomenon of honesty is odd when compared to Steiner's (1989) observation of informal art market in Ivory Coast. I reason this "fair" valuation by Maputo's artisans is the result of their cultural values. These artisans (particularly artists) had a tremendous amount of pride in their country and in their trade. They exhibited this in their pursuit of their profession, in the themes of their art, and they demonstrated to me how they were not out to make a fast buck, but to earn a living and advance the arts. Many artisans tried to instill in me that it would be "un-Mozambican" to ask for more than a piece was worth. Even if they started at the high end of a price spectrum they were almost always willing to negotiate a lower price with a client.

Artists were particularly pleased to speak with me about their art, their inspiration, and their technique. It is a difficult business to survive in, but Mozambicans are still attracted to an artistic profession because there are those to teach and

apprentice them, they *may* be good enough to earn a living, and ultimately they become passionate about creating art. At the end of the day, most of the artisans I spoke with wouldn't leave the business even if their earnings began to dwindle. They may complain, but their options are limited and they have generally resigned themselves to a life as informal artisans. They have made art their trade and often dropped out of school to achieve that goal. In the face of adversity they show great patience and ingenuity. They will return to the same corners day after day, without a single sale, and bide their time. How they are able to survive and continue to create art with such meager incomes is a testament to their ingenuity, perseverance, and their humanity. However, they are not content in poverty. They desire to expand their businesses, set up permanent stalls, formalize an artistic academy, and work more closely with government to gain international sponsorships. Maputo's artisans know these things are possible, but are equally aware that controlling their informal market is the last thing on the government's agenda. Therefore, they carry on and hope for more tourism and higher paying clientele.

Mozambique's tourist industry will continue to grow, and Maputo's significance in the informal art trade will dwindle with the rise of Mozambique's exotic and distant beach destinations (*Xai-Xai*, *Tofo*, and *Vilinculo*). It is a sound conclusion from this study that tourism provides the necessary capital influx that sustains Maputo's artisans. Tourists comprise the majority of clientele in Maputo, and their numbers at other destinations has not gone unnoticed by artisans. The artisans who lent their voices to this study were keenly aware of tourism's

importance to their well being. When times were hard it was the lack of tourism that was cited as the primary cause. Conversely, the best time for a vendor to sell was the weekend in the height of summer, when the increase in tourist movement in the city gives vendors a chance to display their work. In this regard, the work takes on a seasonal character with December and January being the height of the sales period. This dependency is alarming, although not unexpected considering Mozambique's dependency in the geo-political context (See Chapter 1. Sec 1.1).

While Maputo's artisans operate on their own terms of success and survival in Maputo, it is the unfortunate reality that they are being exploited within the context of the global art market. Their art fetches higher prices when sold outside of Maputo, despite being withdrawn from the Mozambican cultural context. The artistic imagery serves to reinforce the image of Africa as antiquated and traditional. Maputo's artisans are moving around in a contemporary African setting, using cell-phones, commuting daily to the workplace, forming business partnerships, and comparing prices of materials. They are doing business in very modern ways. Indeed, they are making a living off the modern phenomenon of international tourism. Some make a living with their creativity, others with their charisma, and still others with sheer determination, or even desperation.

They are selling a traditionalistic view of themselves to westerners, who are want to believe that these artisans still belong to the traditional and not the modern

African world. There is a loss of meaningful cultural exchange when tourists take the artistic imagery at face value. While their money is the source of an artisan's livelihood, they have not altered the artisan's fundamental economic situation of abject poverty. Likewise, the work of art they bring with them often reflects a simplicity that confirms rather than challenges a tourists notions about Maputo, Mozambique, and greater Africa.

This minor dissertation explores the lives of Maputo's informal artisans in a broad and comprehensive manner. I have drawn several conclusions about the way that Maputo's artisans are positioned within a global context. They are for all intents and purposes on the outside of the formal tourist industry in a peripheral tourist destination. Their circumstances have changed drastically in the past dozen years, their business boomed after independence and subsequently faltered under the strain of competition and a more modest tourist presence. Changes in the livelihoods of Maputo's artisans offer a unique reflection of tourism and the growth of their informal art trade. There are several areas worthy of further study and research which could build upon the foundation of this minor dissertation. I will mention a few here for the benefit of any future efforts at deepening an understanding Maputo's informal artisans.

5.1 Potential Case Study: *Aeroporto*

One of the areas where a great deal of valuable research could be done is in the setting of *Aeroporto*. *Aeroporto* is a community north west of Maputo's city center. It came to light during Henrique's interview that hundreds of artists were

working in a large warehouse, producing large quantities of batiks, sculptures, and oil paintings. I was unable to observe this art factory due to time constraints, although there is a standing offer from Henrique to take a tour of the facility. It is likely that this organization of artists in Aeroporto create many works for direct export to European markets. Further research of this facility could be coupled with economic reasoning to demonstrate the profitability and the consequent exploitation that may or may not be taking place at this decidedly large operation.

5.2 Women's Role

A useful study could and should be done on the participation of women in the artistic culture and arts business in Maputo. The undeniable absence of women engaging in the sale of art on the street is a result of several cultural preferences. While acquaintances and interviewees referred to women they knew who produced art, they were not participating in the sale of that art on streets. Women in Mozambique are prominent vendors in many other businesses, and it is the belief of the researcher that their presence in the art business of the Maputo streets is one step behind the scenes in the homes of vendors on the outskirts of the city. Muzima had tried to teach his wife the art of batik. The only female painter that I became acquainted with was selling her works for hundreds of US Dollars in the *Nucleo de Arte*. Perhaps it would be useful to ask women with artistic inclinations why they choose other career paths.

5.3 Government's policy

Currently there is no official government policy regulating, supporting, or acknowledging the artists who populate sidewalks with their works every day. There are no required licenses for vendors and no demarcated spots where the vendors must maintain their products. There is an unspoken understanding of where artists are allowed to sell their products. This understanding is based on the historical continuity of certain locations, and a pervasive cultural respect for those who wish to be entrepreneurs in the art trade.

5.4 Collection of Quantitative Data

Where this research fell short was the collection of receipt books. The data collected by the artist/vendors themselves on their sales, work hours, and rest hours, is extremely valuable data. It is unfortunate that only one of eight receipt books was returned with two full months of data. However this technique elicits valuable quantitative data and a future project would benefit from including some variant of this method. In the researcher's opinion a consistent review of progress and personal collection of the receipt book would ensure a higher rate of return. Of course, this requires a longer stay in Maputo, which is not always possible

5.5 Comparison of Group Localization

An early discovery of this research project was the segmentization of artists/vendors into localized groups. Future research in the Maputo area could focus on a particular location and learn about each individual at work

there. Combining this strategy with the receipt books would give a very clear picture of how much business is done at a particular location. This could also very easily be turned into a comparative study between two or more locations.

5.6 Comparison of Artisan Incomes

Artists fall into three main categories: oil painters, batik makers, and wood sculptors. A comparison of work hours (on street and at home), price of materials, number of sales, and incomes could warrant an interesting perspective on which artistic profession is most rewarding in Maputo. Observational evidence from my ethnographic case study suggests that painters earn a fair amount more than batik makers and sculptors. Each artisan has their own working pattern. To get a meaningful study would be challenging. Keeping balances was not a common occurrence amongst artisans.

In a similar vein of comparative research comparing various artists to their vendor counterparts would be useful in determining how this informal sector is operating. It was a point of contestation during this research, to establish who made more money; artists or vendors. Each one of these groups claimed that the other made more money, and had an easier way to make a living. It is an area that the researcher would have liked to focus on more, as there is a very interesting relationship between artists and the vendors who sell on their behalf. A general starting point for this research could focus on vendors'

commissions, and their tactical approach to out selling their competition. Looking more closely at the interview between the researcher and Timore, a vendor for over fifteen years, is a good place to start on this research path.

5.7 International Sales

It came to my attention in Maputo that many of the city's youth with ties to foreign countries would often take and sell Mozambican art on return trips to France, Italy, and the USA to name a few. The popular item to bring abroad was batik work because it is very cheap in Mozambique, easy to carry in bulk, and easily sold abroad at markups of 500 % or more. The story even came to be told of some Mozambican youths who traveled to Brazil with nothing more than duffel bags full of batik work and were able to travel extensively and purchase their homeward bound ticket with the proceeds. It is stories like these that expose the vulnerable position of batik makers in Maputo. The economic principle of scarcity robs Batik makers of the return on their art that others with ways and means can easily turn into a profit for themselves. A research project focused on the various avenues by which Mozambican artwork, and particularly batik work, makes its way to foreign shows would provide an interesting perspective when compared with this minor dissertation's localized focused. This type of research could examine the phenomenon mentioned in this paragraph, or focus on larger distribution networks.

Glossary of Terms

Aeroporto – City suburb where the airport and a great number of artists reside

Artistas- artists

Artisinato – human like sculpture

Artiplastico – sculpture incorporating corporeal imagery

Avenida- avenue

Batik – dyed cloth

Baixa- downtown

Bom Dia Senhor – good morning sir

Chappa – Mini bus taxi

Chefe - Boss

Conto – 1,000 meticals

Costa Do Sol – “Coast of the sun”- Restaurant on the outskirts of Maputo

Dinheiro - Money

Em Casa – At home

Feira Popular- local amusement area with some rides, discos, and bars

Festa - Party

Julho – July

Lourenço Marques – Colonial name of Maputo

Magrinhas – literally, little thin women

Marginal – Beach Side road that runs from *Costa do Sol* Restaurant to downtown

Maritimo- A social swimming pool located on *Marginal*

Mercado - market

Meticals – Mozambican currency

Mets – More than one metical

“*Nao Vende Nada*” – Didn’t sell anything

Nucleo de Arte- Maputo collaborative art facility, with gallery space

Obra- A work, as in a work of art

Pano – Cotton fabric, often bed sheets

Pao Preto – Ebony wood

Pao Rosa – Rose wood

Quadros – paintings

Rua - Road

Ronga – Language of southern Mozambique’s dominant ethnicity, Shaangan

Sabado - Saturday

Sandalo – Sandal wood

Sculturas – sculptures

Shitana – Maronga dialect “beauty is in the woman”

Tinta – Powdered

UNMOZ – United Nations of Mozambique

Velas - Candles

Vendedores ambulantes- walking street vendors

Xipamanine – Vast community market, where art supplies were purchased

Zona Verde – “Green Zone” – Residential area a half hours drive outside Maputo

University of Cape Town

Appendix 1: Typical Interview Questions

These questions are taken from my interview with Timoré. It includes all my standard questions excluding the various questions associated with an artist's work. Timoré was a vendor not an artist.

S: What is your name?

S: How old are you?

S: How long have you been doing this?

S: How is business?

S: So did you sell a lot this month (November)?

S: So this time of year is the best time for the sellers right? December?

S: So which place do you sell the most at?

S: In your opinion what do tourists think about your culture? Mozambican culture?

S: Do you think they understand something about this culture?

S: So there are many south African tourists here? Yesterday when I spoke with others, that particularly among the white south Africans there is a lot of racism. Do you think it is true?

S: Please explain the difficulties associated with this business?

S: Where do you live?

S: It is far, hey?

S: How long has been your worst period of time without selling anything?

S: You don't need to buy materials to make art because you are not an artist. But do you need to buy from other artists?

S: So how many artists give their work to you?

S: Are they always the same ones?

S: You were very young when you started this. How young?

S: Do you get Holidays? Maybe on Christmas or Sundays?

S: Do you have family here?

S: Are they involved in art?

S: What time of day do you sell the most?

S: Do you always carry the works back and forth from home to work, and from work to home?

S: How many people are in your group?

S: In your opinion do tourists have respect for your culture and your business?

S: Please talk about the negotiating process?

S: Do you have a different style from selling than the others or is more or less the same?

S: Do you think that this art is a part of a memory, or part of your culture now?

S: Tell me something about the paintings you are selling, what are the images depicting?

S: How many languages do you speak?

S: Why don't you ever see women in this business?

S: Are there many Zimbabweans selling around here?

S: Do you think that tourists and yourself give the same value to the art?

S: Is there anything else you'd like to add?

Appendix 2: Joao's Work during December 2005-January 2006

Date	Work	payment	type	# of pieces	# of clients
1-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
2-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
3-Dec	Street Vending	200,000	Small and medium batiks	3 (2 small, 1 medium)	1
4-Dec	Street Vending	600,000	Small batiks- magrinhas	30	1
5-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
6-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
7-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
8-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
9-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
10-Dec	Street Vending	250,000	Small and Medium Batik	2 (1 small, 1 medium)	2
11-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
12-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
13-Dec	Street Vending	510,000	Small and medium Batiks	7 (4 small, 3 medium)	3
14-Dec	Street Vending	610,000	Small and Medium Batiks	9 (7 small, 2 medium)	2
15-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
16-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
17-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
18-Dec	Art making In House	0		0	0
19-Dec	Street Vending	300,000	Small and Medium Batik	2	1
20-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
21-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
22-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
23-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
24-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
25-Dec	Natal Festa (Party)	0		0	0
26-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
27-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
28-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
29-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
30-Dec	Street Vending	0		0	0
31-Dec-05	Street Vending	750,000	Small batiks- magrinhas	15	1
1-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
2-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
3-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
4-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
5-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
6-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0

7-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	1
8-Jan	Street Vending	50,000	Small batiks- magrinhas	2	1
9-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
10-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
11-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
12-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
13-Jan	Street Vending	50,000	Small batik- magrinha	1	1
14-Jan	Street Vending	150,000	Medium batik	1	1
15-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
16-Jan	Art making In House	0		0	0
17-Jan	Art making In House	0		0	0
18-Jan	Art making In House	0		0	0
19-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
20-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
21-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
22-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
23-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
24-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
25-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
26-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
27-Jan	Street Vending	150,000	Small batiks- <i>magrinhas</i>	6	1
28-Jan	Street Vending	160,000	Medium batik	1	1
29-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
30-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
31-Jan	Street Vending	0		0	0
Totals	50 days selling 11 days art making in house 1 holiday	3,780,000 <i>meticais</i>	Batik work	79 (69 small, 10 medium)	17

In January 2006, one USD was approximately 25,000 *meticais*. One South African Rand was worth approximately 3,500 *meticais*.

Appendix 3: Batik Images



Appendix 5: Interview Transcript: Geraldo

This interview took place near Geraldo's work place outside of Sagres and Miramar Restaurants. We walked to the nearby beach where it was a bit quieter and conducted the interview within sight of the Holiday Inn.

S: What's your name?

G: Geraldo.

S: How old are you?

G: 27 years old.

S: How long have you done this type of work?

G: Since 2002.

S: What do you sell here, outside Mira Mar?

G: I sell Sculptures and Batiks.

S: Have you always sold here in this area?

G: Exactly, always here in this space.

S: But you came here from Inhambane?

G: I came from there in 2001, after I came to this spot because there were artists in other zones and there was always movement here.

S: In your opinion what do tourists think about your Mozambican culture?

G: Mozambicans are very intelligent in the area of art. For the tourist looking at Mozambican art is a novelty, because it's perfect.

S: Do they prefer a particular type of sculpture?

G: For reasons of transport often they take small works, like batiks, things that are very simple. The Prices are lower too.

S: Do the tourists want to know about your culture or just want to know about your art?

G: Some buy the art as a recording of our Mozambican culture. Others simply appreciate it; to know the work of the Mozambican artist; and to help in the development of Mozambican art. "How far will they go."

S: Which type of work do you sell most of, and why?

G: I sell small works most, *sculturas* and batiks, because of the difficulties of transport, tourists prefer smaller things that they can pay a small price for. Large works they have to pay a high price for me, and then pay another high price at the airport.

S: And then, what is the cost to make a small sculpture, and how much do you earn?

G: For small pieces the gain is relative to this. Lets say I buy a sculpture made in Cabo Delgado, He just carves it out, and I have to buy the creme, sandpaper, and then I have to get someone to finish it up. So its all relative. I can buy some thing for 200,000 mets. But then I have to sell it at 200 bucks at least. And if a person isn't careful then you don't know how much you made between the costs of buying all the crème, sandpaper, etc. If I sell for less, say 100,000 then I haven't made anything. Because I am working, sanding, polishing, and have to buy all the materials. Since I bought for 200,000 the selling price might be 400,000, a 100,000 is the expenses for the material.

S: And then, this time of the year, December, and January is the best time of the year for tourists?

G: Yes, most of the tourists are on holidays now so they come and chill in Mozambique. Even Mozambicans are out at this time of year, sometimes they buy. But they are the best times.

S: Please, explain the difficulties associated with this business. Which part is worst?

G: The worst part of this business is the lack of tourism. For example in times of cold weather the moment comes when it is a bit paralyzed here. Lots of people come to Mozambique to see the beaches, they are some of the nicest anywhere. During September, October, or January when it almost doesn't exist, when it stops we are in an insecure position, and we are people in the street, we are a market in the streets, without protection from the rain and often without money.

S: What do you do when it rains?

G: I put my works under a plastic wrap to simply protect them. I am at Marginal, nothing to keep me dry. Ay-pah! It can be tough.

S: How much do you earn in a month, the month of December for example?

G: It varies of course. It is difficult to respond, I've never had the ability to note down how much I've made, I only control more or less per week, and that still varies. Even when there are lots of tourists the return can be small. Because the tourists don't prefer the city, they go to Inhambane where there are lots of beaches and campsites.

S: Do they buy art there in Inhambane?

G: They may. Even I have been there to sell my works. I spend 3 or 4 days then I come back, because of this moving around it is difficult to say how much I earn in December. But I know it's a better month.

S: Five, Six, Ten million *mets*?

G: Somewhere between 5-7 million *mets*. I can say that if I sell a big work then it will be a good month, because just one big sculpture is 2-3 million *mets*. Even then I still must buy more material, and so even 7 million turns out to be nothing.

S: But that is a good month, right?

G: Yes that is a good month. And the price of my merchandise is elevated.

S: And then after the good months you have to import more sculptures, like in February?

G: Exactly.

S: I remember you said that you import from 5 different artists in Cabo Del Gado, Correct?

G: They bring them to me.

S: How did you meet these people and set up this business?

G: Its like this, some are friends, but we are commercial partners. As soon as they arrive they go to the "house of culture." I have other friends that I have worked with for quite a long time now. When they leave Cabo Delgado to come here, they call me and let me know, in month X we will come down to Maputo. Or they send stuff and we get it at the house of culture. Because I am well known, so they'll call me. If there is new Merchandise from Malawi they will call me and we'll go fetch it.

S: Then you go there to buy it?

G: Yeah, I can hire a car.

S: Then you pay them when you arrive there?

G: Exactly. I chose my works and pay. I pay with whatever money I have, and promise the rest, he might give me three days or a week and I come back. That is for those that know me well. The moment might come when I have no money, I'll go chose the works and ask him how long will you be staying in Maputo. He will say 2 or 3 weeks, that works for me, I'll chose the merchandise that I know I'll be able to pay. I choose and I leave it there. As soon as I get the money I'll give it to him and I'll pick up the works.

S: And now do you owe them anything?

G: No.

S: When you earn 7 million in December, and perhaps 7 million in January, and then the cost of a storage space, polish, sand paper, and the cost of travel, and of course the cost of the works themselves, So when you go there how many works can you buy?

G: Depends. Normally medium sized ones are, 50 centimeters, 70 centimeters. I would buy a lot more depending on the amount of money. I have done purchases of 7 million... 3 million, depending on the product. I can have 4 million when the total cost is 7 million, so I will pay the four million I'll come back here (market), and somehow manage to get the three million to go and conclude the business, that is our work.

S: It is an investment, these works. But then what are the other costs associated with your tools?

G: The part of the expenses, Four different types of sandpaper. Ranging from number 100 to 150 220 and 320. For each piece of sand paper is 15,000 mets. The other thing is glue which is 22,000. So for a one meter sized piece, to sand it is 50,000 and another 50,000 for the person who will sand it, and 30,000 for polish. I have employees. I employ Two different people. They help in the dislocation of the work, moving them and storing them. I pay 250,000 per month. I also have several sculptures at home. I also leave them at other houses where I pay a monthly rent.

S: Do you work alone or with others?

G: I have two kids working with me.

S: Who are they?

G: Elder and Janito. They are part of the family, one is 24 the other is 26.

S: Do they live close to you?

G: No.

S: Where do they live?

G: One lives in Patrice Lumumba the other in Jardim.

S: And yesterday when I saw you riding the bike?

G: Yeah that was his bike.

S: Do you take holidays, Sundays or Christmas for example?

G: We work every day, this thing here depends. On Christmas no, we don't work. But Sunday is a good day to sell, we are more likely to take off Tuesday or

Wednesday in the middle of the week. Then we rest. But the end of the week we are working in this area.

S: And this restaurant here, Sagres, is it closed during the week?

G: Yes it is closes on Tuesday.

S: Today is Tuesday. Is it a slower day?

G: It is a slower day, but still there are three restaurants here and a hotel so there is always a bit of noise and some clients around.

S: In 2002, was the holiday Inn here?

G: Yes it was here. This restaurant is further down. Then I came to this spot in 2003. Before 2002 I wasn't here I was by maritimo.

S: In your opinion do tourists have respect for your culture and your business?

G: Tourists have lots of respect, clearly, because, when they come by, you see, them curious to look, they want to look, they have lots of respect. They want to go with something back home.

S: The tourists are more or less, South Africans, Portuguese like today, Brazilians, or even Americans?

G: Most of the tourists are South Africans. I can say most of my clients are South Africans. From there, they like most to play on the beach. It's for that reason that I am down on the beach.

S: And they have respect?

G: Clearly, they have respect.

S: I ask the question because many times when you encounter a tourist and give them a price they say, No, No, its too much, I don't want to spend that much and then they give a price that is much lower?

G: This is natural. But it is not just whites from outside the country. Mozambicans ourselves try to press for the lowest prices. Mozambicans themselves don't value this work, they act like they despise it. They don't value it. Now take a work like this they value it much more. Its happened to me. Its very normal.

S: Very Interesting, Then do you think that Mozambicans don't value your culture or arte enough?

G: Clearly, They despise us. When I started this business I was a big vendor. I grew on the basis of the business since I was a child. I know this business well, so when I wanted to change because of all the suffering, all the difficulties, I asked for help from all my relatives, I asked for some money telling them I wanted to go into the business of sculptures. They came back saying that sculptures are like "lenha" (firewood). They didn't know anything. When they look at it, it is as if they are not able to see, its as if it is something that doesn't exist, they stare at this and they don't give value.

S: In Inhambane, your home province, How is it different from Maputo, this big capital city? Does the culture live here, or more in Inhambane?

G: It is not quite equal. There is a difference. The people of Maputo, Capital of Mozambique, of course all the Actualization (fashion, trends) starts in the big city.

S: Is there equality?

G: No there's no equality. People of the capital are more up to date than in the provinces. There's less information about culture. So, some of city people show

up in the provinces, for example Zavala, where I'm from, and they can talk about the internet. It will be an insult! Nobody understands it. Talk about I.T. and you're talking about things that don't exist! That's what I mean by the capital being more up to date than the country side.

S: Here in Maputo, perhaps, the arte has more significance because the depictions in the arte are about this culture in the rural areas. Do you think the art is at a higher level here in the city?

G: Exactly, here in the city art is more significant. For example if I took some "Massais" [sculptures] of my height and put them in my house back in my land over there, they will think I was on drugs! For them it's not understandable. When they make a scare-crow for the fields they don't see it as making art. They just don't give any consideration to art.

S: Do you sell to Mozambicans as well?

G: Yes, a part of my clients are Mozambican. They buy it as presents. They're actualized, people from the ministries.

S: Do they prefer larger works?

G: For example a minister, prefers large Mozambican works. And the smaller works that cost the most. The government is the government. They recognize the reality and give value. For example they can say that they want a Makonde sculpture, a work that represents Mozambique. They give value.

S: How much did you sell yesterday?

G: 600,000 yesterday.

S: Approximately how much did you sell last month? In October.

G: Its very difficult to say, it's a negotiation, and in the negotiation the money doesn't stop. The money is always moving. One can only know how much was sold in a week. Per month it's different. Art is different from, let's say, selling food products from a stand at the food market. Very different. I don't have a receipt book but nothing disappear from me.

S: Would you like to write down the things that you sell in a book?

G: I can do it. You have told me about this, from the first day of December to record this thing, I can do it.

S: Do you want to say anything else? Do you think that this study is a good one and that I will learn something about tourism and art here?

G: Tourism should develop further.

S: Have you ever been asked for an interview before?

G: No. This is the first interview. Even you are lucky. I don't usually accept. It's a lot of time lost. If someone comes to me and asks me for an interview he might find me in a bad mood. I'll give the answers he wants! Sometimes I'll even avoid them.

S: I believe that you've answered well.

G: Like I said you're lucky. We made a friendship and we talked together. I was also very worried about finding someone who could help me in making business through the internet.

S: You still want to do business through the internet?

G: Yeah, it's something that I'd like to do. Right now I'm studying so that I can go into that business. Time is tight now. And I don't have any funds. I still have many

things to do. I'm only trying to initiate this now. That's why I want to have a friend to work with me, that could help in making business at the global level.

S: What is your favorite part of this work?

G: The best part for me in the arts. Is that I know have the courage to be able to speak to anybody from anywhere. I'm able to create friendships. Not just business for the sake of business, you need to have friends, conversations. You have to be a social person in this business. I've spoken to many people on the basis of my business, and if it wasn't for it I probably wouldn't have met them.

S: Do you have family here?

G: No. My mother is in Inhambane. I lost my father in 1985. I live with an uncle/friend. He is not an artist, all of my family is in the province.

S: Do they come to visit?

G: I've been visiting my mother that side. The rest of my family is all grown now and they sometimes come down here. But like I said I'm living under my uncle/friend's roof. He's helping me. So the main preoccupation is my future. Once I have my own life and house then I'll bring family down here to visit. Where will they stay if they come now? Right now I'm single, without a wife and child.

S: There are not women in this type of business, perhaps there are, but I only see men, Why?

G: I can't really say, but I guess because women are not able to do it. They can do it, and even better! But it is our tradition. In other zones women work on the art works, But us Africans have put in our mind that ladies work with pans, cooking. But there are ladies who exist in this business, particularly in Swaziland and South Africa, you see it is women doing the selling. They have another culture there. Over there you can find women doing the same jobs as men. Not here, not yet. Here there are Zimbabwean women selling large batiks. In the part of sculpture the majority are men.

S: There are lots of strangers here doing this to?

G: Mostly it is Mozambicans. Other provinces. There are Zimbabweans too.

S: Last Question, Do you speak other languages?

G: I can speak a very little of English. But in business we'll always find a way. I want this and you want that. We can learn to negotiate in any language with signals. Its not a problem.

S: When you sell do you always ask for a higher price because you know that they will ask for a lower price?

G: Not really. I make an equivalence. If I say that my work costs x that's the real value. But of course the other person will negotiate with me. So I can say this, sculpture on its own doesn't have a price. It's different form something out of a factory. You sit down and make it. One month or two. For the work I made I want this much. When people work you can't make any funds. On the same week I m finishing my work, I'm finishing my money. I leave my house with no rice. So I m obliged to sell a work that cost 50million for 30million because I don't have anything behind me! And thank you! I'll take that money! When a person buys a piece for 100.000 and sells it for 200.000 he might think that he's making a profit.

But it's not so simple. You have to buy material, cream, sandpaper, transport expenses. In the end you might make 20.000 profit.

S: So you only sell or do you also make other things, like batiks?

G: I'm just a seller, a student and a seller. I'm at Josina Machel, doing grade 12.

S: Thank you Geraldo.

University of Cape Town

Bibliography

- Clifford, James. (1993). *The Cultural Studies Reader*. "On Collecting Art and Culture." Routledge: London.
- Dewar, Watson and Vanessa Watson. (1991). *Urban Planning in the Informal Sector*.
- de Vletter, Fion. (1993). *Despite the Odds: A Collection of Case Studies on Development Projects in Mozambique*. "Small Business, Big Hopes – Many Caveats: Confronting Mozambique's Employment Crisis through Microenterprise Credit." Maputo: Unicef.
- Duffy, James. (1963). *Portugal In Africa*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Exposição Moçambique: Vida e Historia em Psikhelekedana*. (2003). Maputo: Centro Cultural Franco-Moçambicano.
- Frohlich, Christine and Bruce Frayne. (1991). *Hawking: An "Informal" Sector Activity in Karutura, Windhoek*. Windhoek: Namibian Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- Graves, James Bau. (2005). *Cultural Democracy: The Arts, Community, and the Public Purpose*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Hanlon, Joeseeph. (July 2002). *Paper submitted to the Conference Towards a New Political Economy of Development*. "Are donors to Mozambique promoting corruption?"
- Hansohm, D. and Wendley Shiini. (Feb 1995). *Two Subregional Workshops on Micro and Small Enterprise Promotion: Gaborone 2-5 November 1994*. Windhoek: The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit.
- Harries, Patrick. (1994). *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa c.1860-1910*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Harrison, David ed. (2001). *Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues in Case Studies*. New York: CABI Publishing.
- Hughes, Howard. (2000). *Arts, Entertainment, and Tourism*. Johannesburg: Butterworth & Heinmann.
- Leys, C. (November 1974). *Interpreting African Underdevelopment: Incomes and Equality in Kenya*. *Man Power and Unemployment Research in Africa*. Vol. 7. No. 2. pp.19-280.

- Macamo, Josè. (June 1999). *Estimates of Unrecorded Cross-Border Trade between Mozambique and her Neighbors*. "Technical paper no. 88." USAID, Bureau for Africa.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (1994). *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Muzvidziwa, Victor. (June 1999). *Cross Border Women Trades: Multiple Identities and New Responses to New Challenges*. Sociology Department, University of Zimbabwe.
- Nixson, Frederick Ian . (1996). *Development Economics*. Heinemann: Oxford.
- Omari, C.K. (1995). *Women in the Informal Sector*. Dar Es Salaam: Dar Es Salaam University Press.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederven. (2004). *Globalization and Culture*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederven. (1992). *White on Black: Images of Africa and blacks in Western Popular Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Robinson, M and P. Boniface eds. (1999). *Tourism and Cultural Conflicts*. New York: CABI Publishing.
- Rogerson, Christian M. (2004). *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspectives*. "Tourism, Small Firm Development and Empowerment in Post-Apartheid South Africa." New York: Elsevier.
- Mocumbi, Pascal. (5-6 march, 2001). *Seminar on Planning, Development, and Management of Ecotourism in Africa*. Introductory speech for the "Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Year of Ecotourism." Maputo.
- Saul, John S. (2005). *The Next Liberation Struggle: Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy in Southern Africa*. Scottsville: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.
- Smith, Valene L. and William R. Eadinton eds. (1992). *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Steiner, Christopher B. (November 1-4, 1989). *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: The Mediation of Knowledge by Traders in African Art*. Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. Atlanta, Georgia: Papers presented at the 32nd annual meeting of the ASA:

Tourism in Developing Countries- Trick or Treat? A report from Gambia. Research Report no. 31. (1975). Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Urry, John. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Routledge.

World Tourism Organization Website (2002). Facts and Figures on International Arrivals and projected totals for the future. Retrieved June 2nd, 2005. <http://www.moztourism.gov.mz/factos.htm>

Mozambican Ministry of Tourism (1999). "*Factos e Dados*". Tables and explanations of tourism capacity and growth since independence in 1975. Retrieved June 2nd, 2005. <http://www.moztourism.gov.mz/factos.htm>

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. General information concerning Mozambique, its development of tourism and sustainability. Retrieved June 3rd, 2005. http://portal.unesco.org/geography/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2698&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

United States Agency for International Development. Map of Maputo was taken from this site and used as an appendix. Retrieved June 4th, 2005. www.usaid.gov/mz/maphq.htm