

Avenida Maputo

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The thesis explores the ways in which economic and architectural practices, embedded systems and forms of adaptation enrich and erode modernist practices in Maputo. The paper looks at the planning, economic processes and policies and their resulting urban and architectural manifestations, by exploring how endogenous forms and systems contrast with, intertwine, and coexist with modernist practices. From utopian visions to cemented realities, the first chapter analyses the ensuing plans and projects in order to better understand the underlying ideologies examining their demise, their successes and their subsequent appropriation. The following chapter shines light on the way architectural and urban practices, stemming from specific socio-economic conditions and embedded forms of adaptation contrast with, erode, and at times enrich, earlier modernist practices. The last chapter studies how formal and 'informal' methods interweave and can coexist. The proposal reconsiders both practices; high modernist and endogenous, which are seemingly antagonistic, as legitimate ways of engaging with planning and transforming the city.

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Fig. 1.

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Fig. 1. Avenida Julius Nyerere, in the de facto Central Business District of Maputo.

Acronyms

BRT	Bus-Rapid Transit
GD	Grupo Dinamizador (Dinamizing Groups)
CBD	Central Business Districts
CEC	City Executive Council
DUAT	Direito do Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra (Right to Use and Exploit Land)
FRELIMO	FRente de Libertação MOçambicana (Mozambican Liberation Front)
GIS	Geographical Information System
IMF	Internationnal Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PEUMM	Plano de Estrutura Urbana do Município de Maputo (Urban Structure Plan of the Municipality of Maputo)
RENAMO	REsistencia NAcional MOcambicana (National Mozambican Resistance)
UN	United Nations

Glossary

Avenida	Avenue or boulevard.
Bairro	Neighbourhood with administrative functions in Mozambique, often used to refer to neighbourhoods in the suburbs or periphery of the city.
Chapa	‘Informal’ Transport network or networks in Maputo and Mozambique, ‘chapa’ also translates as plate or sheet.
Cobrador	Fare collector on a chapa.
Dumbanengue	Informal Market.
Embeddedness	A term used by Karl Polanyi to define how certain economic activities are part of non-economic relationships originating in non-market systems (Schmidt, 2019).
High Modernism	A term used by James Scott (1998) as a way of doing characterized by an effort to use theory and quantitative approaches to reorder nature and society.
Lourenço Marques	Former name for Maputo (until 1976) after the Portuguese explorer who landed in the bay.
Metical	Novo Metical, the current currency of Mozambique (2019).
Social Capital	The concept of ‘social capital’, explored by Elyachar (2011), conceptualizes social practices as carrying economic value.
Xiconhoca	A caricature of the internal resistance, an enemy of the revolution depicted as a lazy and corrupt saboteur, a collaborator, a pimp and an enemy of the state simultaneously.
Xitique	A Mozambican rotating credit system.



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Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. Cinema Olimpia and the spaces for socio-cultural interaction.

Introduction

‘We won’t have to make the same mistakes that Europeans did’, a young Mozambican living abroad told me, whilst discussing the future and his hopes for the country.

I set out investigating traces of Modernism on the African continent, perhaps attracted by an exoticised-romantic facet of modernism. Interested by spaces for social and cultural interaction, I looked for singular sites across the city, seeking the scarce photos, maps and plans that fit. In Maputo, for the first time, the spaces for social and cultural interaction unveiled themselves as the streets and avenues of the city. The Modernism, previously understood as being at risk, was in fact very much in use (nevertheless at risk of being replaced), while in practice it was transformed. In this transformation a much more interesting erosion arose. An erosion apparent, not in the physical degradation of the modernist ‘cement city’, but rather in the ideological dissolution of grand-modernist plans and policies through the adaptive nature of endogenous systems occurring throughout the city. Maputo, as I first saw it and still do, presented in this transformation the vast array of ingenuity, creativity, resilience, and hope harbored by thousands across the city.

“En même temps qu’il transporte à des milliers de kilomètres, le voyage fait gravir ou descendre quelques degrés dans l’échelle des statuts. Il déplace, mais aussi il décline – pour le meilleur et pour le pire – et la couleur et la saveur des lieux ne peuvent être dissociées du rang toujours imprévu où il vous installe pour les goûter.” Claude Lévi-Strauss, “Tristes Tropiques”, 1955.

“While it transports [you] thousands of kilometres, the voyage makes one climb or descend a few degrees in status. It upgrades, but it also downgrades – for better and for worse – and the colour and the flavour of places cannot be dissociated from the always unexpected level where one is placed to taste them.” Claude Lévi-Strauss, “Tristes Tropiques”, 1955.

Attending the conference on Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes in Lisbon (January 2019) introduced a discussion centred, for the most part, around the conception and production in and of colonial cities. Projects such as Exchanging World Visions (EWV) and their proceedings dutifully explore the legacies of the Modern Movement. However, apart from the proceeds of DOCOMOMO (n.48), most archival work on the Modernist legacy in Lusophone Africa remains confined to national boundaries. It may be the case for multiple reasons; for one, the ease of accessibility, language and difficulty in accessing certain institutions involved; for another, the relatively late-independence of former Portuguese colonies in Africa and somewhat recent scars contribute to the complexity of addressing the subject (Matos, 2010). Thereby, the

post-conception existence of these plans and projects remains overlooked, and forgotten are the perspectives that describe a series of social and economic circumstances experienced by those who use them.

Volgger and Graf's book on the city of Asmara inspired the structure of this thesis (2017). A series of essays present the colonial modernist intentions and postcolonial experiences, which analysed through plans and deconstructed through stories, reflect on the identity of Asmara today. Through a reading of James Scott's (1998) 'Seeing like the State' this paper first reconsiders an analysis of Maputo's high modernist plans, highlighting their intentions, incongruities and failures. The first chapter underpins the ideas and issues behind the State's role in conceptual or ideological physical planning by tracing colonial modernist intentions and post-independence high modernism, their outcomes and their transformations to the present day. For Maputo, Morton (2015) writes the most comprehensive pre- and post-independence reading of the city, following the transformation of the colonial 'city of cement' and 'city of reeds'. The first section is delivered chronologically – following the names of the *Avenidas* helps trace the transformations of the city. For the post-independence period; Pinsky (1982), Grest (1995), and Jenkins (1999, 2009a), who were involved in the planning of Maputo at that time provide the most nuanced, yet diverse accounts of the city's planning structure, policies and transformations.

The history of the city is presented analogously and, at times, recounted through different lenses in the second chapter. The



Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Avenida Guerra Popular and the spaces for socio-cultural interaction.

second section uncovers the underlying erosion of modernist practices by examining the ways in which residents conformed to, and adapted the cityscape, ultimately transforming the ideologically high modernist plans that precede them. The renowned Mozambican writer Mia Couto (2015) described the encounter between the two ‘cities’; “this relationship went like all loveless weddings: sometimes, with passion, most times with a dialogue of misunderstandings. The two spoke different languages, thought different thoughts.” Whereas the first chapter is characterised by a theoretical and archival analysis of high modernist plans and principles, the second and third chapters are based on personal experiences in Maputo.

The third and final chapter draws on Scott’s concepts of *mētis* and *techné*, and studies how the two cities and two forms of reasoning, high modernism and endogenous practices, can coexist. It explores how embedded economic activities – a term used by Karl Polanyi to define how certain economic activities are part of non-economic relationships originating in non-market systems – can be co-opted by the State or Municipal structures and construct a viable alternative to conventional attempts at formalisation (Schmidt, 2019). Centered around these practices is the informality in urban planning debate, which is explored here through the works of Elyachar (2011, 2010, 2005), Myers (2011), Roy (2005) and Valverde (2011). In Maputo, these are best examined by Mazzolini (2016), Andersen, Nielsen and Jenkins (2015a, 2015a; 2012), who explore alternative and ‘informal’ forms of planning, whereby “culturally legitimate” and viable forms of urban development emerge as viable alternatives to strictly top-down approaches.

Finally, drawing from three distinct avenues, transport, finance and urbanism, this section explores how top-down urban planning approaches and endogenous forms and systems can function symbiotically, despite contrasting on the surface.

The paper supports a proposal to encourage such planning, whereby top-down structures connect with small-scale endogenous processes. The aim of the project is to improve on the conditions of street traders by facilitating access to resources and markets – without destitution – through the adaptation of an endogenous financial practice, *xitique*. The objective is to create institutions which, run by traders in the same community, provide sheltered and safe spaces for storage, funding and discussion where they exist today – the street. In turn, the project helps us reconsider how street trade practices are essential to the economic and social role of streets, avenues and cities. The proposal envisions small-scale incremental interventions, developed through private initiatives and managed by networks of street traders across the city. The aim is to create spaces of civic engagement, stocking and finance that empower traders to grow their businesses. These spaces will simultaneously propel traders onto a platform from which they can engage with Municipal Authorities to obtain licenses and enjoy greater influence in the city.

Throughout this piece, cultural references highlight the delicate nuances and diverse perspectives encountered during research. They aim to describe general sentiments without falling into generalisations; as art, music, theatre, literature, poetry, film, popular media and advertisements are often better reflections

of the popular sentiment, particularly when describing past events – intrinsic in their popularity. Works of popular authors and artists reflect social issues, they are not architectural or urbanistic per se, but they address issues, such as race, inequality, tradition, and politics which have architectural and urban projections.



Fig. 4.

Plan and Order

- 23 Expansion
- 30 A Tale of Two Cities
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- 45 A New Modernism
- 49 Privatisation
- 53 Conclusion

Fig. 4. Recent Housing development in Zimpeto, originally intended as an Olympic village.



Fig. 5.

Fig. 5. Major António José de Araújo's 1892 plan, the city extends over the hillside with a gridiron plan and garden parallel to the port.

The Road to Transvaal

The second half of the 19th century saw the town finally extended out of its trading post proportions. Beyond the barricade, which was eventually demolished, the first road was the *Estrada do Transvaal*¹. In *Espírito do Santo* Bay (now Maputo Bay) global capital interests consolidated, the road established the first link between the neighbouring mineral rich territories and the port of Lourenço Marques (former name of Maputo, until 1976). Shortly after, the Delagoa Bay Company built the railway to extract minerals to the metropolis in a deal that guaranteed gold for the Portuguese Crown and slaves for the mining ventures in the Transvaal. Delagoa Bay, as the British called it², became a node in the imperial project. The creation of economic enclaves marked the period, identified by Graham (2009), of direct external control by core countries over their colonial territories along “highly selective trajectory” (Sidaway, 2000). The first planned urban extension, elaborated by Ferreira Maia in 1878 (Lobato, 1970), featured a radial hexagonal plan for a new settlement over the hillside, separate from the existing settlement – the plan was never built but the satellite settling was set to return.

Uma Avenida (One Avenue)

In turn, the flow of merchandise and capital engendered the first major urban plan. A year prior to being chosen as the provincial capital (1898), Major António José de Araújo, foreseeing the regional role of the port, drew the first plan for Lourenço Marques (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008). The first avenues intersected, stretching from the low-ground

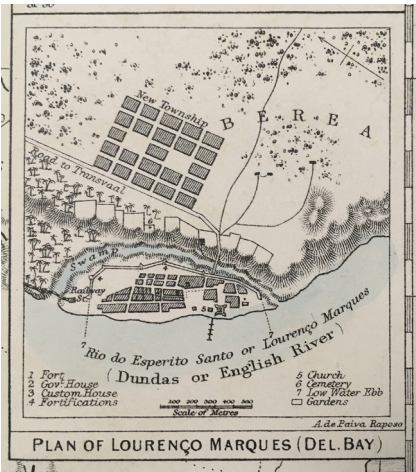


Fig. 6.

Fig. 6. Frederik Jeppé’s 1889 Plan showing the Road to Traansvaal and satellite ‘New Township’.

1. Initially, it may have been named Estrada de Lydenburgo (Mendonça, 2018).
2. A misspelling of Baía da Lagoa (Lagoon Bay) which became the common name for the city under British influence from the second half of the XIXth Century (Fernandes, 2006; Lobato, 1970).



Fig. 7.

Fig. 7. Ferreira da Maia's 1878 plan for the extension of the town.



Fig. 8.

Fig. 8. 1897 Cadastral Plan with some buildings extending out of the old town past the botanical gardens planned to the sweeping arc.

settlement, now ‘Baixa’ (downtown), to higher ground and over the marshlands. A display of power and order brushed over the topography of the city with a continuation of gardens, Araújo traced two main avenues³ running parallel to the shoreline and port. The orthogonal gridiron plan materialized, akin to a Roman castra sweeping over the swamp. A journalist marveled on this occasion; “out of an insignificant and tortuous village, a city, taking an area of one hundred and so hectares, large, open, ventilated and handsome” (Noronha apud. Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008). In this face of deplorable health conditions, which had repeatedly driven Portuguese and Dutch settlers out of the bay, the cartesian grid announced the modern rationale that would reign over the colonies. In the same way, nature was not an obstacle for imperial modernity. In 1903, the bay of Maxaquene, between the Polana headland and the first settlement, was landfilled; the city needed a new centre to match that of the metropolis (Jenkins, 2009a). Distant and on ‘virgin land,’ plans seemed simple to put into practice. However, once again, the lack of state investment and land speculation would hamper this development until the turn of the next century.

Estrada da Circunvalação (Ring Road)

João Aguiar was chosen to head the urban planning of the provincial capitals of Portugal; a committee chosen by Salazar, head of the authoritarian regime in Portugal at the time. Aguiar’s plan continued the grid set by Araújo. He defined an arc with a radius of 2 kilometres from the Fort (or the square in front) to which the city would extend. At the



Fig. 9.

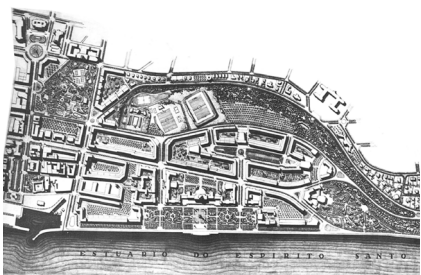


Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. The swampy bay of Maxaquene prior to the landfill.

Fig. 10. The Planned Centre in 1952 over the landfill.

3. The avenues referred to here, are, in English, better understood as boulevards with 4-6 lanes and separators.

apex of the arc was the Governor’s Residence, near the other end, the police barracks (Lemos apud. Mendonça, 2018). Aguiar’s vision was sharp, but all too utopian; the plan would never reach Ponta Vermelha and the Polana Headland, the freshest and wealthiest area of the city. A Norwegian, Oscar Sommerschild, foreseeing the expansion of the city had acquired the land. The state, lacking the resources and funds, did not expropriate Sommerschild and his name today still designates one of the wealthiest neighbourhoods in the city (Jenkins, 2009a). In addition, the plan showcased the intentions of the colonial regime, under Aguiar’s direction (Aguiar, 1952), “the indigenous community should be located in close proximity to the urban core, i.e. close to work areas, where access is easy. The separation between both urban agglomerations should be established in a clear way, be it through an accidental topographical distinction, or by a green belt. We need to abandon the idea that because of a lack of hygiene the indigenous *bairros* (neighbourhoods) should be the farthest away possible from the European community.” Today, Av. Marien Ngouabi forms part of the arc – half-finished – that marked “in a clear way” the split between two cities: at the core the permanent, ‘city of cement’ and adjacent the ‘city of reeds’. The latter refers to the wicker construction out of reeds, abundant in the marshes and lightweight. Given that Municipal authorities could enter the suburbs and evict at any given time (although this was rarely done), notions of illegality founded the dichotomy of the city; one ‘city’ was defined by temporariness, while the other, ‘city of cement’ set.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

Fig. 11. 19th century plan for the first Avenida extending out of the town, which would later become Av. Samora Machel.
Fig. 12. Trams, established by the Delagoa Bay company ran in Maputo from 1904 to 1936.

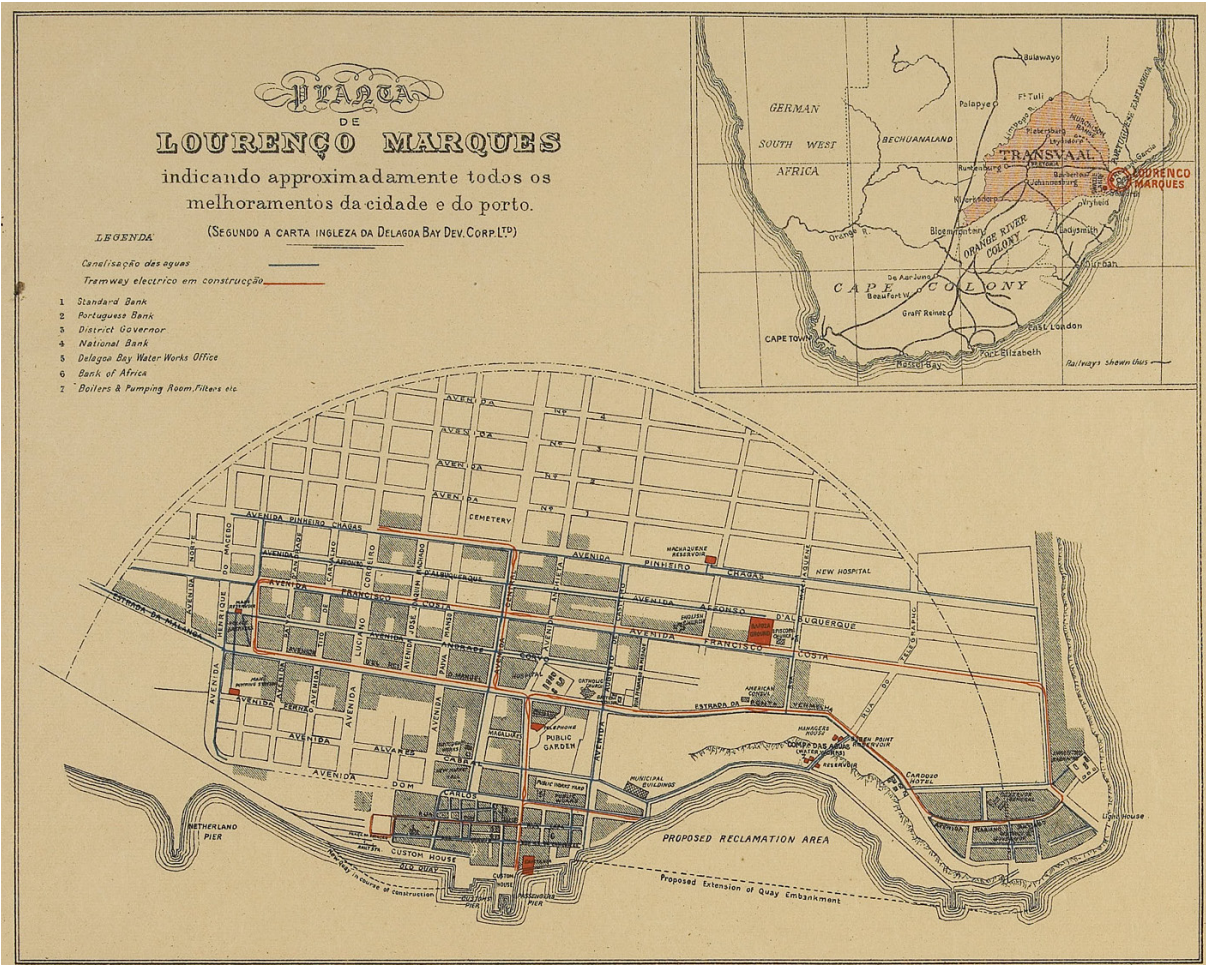


Fig. 13.

Fig. 13. 1903 tram and water network plan with the arc envisioned.



Fig. 14.

Fig. 14. 1907 cadastral plan shows the plan for a new Centre on the Maxaquene landfill akin to that of the Metropolis.

On the edge

“A paradise built on the hell of others”, the opening line of Ines Alves, 2018’s short film *No Ângulo das Ruas* (*Around Corners*) [sic], simultaneously highlights the existing nostalgia for Lourenço Marques⁴ and the divided cityscape which no longer exists. The colonial administration promoted the idea of assimilation between the indigenous and the European. The “pseudo-integrationist” implementation of new urban ‘centralities’ was aiming to facilitate the integration and miscegenation of social classes. The administration envisioned a handful of sites and services projects, near Xiquelene, Urbanização and Munhuana – the latter distinguishable in plan from its radial outline, a satellite to Araújo’s radius. These pilot projects wanted to sway the popular opinion regarding independence movements across the continent. ‘Pancho’ Guedes (1963), famous and prolific architect at the time elucidates the issues; “far, expensive and bad (some of them, when it rains, are lake dwellings)” referring to the subpar floodplains and valleys chosen for construction.

Cadastral differences

“The value of a cadastral map to the state lies in its abstraction and universality” James Scott, “Seeing Like the State”, 1998.

Having a cadastral map in 1960 allowed the State to exercise levies on the land and commerce. Taxes, duties and tolls could (and can) only function with quantifiable matter. Since all the land which was settled by indigenous Mozambicans in the city



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

Fig. 15. Munhuana, “an indigenous neighbourhood”, circa 1940’s.
Fig. 16. ‘Riot Police in the Suburbs of Lourenço Marques by Malangatana, 1973.

4. There is nostalgia amongst former residents of Lourenço Marques – often described to me as “a paradise”. See Matos (2010) *Colonial Architecture and Amnesia* which explores some of the reasons behind the difficult reconciliation with the past for some, and unwillingness to revisit Maputo despite the disposition to “share memoirs in text, image and sound”.

“Pra Sommerschild 16 apartamentos de luxo

Pra Xipamashield 16 amontamentos de lixo”

“For Sommerschild 16 luxury apartments

For Xipama-schild 16 piles of garbage”

“Liricismo do Vândalo” (Vandal’s Liricism)

Azagaia, 2010

(or its outskirts) was owned by foreign (mostly Portuguese) settlers, any related issue was of little concern to the Municipal authorities. By this time, the ‘Canico’ was perceived as an acceptable form of production and conveniently overlooked (Castela, 2010). Alas, indigenous Mozambican’s property was shut from the process since most Mozambicans let or sublet plots, living in “clandestinity” (Mota and Figueiredo, 1974). The ‘city of reeds’ was denounced as yet another profitable scheme for a few private owners to enrich themselves (Guedes, 1963; Mota and Figueiredo, 1974).

Where in the cadastral map of 1960, you see the expansion of the ‘cement city’ beyond the initial arc, outlined in Aguiar’s plan, to the West and North you see individual plots that appear large and consolidated. In practice, this land was subdivided, and the plots sublet to indigenous Mozambicans. Simultaneously, the multitudinous division of property occurred in the topographically advantaged parts of the city, Sommerschild and Polana, blessed by the ocean breeze. Despite this, the socio-economic schism between the suburbs and centrality of the city still exists, owing to subtly different causes. This enduring inequality is expressed plainly in Azagaia’s rap “*Liricismo do Vândalo*” (Azagaia, 2010).

Modern Utopia

Av. da Tanzania, Av. do Zimbabwe, Av. de Angola are some of the avenues which celebrate the independence wave that shook the African continent from the second half of the XXth century. At this time, capital began flowing once again into the city, and with it somewhat liberalized attitudes in society; nationalist



Fig. 17.

Fig. 17. 1940 Plan of Lourenço Marques and suburbs, shows the envisioned arc confronted with the reality of the Sommerschild concession and the neighbourhood Munhuana to the North West.



Fig. 18. 33

Fig. 18. Aerial Survey likely dating from the 1940's shows various developments in progress.



Fig. 19.

Fig. 19. 1960 Cadastral Plan shows different plot sizes in the city's suburbs and centre.



Fig. 20.

Fig. 20. The 1950's brought in a new wave of high rise construction.



Fig. 21. Murals are often used on the facades or entrances of buildings.



Fig. 22. COOP, housing cooperative neighbourhood constructed during the 1960s.

sentiment and cultural identity were to be nurtured – or so it seemed. Miranda (2013) identifies two main ideologies, two utopias at the turn of the XXth century, the identitarian (integrationist) utopia of the *Estado Novo*⁵ and the social utopia of the Modern Movement. 1953 marked the abolition of the *indigenato*⁶ and a statutory shift from a city, part of the Portuguese colonial empire, to a city in a Portuguese Overseas Province; a city that saw Modernism triumph aesthetically. In truth, the designation was an attempt to appease any discontent with the colonial project and manicure a social landscape that seemed progressive and integrationist regarding indigenous Mozambicans. Hypocritical and ultimately segregated – racially or economically – in Portuguese society there was the conviction that it was constructing a new reality unburdened by history (Schauer, 2015).

The Modern Movement

Like in independent countries such as Morocco, Ethiopia or even Brazil or in Europe, Modern architecture reflected visions of grandeur and newness; it was associated with progressive positions and used to showcase *massive* policy change by the State. In Maputo, this premise of the powerful State does not hold true; in fact, there were few public buildings constructed during this period (Ferreira, 2006). Instead, there was relative freedom from State control outside the metropolis (Avermaete et al., 2010), the continent was seen as the new frontier for planners and architects in independent and non-independent countries. These were experimental times; there were limitations of materials, concerns in creating a healthy



Fig. 23.

5. Estado Novo (New State) was the regime of corporatist governance in Portugal from 1933 until 1968 under Salazar’s rule.

6. Statute that distinguished between the ‘indigenous’ people of the colonial territories and the Portuguese; abolished in 1961

Fig. 23. The city’s avenues circa 1960.



Fig. 24.

and pleasant environment, all before sustainability was a concern in the industry (Riso, 2013; Tostões, 2013). Indeed, architects like ‘Pancho’ Guedes sought to escape the “boxes of the international style” (Guedes and Guedes, 2009). Others, like Carlota Quintanilha and Fernando Mesquita, settled in the city during the period and explored new plans and different methods drawn from *tropical modernist* thinking, adapted to the local climate. The thought that modern architecture was breaking with ornamental features in favour of rationality in plan and practice is, in the late and diverse genesis of the movement, a fallacy. As Hilde Heynen notes, it was thought that differences between cultures were differences of hierarchy (2005). “Evolutionism”, however, was not an essential part of the modern movement in Mozambique. A subverted desire for the racial and cultural miscegenation is reflected in distinct buildings. Murals, sculptures and patterned details show the use of craftsmanship (and cheap labour) combined with orthogonal plans. The miscegenation, of the artistic and cultural dimension integrated local forms and indigenous aesthetics in view of an acceptance of European Colonial rule (Avermaete et al., 2010; Demissie, 2012).

Private Capital

The State may have been the precursor of Modernism in most new-born states seeking to establish universal identity. Yet, in colonial Mozambique, the modern project had more to do with capitalism than with public enterprise. In reality, private investment and colonial exploitation always went hand-in-hand (Scott, 1998). Private ventures led the development of the city

Fig. 24. Ministry of Health Building by ‘Pancho’ Guedes.

from its inception, the port and the railways, and years later they would bring the high-rise *modernist* housing and office ‘block’ types lining the avenues. Today, names of industrialists and businessmen (Sorgentini, Salm, Spence e Lemos, etc.) given to villas and buildings, still linger and evince traces of market liberalization in the effort to sway international support for the colonial project.



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

Fig. 25. 1937 view of the port of Maputo. Note Maxaquene landfill area still to be developed in the top left corner of the image.
Fig. 26. 1953 plan for the extension of the city.

Zoning

The first urban structure plan came late in 1967. Led by Eng. Urbanist Mário de Azevedo, it was the first analytical plan, based on (some) statistical data. Notwithstanding, these did not take into account the majority African population (Morton, 2015). For Azevedo, like Corbusier and Lúcio Costa, aerial imagery was instrumental in analysis, whilst in practice it distanced planning authorities further away from reality on the ground. ‘Pancho’ Guedes (1963) criticized the high-modernist planning and its approach to deal with the ‘city of reeds’: “When the know-it-alls arrived by plane they saw, from above, a lot of little people in tin shacks around the city.” Azevedo’s plan designates the areas, euphemistically, as “sub-integrated areas” or “traditional housing” zones, emphasizing this duality of the city and the indifference regarding the autochthonous ‘other’. Far from letting go, the plan reads that these areas “deserve special attention for the problems faced and solutions capable of correcting the judicial “marginalities” of the ‘reed’ constructions which promoted the correlative “social marginality of the people there”” (Mota and Figueiredo, 1974). Once more, the concept of illegality surges to exclude and differentiate sections of society.

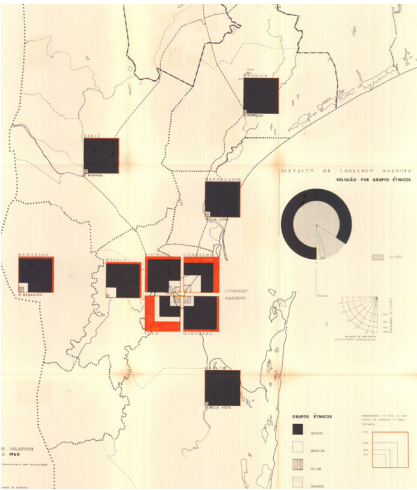


Fig. 27.

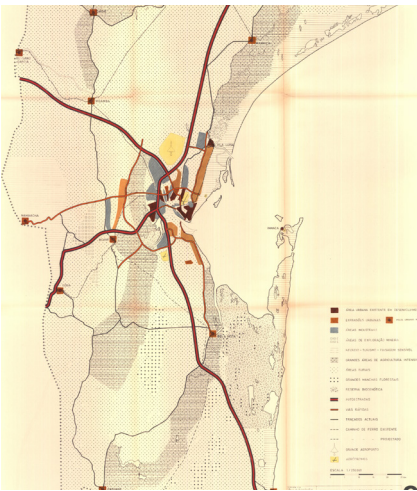


Fig. 28.

Networks

Furthermore, the plan approved in 1969 was elaborated around a system of transport networks; it envisioned the creation of a tangential roadway linking to Beira (north of Maputo), two links to South Africa, through Johannesburg and Eswatini, and to Durban to the South through Ponta de Ouro (Mota and Figueiredo, 1974). Never put into practice, the latter (southern)

Fig. 27. Analysis of the population by ethnicity in the city's vicinity.
Fig. 28. Azevedo's plan envisioned new infrastructural links in the region.



Fig. 29.

Fig. 29. The 1967 plan envisioned new centralities and a bridge over the bay connecting Maputo to Durban.

link influenced the plan for the Maputo-KaTembe bridge, which was erected decades later and the plan served as an analytical base for the municipality following independence. Two planners for the city, Mota and Figueiredo (1974) noted; “The whole housing, land and road policy of the colonial regime under which was the masterplan, was oriented in this direction: create and develop a city of cement, growing from day to day in height, for housing the colonial bourgeoisie; and keep by its side, in the geographically disfavoured parts of the city, the bairros of reeds, where piled up, in deplorable living conditions, the great mass of workers and their families [reside].”

Av. Acordos de Lusaka

Following the Carnation Revolution⁷ in Portugal, and the beginning of the negotiations towards the Lusaka Accords, a technician examining the plan, during the period of transition, denoted that “The Directive Plan (masterplan) reflects the policy of the previous regime well, which was to maintain the population divided though an economic “apartheid” which, nevertheless an “apartheid”, as effective as the South African apartheid, had the advantage of being less obvious and thus less scandalous.” (Mota and Figueiredo, 1974). Indeed, despite drawing some attention to the existing conditions, the status quo which was founded on the interests of a determinate social stratum, perdured. The argument was one of respect for the local culture (Castela, 2010). In reality, the head turning is an all too familiar attitude towards inequality.

7. The Carnation Revolution which unseated the authoritarian Estado Novo in Portugal was led by military officers who opposed the Colonial War.

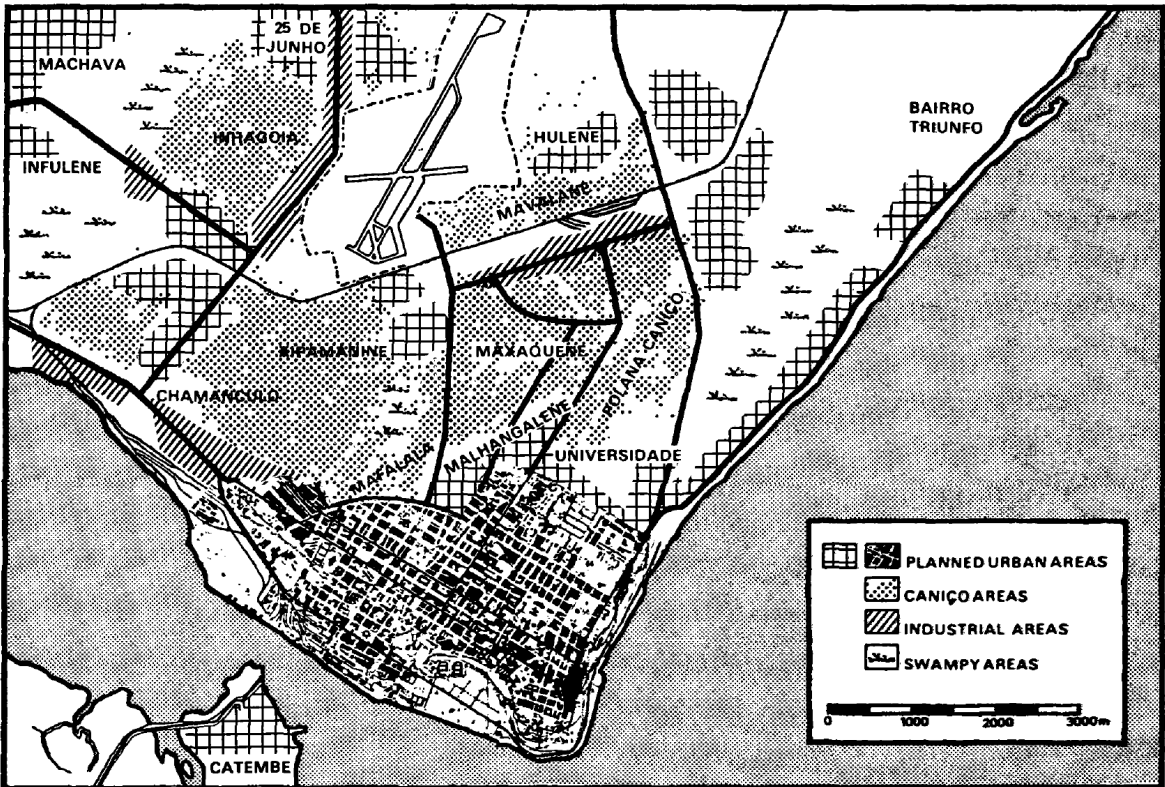


Fig. 30.

Fig. 30. 'Maputo and the surrounding Caniço areas in 1977.'

“Lourenço Marques, ‘cement city’, erected to demarcate clearly, the difference between us and the coloniser” Samora Machel, 25th of September 1975

Naming Places

Nomenclature of places has long played a role in defining the different periods in the city’s history. The name of the city changed from Lourenço Marques to Maputo almost overnight (Morton, 2015). Originally, Maputo designated the southernmost river in Mozambique. More importantly, it carried a message. During the fight for independence, FRELIMO⁸ promised a united Mozambique “*Do Rovuma ao Maputo*” – From Rovuma, the river which marks the border with Tanzania in the North, and where the struggle for independence began, to Maputo where the fight symbolically ended. Diplomatically, the choice avoided designating the city as Xilunguine or Chilunguine (the white man’s place or where the white man lives) or any partisan naming after one tribe or another in the region; Tembe, Mpfumo, Maxaquene, although these would later be chosen as districts of Maputo (Cabral, 1975; Jenkins, 2009a; Morton, 2015). Maputo was the last designation for the city, and the bay would be renamed Maputo Bay – after Baía da Lagoa, Lourenço Marques, Delagoa, Xilunguine or Baía do Espírito Santo, it marked a new era and the beginning of the struggle for national unity.

Av. 24 de Julho – Day of the Nationalisations

Almost without exception, the *Avenidas* had their colonial names replaced. In one case, Av. 24 de Julho remained and marble panels were put in place to demarcate its new meaning

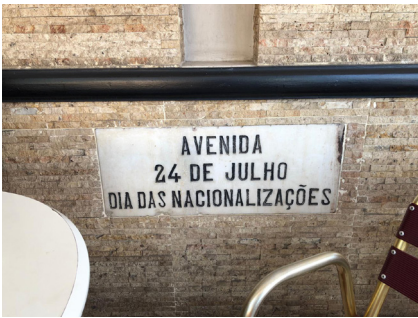


Fig. 31.

Fig. 31. Av. 24 de Julho, with marble panels indicating the avenue’s new observance. They are currently part of the terrace of a private cafe.

8. FReunte de Libertação MOçambicana (Mozambican Liberation Front) led the independence of Mozambique and has been the party in power ever since.

– the “Day of the Nationalisations” (Morton, 2015). FRELIMO’s government adopted a Marxist-socialist stance; Samora Machel (quoted in Morton, 2015) stated, “The people will be able to live in their own city and not in the city’s backyard”. On the one hand, the nationalisations were an overwhelming plan for the State’s administration and economically devastating for the new nation. On the other, the nationalisation granted access to the city, to a certain extent fading the duality of the city prescribed by colonial practices (Roque et al., 2016). However, others have argued that in practice, the nationalisations allowed the political elite to accumulate assets and further strengthen their political power (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2001).

Top-Down

Avenida Samora Machel is the shortest to hold this designation, where at one end a bronze statue of the first president of Mozambique can be found looking over Maputo. Following independence, the State remained highly centralized (Pitcher, 2002). In 1980, the party set up *Conselhos Executivos das Cidades* (City Executive Councils) (CECs), partially answering calls for the creation of a national planning body. The councils retook the administrative municipal functions and ran the allocation of urban land (Andersen et al., 2015a). Grupos Dinamizadores (GDs) formed the local unit of party-governance; in industries and in neighbourhood affairs they embodied the ‘Popular Power’ of FRELIMO (Grest, 1995; Pinsky, 1982). The Maxaquene Project was the main instance where the CEC worked with the GDs, bringing together municipal and local levels. However, the CEC never approved the 1979 post-independence Structural Plan for Maputo (apud



Fig. 32.

Fig. 32. Xiconhoca, collaborating with Ian Smith in neighbouring Rhodesia.

Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 1979).

Av. Julius Nyerere – The Village

Following the independence of neighbouring Tanzania, where FRELIMO found refuge during the war for independence, Julius Nyerere conceived the villagisation of the country. Nyerere is one of Scott’s (1998) Hall of Fame Modernists. In Mozambique, FRELIMO was convinced this too was the solution to all urban ills. In their own version of *Ujamaa*⁹ (not to be confused with planned villages), the new ruling party attempted to displace people from cities (mainly Maputo) to rural areas in the centre of the country (Quembo, 2013). For FRELIMO, the city was a bastion of corruption and sabotage, embodied by the Xiconhoca character in the magazine *Tempo* (Meneses, 2015). At the time, the new government struggled against corruption, nepotism and the dissatisfaction of those which enjoyed a privileged status under colonial rule (who for the most part resided in cities) or local tribal leaders who would later often side with RENAMO¹⁰ as a result. ‘Operação Produção’ (Operation Production) (1983) echoed the failure of Mao’s ‘Great Leap Forward’, a high modernist disaster and an overall lack of interest in the city, focused around agricultural policy (where FRELIMO historically had more support) turned into food shortages and an overall decay of municipal infrastructure and services (Grest, 1995). Furthermore, many former residents would not return, with hard effects on the city added to the flight of European settlers a few years prior. The operation capitalised on FRELIMO’s popular roots and built up distrust for the GDs amongst the population, and FRELIMO’s government, despite



Fig. 33.



Fig. 34.

Fig. 33. Xiconhoca, sign reads “Long live colonialism, Long live racism, Long live tribalism”.
Fig. 34. “Colonialism did well, an official like me would not hold a hoe”, sign reads “civil servant’s farm”.

9. See Loren (1999).
10. RENAMO, NAtional MOzambican REsistance is the main opposition party in Mozambique which fought FRELIMO for control of the country from 1977-1992 in a brutal armed conflict supported by Apartheid South Africa in its early years.

residents having to rely on the former for land and housing allocation (Andersen et al., 2015b; Pinsky, 1982). Then, as the Civil War intensified, more people were drawn to the city for security and shelter, mounting an increasing pressure on the CEC as the 1980's went on. The CEC was to carry out its new tasks as part of the central state, without local administrative or financial autonomy (Grest, 1995). The issue that FRELIMO now faced was how to halt economic collapse after the exodus of administrative personnel, hastened nationalisation, shortages of essential items, floods and war.

Independent High Modernism

The weak state of civil society facilitates the establishment of high-modernist policies (Scott, 1998). Indeed, a Mozambican society emerging from years of authoritarian repression under colonial rule was more susceptible to accept the sacrifices demanded by the new regime in the hope of building a better future. Under the goal to unite and define a new national identity under which all Mozambicans could identify, FRELIMO would mould the new Mozambican Man, doing away with the past, tribalism and the “emores of rural cultural life” (Simpson, 1993). Grest (1995) denotes; “Modernization theorists argued that in order for a society to develop, it had to overcome the hidebound customs and traditions of “tribal” life and embrace the features of modern, industrialized societies.” Even though the collective engagement of people in civil affairs, resulting from both post-independence and colonial practices, has traditionally been frail, it is, however, slowly making progress in younger generations._



Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.

Fig. 35. “Builder of the present, builds the City of the Future”.
Fig. 36. Private companies initially tried to seize the opportunity in the revolution.

“Private activity has an important role to play in straightening out our country.” Samora Machel, (quoted in Pitcher, 2002)

Av. da ONU (UN Avenue)



Fig. 37.

In the post-independence period, African countries promised growth. However, by the late 1970’s, a series of global crises (oil, proxy wars) had complex consequences on geopolitical peripheries, from global economic ties to trade. Peripheral nations, such as Mozambique, succumbed to isolation followed by hastened attempts to reintegrate resource-rich countries, to follow neoliberal economic practices. The death of Samora Machel in 1984 is still mourned and heralded by many as the beginning of the end of the independentist and socialist ideal. Near economic collapse, structural adjustment programs were implemented to integrate the economy within the global capitalist world (Andersen et al., 2015a). The result was, in the 1990’s, the creation of new top-down legislative and municipal physical planning structure and Land Law whereby the titling of land would take place only following the approval of land-use plans (Andersen et al., 2015b). Thus, land use plans leading to approval would facilitate tilting for private owners who could then be taxed. This approach was encouraged by International Organisations (IOs) such as the IMF and World Bank, attempting to consolidate structural economic and political reforms. The city planning authorities place emphasis on land-use planning, presently promoted by International, government and non-government agencies, and applied by national bodies relying on Geographic Information Systems (GIS). The trend to rely on satellite and orthogonal imagery as an analytical

Fig. 37. IO sponsored drainage canal on Avenida Joaquim Chissano, after the second president of Mozambique.

tool, suppresses the urban social relations – like aerial surveys before them. Strategically, planners determine areas suitable for development in order to attract investors. In addition, areas that may be an obstacle to envisioned developments (i.e. along the coast, Polana Caniço A, Bairro dos Pescadores), which are ‘informally planned’ areas, are designated as areas for rehabilitation (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015a).

The Advent of Neoliberalism

“Avenida Karl Marx now takes you to the bank of Mozambique”, my friend points to the irony which uncovers the layers of systemic change in Maputo’s history and shines light on the 1992 liberalisation of the economy. Following the peace negotiations of Rome that marked the end of the Civil War (1976-1992), International Organizations (IOs) pushed for decentralization of administrative entities and the parting of government and state bodies. ‘Democratization’ and transition to a free market economy went forward through a series of structural adjustments. The State was expected to pull out from most previous inputs, to shrink, and oversee private deals instead of being the “promoter of change” (Caldeira, 2008). Maputo now fits into Bayat’s (2012) description of the “neoliberal-city”; “it is a city shaped more by the logic of the Market than the needs of its inhabitants.” One may argue that, as with most cities, it is the market and economic opportunity that draws people. But the concept of a neo-liberal city should be understood in regard to public or State control of affairs in the city, as opposed to individual or private decision-making. In this instance, public officials play a lesser role in the politics

of the city and if they do so, it is with the aim of accumulating private wealth (Bayat, 2012). Structural adjustment policies cemented the role of international private capital in the city, in many cases resurrecting companies from the colonial period¹¹.

Formalising

Fast forward to today and land and urban planning practices are similar; a testament to the power of structural forces. The push to ‘formalize’ in Maputo has been for the most part legislative and focused on getting residents to obtain the DUAT (land-right). The cadastre was for the colonial administration, and is now a tool for taxation and control over private property by the State (Scott, 1998). Land tenure, in this instance, was only an issue for taxation; to serve as funding for Municipal structures. What could not be measured, was out of the State’s jurisdiction (Scott, 1998). For Maputo, the incommensurable factors; trade, ownership, cadastre, still pose major challenges. Surveying and cadastre registering are the subject of attention in recent years, sponsored by IOs and projects such as ProMaputo I and II¹². Despite legislation, there are significant shortcomings in enforcing regulation, mainly due to financial and political restraints. In certain aspects, the turn of the millennium marked a further detachment from the realities on the ground. Thus far, the cadastre is still unable to keep up with the quick-paced remodelling on the ground.

Two Cities

The administrative ordering of nature continues along *Avenida Marginal*; it constitutes the main thoroughfare into the city (in twain, ‘downtown’ and to the ‘de facto’ Central Business

11. See Anne Pitcher (2002) for an in depth analysis of some of these cases.
12. These plans are increasingly promoted by foreign governments and the World Bank in an effort to draw investment to the country by creating the legislative and regulatory basis, with the hope of improving or creating a consistent fiscal revenue for the city.

District (CBD), near Ponta Vermelha). The two-lane artery functions for both wealthy and poorer residents of the city. As the waves sweep the sand from the beaches on one side, new buildings go up on the other, their sight partially covered, with high-fences and gates clearly marking the distinction between public and private. In all likelihood, buildings will continue to rise bordering the coast, as ‘informal’ settlements are built beyond the municipal boundaries. Paul Jenkins compares this to a Brazilian model of urban growth (Paul Jenkins, 2019, personal communication, 10 May). The area, bordering the *Marginal*, was mostly mangrove, and floods frequently. As new developments, and more importantly planned developments are completed for this area, as envisaged in the Partial Urbanization Plan for Marginal (PPUM) the reed and mangrove coverage will become residual (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015a). Instead, replaced by high-end condominiums and gated communities whose wealthier residents will be able to endure the woes of flooding and coastal erosion. The subsequent architectural trend in the city showcases personal and corporate status by creating “fortified enclaves for the wealthy” and results from the urban neoliberalism symptoms described by Caldeira (2008) as “rising inequality and crime, spatial segregation”.

Cities for the Future

The bridge to KaTembe opened new land, with its proximity and seeming accessibility to all, the plots were quickly crowded. “A big investment opportunity” is sold to drive most development in the city today (Betar Construtores and Mendonça, n.d.; Mendonça and Monteiro, 2017). Simultaneously, most land in



Fig. 38.

Fig. 38. Visuals for the requalification of the waterfront along Avenida Marginal.

KaTembe is already subject to speculation waiting for the arrival of investors – with hopes fuelled by the exploitation of gas reserves in the North, leaving residents in the capital hopeful. For now, new construction in the district is sparse and far from the envisioned display of residential towers and beachside resorts.

In spite of multiparty elections taking place ever since the peace agreements, the ruling party has never lost nor ceased to think of the government and State as one – using State resources towards the government and party campaigns (Neuenburg, 2019; Pinto, 2014). In practice, civil strife continues to exist, on issues of division of power, and it is likely to worsen as natural wealth is unearthed in the northern provinces far from the reach of the administrative and financial capital. Furthermore, the embracing of a neoliberal current garnered political interest in pilot projects and grand schemes, as well as engendering a short-sighted governance of resources in the capital, despite the erosion of the modernist State. Thus far I have focused on the policies and plans, high-modernist or other, which have strongly marked the development and history of Maputo to date. An analysis and critique of a selection of plans and projects highlights some of the underlying faults and the ideologies behind them, that caused some of these plans and systems to come apart. The continued focus on the future is characteristic of high modernism as described by Scott (1998), where else to look to when the past has been so bleak? The next chapter shines light on some of the practices that, in the following view, encompass the erosion of rigid planning structures and the emergence of endogenous urban practices.

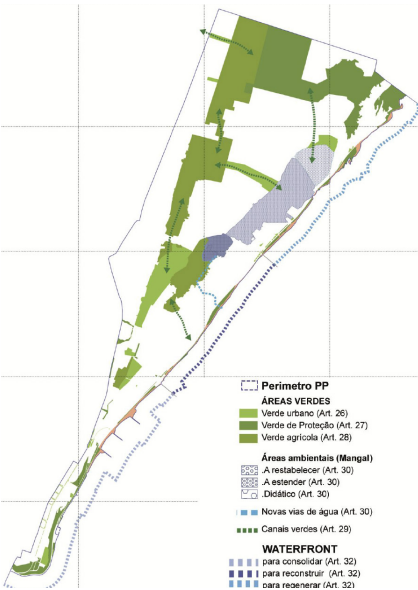


Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.

Fig. 39. Plan of ‘Environmental Systems’ shows what is left of the mangrove.

Fig. 40. Masterplan for KaTembe, “A City for the Future”



Fig. 41. New developments in Polana Caniço A.



Fig. 42. New construction along Avenida Marginal.



Fig. 43. Parking spaces of the 'Smiling Lion' designed by 'Pancho' Guedes are filled with shops and storage.

The erosion

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Fig. 44. "There! That's traditional"

Traditional

Jordan shifts quickly, the old Hiace engine rumbles, speeding to overtake as we pull back in on the left hand-side, the gentle tap of the *metical* (coin) in the *cobrador*'s¹³ hand wrapped around the metal post signals Jordan – no words uttered between them. The sliding bay-door shrieks open, a few more join the seemingly full passenger bay. Jordan tells me the most profitable routes run to 'Baixa', lamenting the fact that his chapa can't make it up the hillside. He follows another route running to 'Museu' – has been doing so for 'three, four years', ever since he lost his job in port operations. Traditionally, the city centre has been 'Baixa' (downtown). Nevertheless, new centralities exist. I rode with Jordan on the way to Xiquelene, he stopped to pick me up on the way back, keen to chat. While I snap away from the best seat on the chapa, Jordan, intrigued, offers some tips – occasionally slowing down for me to take a photo – the driver is in charge of the chapa, it's his chapa. He tells me; "look there! Is that architecture?", pointing to a small stand on the sidewalk. Sure, it's how people use the space, "There! That's traditional, take a photo of that woman making badjia¹⁴, that's traditional"; towards a pot cooking under a textile structure by our side.

Endogenous / Metis

In order to not fall into the trap of being overly fond of local, customary and endogenous practices, we must seek the desires and perceptions behind these practices in relation to the previously discussed high-modernist projects. Jordan highlighted a common bias of research in the Global South. As

13. The *cobrador* is the fare collector. Chapas are generally small minivans, usually refitted Toyota Hiaces from Japan, and thus suited to the right-hand drive market. They are often not owned by the *cobrador* or driver but by third-party, sometimes an employer who has multiple chapas.

14. A traditional fritter and street staple, usually made of manioc flour.

Scott (1998) argues, the praise for *mētis* or practical knowledge is not a bias towards the craftsman, artisanal, traditional, indigenous, autochthonous or local. Scott (1998) admits to praising said modes; “the practical knowledge I describe is often inseparable from the practices of domination, monopoly, and exclusion that offend the modern liberal sensibility.” What he dutifully opposes however, throughout his book, is the dismissal of elements of practical knowledge by the formal schemes put in place by the State. A similar approach is taken over the next chapter, to understand that the resilience of indigenous or endogenous practices and forms are at times a response to high-modernist or dominant ideologies.

Maxaquene intro

The district of Maxaquene¹⁵ has the most avenues after the KaMpfumo (corresponding to the former colonial core). The site of ‘informal settlements’, then ‘city of reeds’, became the site of the new nation’s most ambitious urban venture and a novel experiment in planning structures, administration and popular mobilisation. In 1977, the project was to strengthen the planning and urbanisation institutions and shift planning focus to the ‘city of reeds’, previously overlooked by planners. The challenge was to improve the neighbourhoods of Maxaquene and Polana Caniço with the least demolition possible; clearing thoroughfares and creating avenues piercing these neighbourhoods.

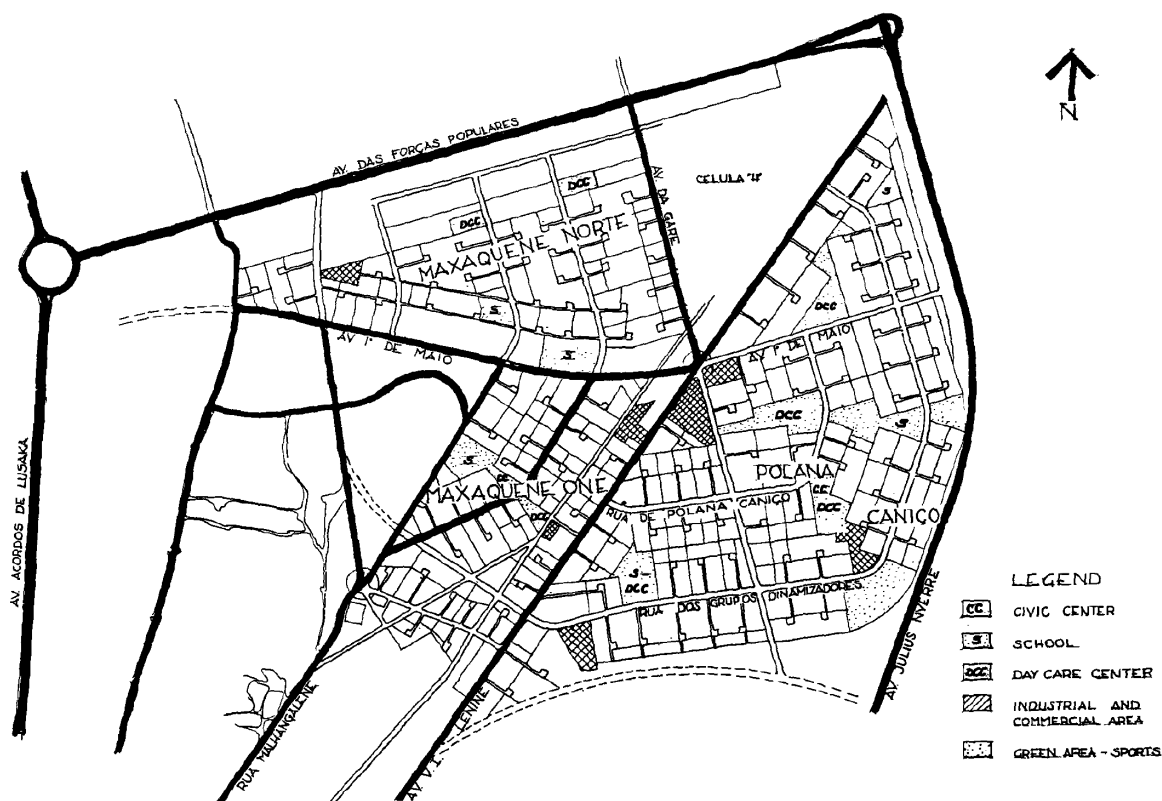
Bottom-Up

Planners refused to involve themselves in plot subdivisions, instead leaving a set of rules for replacing existing homes; “nobody could be forced to move his caniço house before it perished” (Saevfors, 1986). By focusing on the re-ordering of space not through slum-clearing (Morton, 2015) – as was being done in the region – but through collaboration with residents and by improving the existing conditions, the project distanced itself from the seemingly high-modernist rhetoric of the party elsewhere. The project was aid funded and saw many *cooperantes* (foreign aid workers or volunteers) join the effort. In addition, aerial surveying formed part of a continuous reorganization of plans and their execution. Initially, the scope of the project described a classic sites and services approach (Saevfors, 1986) but the simultaneous analysis, planning and



Fig. 45.

Fig. 45. Poster celebrating the spirit of the times.
15. Not to be confused with the landfill area between the Polana headland.



Maxaquene One and the extension 1978 to Maxaquene Norte and Polana Canico. Over 36,000 people were now involved in the project.

Fig. 46. Maxaquene Project, 36,000 people were involved in the project's first phase.

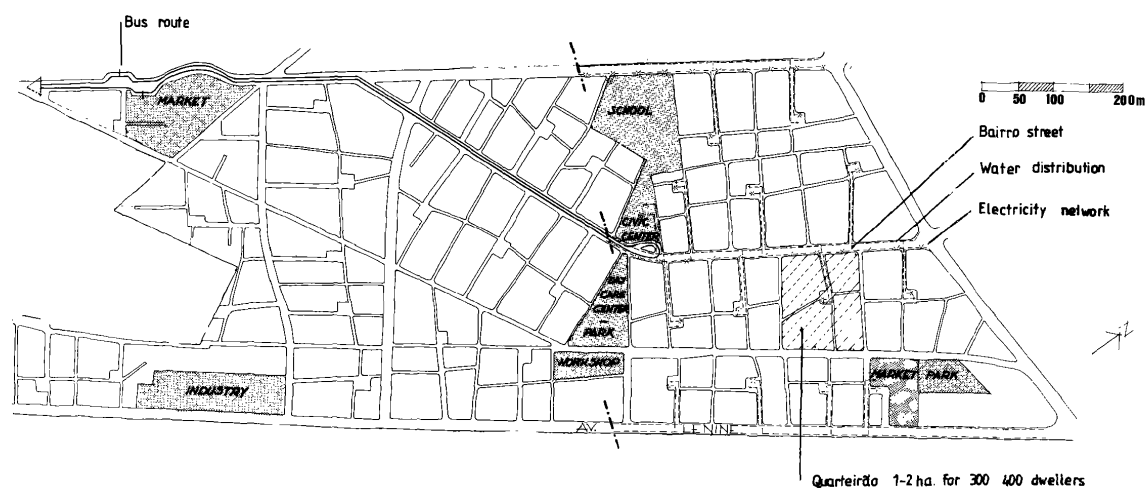


Fig. 47. The plan introduces large roadways and services and yet maintains some of the streets which characterise the neighbourhood.

execution, elevated the project – in the end, residents still built their own homes and worked on communal sites. The initiative laid the base units for a cohesive grassroots organism, and later a localised planning apparatus. The project subdivided and distributed tasks to GDs, then *bairro* secretaries and finally the *chefe de dez casas* (head of ten houses), creating a base for future planning interventions where individual or family unit requirements which were not systemic. In sum, the intervention succeeded for various reasons; an acceptance of the existing socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants, a balanced ambition and, a clear set of objectives. There was a degree of autonomy of localised entities and households, and the mobilising capacity of the socialist ideology, which is without a doubt more difficult presently.

Top-Down

The project was prepared for expansion to other *bairros*; the halting of the project was for the most part a political impetus (Saevfors, 1986). The overarching ideas behind the project, with the support of then president Samora, were ideologically high modernist. For example, the top-down organization, supported by exogenous actors and to some extent placing trust on experts echoes the post-independence projects of other African countries just decades before. Additionally, the structuring of planning authorities and units describes a grand vision, only possible under the revolutionary climate of the time. The project undoubtedly strengthened the party's influence on cities at a neighbourhood level in particular, which was limited prior to independence. However, FRELIMO, never developed an urban

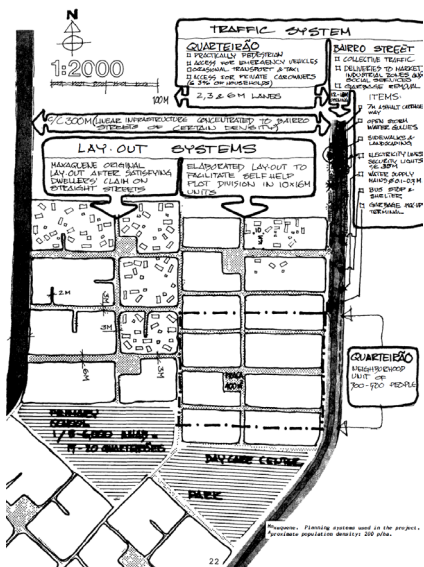


Fig. 48.

ideology on a grand scale, the Maxaquene project is arguably the most notable exception.

Demise

Despite the GDs’ successes in Maxaquene, by the 1980’s the GDs lost popularity as a grassroots initiative and became entrenched in the local administrative structure at the official *Bairro* (neighbourhood) level (Grest, 1995). Precisely, Ingemar Saevfors (1986), a *cooperante* in the project, reports some of the difficulties faced; the separation of duties between public services, the expectation from residents that the recently established *Direção Nacional de Habitação* (DNH) (National Housing Directorate) was to provide all services and release of funds in a timely fashion. Furthermore, Pinsky (1982) (another *cooperante*) remarks: “despite its imposing name, the National Housing Directorate in mid-1977 (start of the project) had a professional staff of 12, of whom 10 were recently arrived expatriates from five different countries.” Ultimately, it seems, the revolutionary spirit of the liberation struggle was slowly swallowed by the daunting task of shaping the nation. Pinsky (1982) points to opportunism, a lack of administrative capacity and the imitation of colonial bureaucratic procedures inducing the concurrent unresponsiveness of State agencies.



Fig. 49.

Fig. 49. Tempo Magazine news clipping showing suburban upgrading in 1981.

Fading

In his photographic essay, Sammy Baloji, follows *Avenida Vladimir Lenine*. From the quayside to Praça dos Combatentes, *Lenine* slices the city’s urban fabric; Central, Malhangalene, Coop, Maxaquene and Polana Caniço, each neighbourhood a new layer. Baloji works in sequence; a series of close-ups unfolds the city from the quayside to the suburbs, taking you from one period in time to another. Repeatedly extended, *Lenine* cuts through the urban fabric of the city and thus the history of the city itself (Lage and Baloji, 2010). The long focal length takes away the depth yet reveals the detail and character of the everyday – residents walking, ads on murals, balconies closed and decorated with satellite receivers. The behaviours, desires and needs of residents are prescribed on the threshold of the private and public sphere.

Identity

When the *avenidas* cut through the neighbourhood of Maxaquene, they took the names of the same revolutionaries found in KaMpfumo. In what can be designated as the suburbs of Maputo, elements that typically characterise the core of the city flourished, and vice-versa; those that characterised the suburbs populated the city centre. Mosaics and murals are found throughout Maputo, some commissioned by patrons or the State; a few, according to Guedes, were offered to clients if they would accept them (Guedes and Guedes, 2009). Others, honouring the heroes of Mozambique, are found inside bars and *barracas* (small shops) or mark the entrance to buildings. Shop fronts with lively paint jobs liven the streets, some have



Fig. 50.

Fig. 50. Excerpts from Sammy Baloji’s photographic essay on Avenida Vladimir Lenine.

identical styles and pictograms, and often different authors who leave their mobile numbers signed. At the end of the spectrum is advertising – quick money for households and small businesses. Red, the colour of FRELIMO and revolution; red, the colour of Coca-Cola; red, the colour of Vodacom and 2M¹⁶. These are by far the most widespread advertisements, symptoms of the market’s demand. Products of the free market advertising, billboards are inane, but the shops are painted.

Mimicry

Neoclassical cement balustrades and fragmented ceramic tiles present a desire to imitate the other, mimicking the Portuguese colonial-bourgeois styles or South-African neoclassical motifs. For modernists, indigenous patterns and art forms composed a cultural enrichment of their structures, as a result ‘indigenised modernism’ emerged¹⁷. The true ‘indigenous modernism’ emerges from the transgressive reproduction, replication and adaptations of modernist elements and motifs that followed independence. However, the blend of cultures was omnidirectional, and from the colonial period, western culture seduced by granting access to power (Quijano in Castro-Gómez, 2008). Just like the *sapeurs* of Brazzaville or the *Asmarini* of Asmara, the city’s ‘dress’, or fabric, recalls the neo-bourgeois, late-colonial period, at the time a cosmopolitan and diverse city despite its deeply segregated structure. The subverted dandyism is what Bhabha terms *mimicry* (Volgger and Graf, 2017), in the colonial context, it allows the subordinate ‘other’ to conceal himself amidst the dominant identity (Bhabha, 2012). Mimicry presents itself in the city not as the erosion of modernist



Fig. 51.



Fig. 52.

Fig. 51. 2M’s painted facades.

Fig. 52. Transgressive reproduction in the suburbs.

16. Vodacom is a mobile operator subsidiary of South African Telkom and British multinational Vodafone. 2M, is a popular beer in the country part of multinational AB-InBev.

17. The term ‘indigenous modernities’ was coined by Hosagrahar (2005 apud. Heynen, 2005) to distinguish modernist production which precedes and follows the timeframe of the Modern Movement in India.



Fig. 53. Vodacom dwelling/shop on Avenida Julius Nyerere.



Fig. 54. Auto shop murals.

models, but as the diffusion or dilution of specific patterns throughout the city’s fabric. By standardizing and mass-producing certain characteristics and designs, *modernism* in the city ended up creating a standard by which people would later align their expectations. Prior to independence, the majority of residents of the ‘city of reeds’ could not build in cement. Once they could afford to do so, they used cement blocks to build a ‘city of cement’ where that of reeds once stood, complete with neo-classical balustrades.

Popular Modernism

This transgressive reproduction which exists beyond the suburbs of Maputo is evident in the self-produced ‘casa ventoinha’ (Lage, n.d., Andersen et al., 2012). Named the ‘fan house’ for its shed roofs sloped in opposing directions, akin to a ‘fan’ in plan resulting from an additive construction. The typology is in line with Fernando Lara’s ‘Popular Modernist’ architecture, where in Brazil, residents reproduced modernist motifs such as shed roofs, terraces, pilotis and geometric patterns found in the works of popular architects, like Niemeyer, and on the houses of public officials (2008). In fact, self-built popular architecture makes up most of the African built substance (Folkers, 2013). In this case, residents of Maputo were also drawn by the features of the ‘cement city’ and to conceptions of a ‘proper house’ based on the colonial villas that line the avenues of Sommerschild and Polana. Many of the *modernist* architects left in 1975 and 1976, following independence and nationalisation, while most workers, craftsmen, painters, and indigenous actors of Mozambican



Fig. 55.

Fig. 55. Two Variants of the ‘Casa Ventoinha’ typology.

Modernism remained. In a new nation, artists seeking to make a name for themselves or to find work did so across the city. Folkers (2005) argues that the efficiency of mass-production of elements such as sheet roofs, blocks and facade elements infiltrated African urban production from the early 1920's. Yet, today this transgressive production persists, between the modern and the perceived 'informal' reproduction in the city.



Fig. 56.

Fig. 56. Tiled thresholds, overhangs and neoclassical balustrades.

Socially Accepted Forms

Paul Jenkins argues that informal urban development is, in practice, not only what is economically viable, but also “socially legitimate and culturally embedded” (Andersen et al., 2015a; Jenkins, 2009b). He argues for the promotion of socio-culturally embedded practices as opposed to normative physical planning practices. In one case, residents adjacent to the *Bairro dos Professores*, with the help of Neighbourhood Heads and technical assistants, laid out unplanned areas which followed the road grid of the nearby officially planned neighbourhood (Andersen et al., 2015a). Similarly, in Kinshasa, Luce Beeckmans (2010) found that amidst the fourfold growth of the city’s population following independence, inhabitants responded with a similar appropriation of space but instead of the expected chaotic appearance of ‘informal’ urbanisation they mimicked the colonial grid – influenced by local chiefs, surveyors and other technical personnel from local municipalities. In Maputo, the ‘urbanisation frontline’ is informal; it emerged out of necessity as the city grew faster. First expanding in the 1950’s, with the influx of settlers; then, following independence, there was an increase in rural migration. The vacated and reallocated housing was not sufficient a substitute for ‘informal’ housing. Instead, the civil war increased pressure on the city’s services as many fled rural areas. In essence, the withdrawal of the State – even if the State was never the true promoter of urban development – pushed most users to have recourse to ‘traditional’ or ‘informal’, yet ‘socially acceptable’, forms of acquiring services by adapting

and finding innovative ways to transform the city around them (Andersen et al., 2015a).

The Mozambican Connection

Often, municipal services are introduced in certain areas through the action of well-connected individuals, private or party entities. For instance, land sales are frequent in planned and unplanned parts of the city even though the State is, in theory, the sole proprietor of land (Andersen et al., 2015b). Leverage in social or political affairs is gained through social relations; when Joaquim, a Polana Caniço resident, explains the route to obtaining his land-title, the *Direito de Utilização e Aproveitamento de Terras* (Right to Use and Exploit Land) (DUAT), effectively a 50-year lease, he says it is quick: “If I want to build anything I ask the *chefe de dez casas* (Head of ten houses) who asks the *chefe de quarteirão* (Neighbourhood Head), who in turn brings the proposal to the *Circo* (District Assembly).” Joaquim’s ease surprises me in contrast to what I’d heard so far – when the Municipality itself states that obtaining the DUAT is often, “a long and bureaucratic process” (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015). Then Joaquim points out he is friends with the head of the neighbourhood.

Dynamizing Groups

Local systems reigned over the peri-urban areas during the colonial times. Thereafter, the *Grupos Dinamizadores* (GDs) replaced the colonial *régulos*¹⁸ as the local unit of administration with political affiliations in work and in everyday life. However, GDs did not incorporate traditional tribal leaders

18. Official figure used by colonial authorities for local administration, frequently a tribal chief.

(1993). The GDs controlled land-use allocation in central areas of the city and were influential in the distribution of nationalised and rented property post-independence. Thereby, ingraining themselves in the administrative processes of the city, without replacing the traditional role of tribal leaders that still exert some political influence and considerable social leverage in community affairs.

“The Portuguese don’t understand our care in sweeping around our houses. For them, it only makes sense to sweep the interior of buildings. It doesn’t occur to them to sweep the loose sand in the yard. The Europeans don’t understand: for us, the outside is still inside.” *Mulheres de Cinza* (Women of Ashes) by Mia Couto (2015)



Fig. 57.

Inside-outing

Mia Couto translates the interior-exterior nexus, between the ‘private’ and public space experienced on the streets and avenues of Maputo. The threshold, the door, the facade, become key elements in this social life. Bayat (2012), proposes that this relationship to the street is a feature of the neoliberal-city, where urban residents endure and live in public space. This process Bayat describes as a “dialectical inside-outing”, whereby most quotidian affairs take place on the street. Residents walk kilometres to and from places where they can sell. And those who can afford to do so, spending a great deal of their income, take the *chapas* and *machimbombos*¹⁹. Enclosure and thresholds are powerful in helping us understand this relationship.

Threshold

During the apex of *Styloguedes*²⁰ buildings in Lourenço Marques, ‘Pancho’, set out to photograph the “doors of [the city of] reeds”; each house with its own painted door front. Vivid colours, geometric patterns on the wooden doors expressed singularity and a desire for self-expression. Today, in what was once the ‘city of cement’, freshly painted balconies stand out

19. Buses.
20. Term used to describe ‘Pancho’ Guedes’ style, by ‘Pancho’ himself and others (Gens, n.d.; Guedes and Guedes, 2009).

Fig. 57. ‘Pancho’s’ Doors of the ‘City of Reeds.’



from the otherwise monotonous facades of some modernist housing blocks – “*kúxónɡa*”, a resident tells me in Changana – “it looks good”. Seemingly unorthodox, *kúxónɡa*, expresses this desire to show – not quite to boast – and marks the transition between the public and private world. As if it marks the transition between the street and the *avenida* in the part of the city where there are (almost) no streets.

Reconfiguration

Many of the older buildings and many of the modernist blocks in the city have sealed balconies; glass filling and the often-requisite A/C unit, present a new type of modern, an adapted modernism, somewhat undisturbed by building regulations. It could be doing away with the most criticised characteristic of modernist housing blocks – the lack of singularity. As in most postcolonial countries, residents adapted the majority of buildings from the colonial period. There are all sorts of appropriation, yet most modifications don’t alter the structure. The normality of these buildings is indispensable in reconfiguring their use; ultimately, unsettling their envisioned conditioning and form that they present. When asked by a student about the adaptations done to the buildings he’d designed, ‘Pancho’ smiled and replied; “it is a new vision that residents have given to the architecture” (Mariano, 2017).

Street as Organism

Encroaching on the street is by no means a *Modernist* phenomenon. However, Modern architecture engages with the public avenue in a novel form. It intrudes into public space



Fig. 59.

Fig. 58. Thresholds, murals and chairs.

Fig. 59. *Kúxónɡa*!



Fig. 60. Life on the threshold.

“Dumbanengue para o rico

Dumbanengue para o pobre

Dumbanengue para o vadio

Dumbanengue para o turista”

“Dumbanengue for the rich

Dumbanengue for the poor

Dumbanengue for the stray

Dumbanengue for the tourist”

“Dumbanengue” (Informal Market)

Kafé-Kafé, 1998

and, by distorting the boundary between private in public with pilotis and overhangs, defines the avenues and streets. When avenues intersect, “it is on the ground floor is where the public and integrated dimension of the corner is most intensely transformed.” (Lage and Carrilho, n.d.). In turn, its inhabitants occupy the sidewalks and streets. The encroachment of some people on the public sphere is seen as a nuisance by authorities. Regardless, these people, traders and hawkers are not disenfranchised. They have found their place and create their ‘passive networks’ of the city. There is an understanding that the street and the inside are one; where private space spills onto the public sphere. “The street’ is a social organism, one which is very much alive and which out of necessity roams the avenues of Maputo to popular intersections, traffic lights or busy esplanades. It is this organism which cannot be planned for; it is too complex and disparate; for, as Scott argues, by planning for certain social processes, we risk unwittingly destroying them (1998).

Dumbanengues

The avenida has a way of controlling mastering and organising the street and suddenly becomes the first place for the erosion of its own intentions. The *dumbanengues*²¹ fill the in between spaces. The large sidewalks become produce stands, colourful *capulanas*²² seats for the older women selling them. The streets and avenues are markets of this outdoor economy; as one chronicler describes it is the “apparent intrusion of one body into another, is the course of history, which goes straight along very twisted lines – aesthetically striking by contrast

21. Informal markets.

22. Capulanas are a traditional type of sarong usually worn around the waist by women but also used to carry their infants or objects around.



Fig. 61. Sealed off balconies and adaptations to the old fabric of the city.

(...)” (Ramos, 2019). The apparent informality contrasts with the sharp angles of the *modernist* structures. The latter shading traders and the large avenues presenting equally large pavements for the ubiquitous market. The *dumbanengue* is whole – one and only market across the city, which blends with formal and informal markets at times. It is a life system of the city, the logistical infrastructure guaranteed by a large yet communitary set of traders who resort to the same places to reach their clientele. It is an instinctive, organic deployment of structures and products which takes place every day.



Fig. 62.

Fig. 62. Modern towers begin to shine.

Shift

Amidst the rusting plumbing and fading paint of the modernist high-rises, modern towers begin to shine. Speculation has consistently reminded those in the city to build up. For many, this is the erosion of the ‘city of cement’ – a physical one. For some, the erosion is the degradation of the city they once knew, Lourenço Marques, in the mind of those who lived in it – “a paradise”. For my expat friends *Avenida Julius Nyerere* is the main street – in many ways it has become the defacto CBD. Centres shift, but most importantly *chapas* take men, women and children all over the city, and beyond. Multiple poles exist, each one focused around a specific commercial or economic activity. Xiquelene, a major market, Benfica, Junta and Praça da Juventude are for construction trades, Fajardo used to be the wholesale market for products coming from South Africa, now it’s Zimpeto, at the edge of the municipality. Xipamamanine, one of the oldest markets has just about everything, as does Xiquelene, they are the major markets in the suburbs, the densest part of the city. While the resident population of the KaMpfumo district (former ‘city of cement’) has decreased, the daytime population is still significantly higher (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015b). These new centralities fragment the city; in multiple ways, ‘Baixa’ (downtown), is no longer the sole centrality and that’s a good thing.

Erosion

The pavements that bust open from the roots of the acacias and jacarandas, lining the forty-meter-wide avenues, are the allegorical translations of the erosion of the modernist city.



Fig. 63.

Fig. 63. Stained glasswork with a heroic depiction of colonialism, broken and revisited.

At first glance, they could prescribe a lack of upkeep. Misuse? Or a mistake, unaccounted for, by planners and politicians alike? ‘Concrete cancer’ takes its toll on the sharp corners of Maputo’s avenues. Sidewalks are worn out – not by the people who make a living on them – but by the countless cars which stream into the city every morning and depart every evening, parking on the sidewalks, at intervals 10 meters wide. The tree pits, too small to accommodate any tree for over a decade, stretch over the pavement and chip the concrete surface which are then piled into temporary seats – the intact slabs are for playing checkers. An ideal plan ignored the most frequent and natural of phenomena; if it is natural it grows. The trees, like the city, grew faster and faster – faster than the cement that set around them. In this unfamiliar environment, with unknown neighbours, the new residents shielded themselves behind intricate steel grids on their balconies. These incongruities are perceived by many to be the confrontation between the rural and urban mentality (Couto, 2015), by those not accustomed to living in the city which was not designed for them. In the end, the bizarre alterations to the urban landscape reflect the users’ requirements; for privacy, security and at that time, food, as the urban-food supply infrastructure collapsed – different from those of their previous settlers (Morton, 2015). Ultimately, this erosion is not physical. The erosion reflects the dissolution of colonial practices in Maputo and strips the dress of the modernist city, weaving together intention and improvisation in ingenious ways.



Fig. 64.



Fig. 65.



Fig. 66. From Lourenço Marques to LM, from M to Maputo.



Fig. 67. Shoe sellers align their merchandise with the grid of the concrete pavement.

What is to be done?

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Fig. 68. Map of 'chapa' routes and major markets adjacent to terminals.

You drive, we draw

While I take a photo, Jordi hails a passing *chapa* on the two-lane *Avenida Lenine*. We are just off the stop, but it doesn't matter – for the driver and cobrador; the more the merrier. We both wedge into the front seat – by then, I had lost the feeling that I was being crammed. Front seats are usually offered as a sign of respect, here for carrying a camera, other times for being elderly or well-dressed, and sometimes for being white. Beto, the driver is intrigued by what we are doing. I ask him if he knows the *chapa* project map. Hesitant at first, it seems he has seen it before. The maps are the result of a joint initiative to transcribe the 'informal' transport network in the city, however, they are not widely distributed. Jordi took part in the project and works for the transportation planning department in Barcelona; he tells Beto; "You know the interesting thing is that usually, we draw the routes and then you drive – but here, you drive and then we draw."

Juxtaposition

This third and final chapter, discusses the juxtaposition of two systems; endogenous forms of engaging with the city, discussed in the previous chapter, and top-down planning structures. Through various avenues that distinguish Maputo, this section investigates the impact and integration of adaptive, endogenous practices as a form of viable urban development to better understand how a symbiosis can be achieved. During colonial times, high-modernist planning straightened natural features and sought to order the fabric of the city. Similarly, following independence the leading powers still saw, and to

some extent still see, top-down planning approaches as the solution to cleanse the city of ‘disorder’. Incongruities between these two forms of planning, perceived as ‘informal’ and formal approaches are well studied. The chapter examines how top-down, at times exogenous systems, can engage with endogenous practices across three distinct fields; transport, finance and urbanism, and suggests how these are able to function together in urban governance and architectural design.

Adaptive systems

This piece turns towards the ‘informal’ transport networks in Maputo to illustrate perceptions of the city based on residents’ experience and my own trajectory in the city. The *chapas* in Maputo are illustrative of the broader urban problematic. First, the existent transport network presents an adaptive system, a sector of the ‘informal’ economy that results from a specific need – a need for collective transportation in the city. Second, it reflects the withdrawal of the State as the real governing entity, in particular of the weak local government power. The collective transport sees private initiatives leading urban change, reflecting the embrace of neoliberalism throughout society, a majority of urban residents travel on them. Finally, from Sunday prayers, to the karaoke sessions between the *cobrador* and driver – *chapas* are a microcosm of Maputo itself; sitting on the flimsy, tight seats, a world unfolds around you

The Map

There are multiple successful projects mapping ‘informal’ transport networks across the African continent (Klopp and Cavoli, 2019). Withal, what makes Maputo’s case distinct is the engagement of the *Transportes Públicos de Maputo* (TPM) and official municipal bodies with the network of *chapas* following their charting. In fact, the team led by two local think-tanks, with the support of foreign institutions, engaged with associations of drivers early on (“Chapas Project – Collective Transport in Maputo,” 2013). The mapping succeeded in two ways; first in the providing legibility to an ‘invisible’ network and hence legitimizing the form in which it operated.

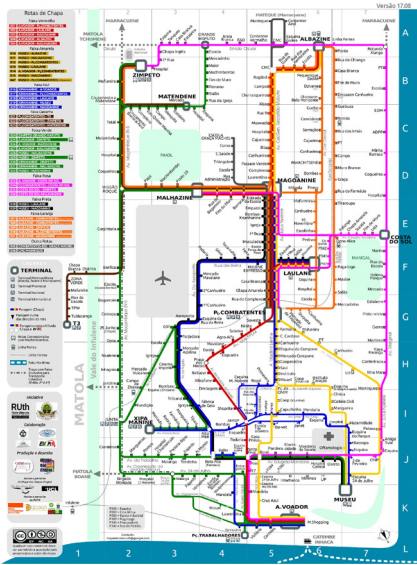


Fig. 69.

Fig. 69. Stylised map of the network

Undoubtedly the user will still need to grasp the ins-and-outs of riding a *chapa*, seat etiquette being one of them, but the majority of users, living in the city will benefit most from its acceptance and transformation as a viable form of transport. Second, the project became catalyser or middleman apposing the two seemingly incongruous parties – municipal authorities and associations of ‘informal’ transport workers.

The State

The Municipality could have adopted measures to ban *chapas* or the *Mylove*²³ – open back pick-up trucks that carry passengers – but instead authorities accept ‘informal’ transport as a viable solution to the issue of urban transit. Not only did the municipal transportation authorities accept the practice but encouraged and decided to take part in it. In addition, influenced by IOs, in a push for development of urban transport and infrastructure networks as a priority, Maputo planned its own Bus-Rapid Transit (BRT) network – in turn, influenced by the success of BRTs in Latin American cities (*Comprehensive Urban Transport Master Plan for the Greater Maputo*, 2014). The proposed route, follows to some extent the collective transport network treating the existing operators as “secondary feeders” (Klopp and Cavoli, 2019). Furthermore, the TPM and Municipal authorities seem resolute on improving the conditions of the commutes to the inner city and recently, the city has received hundreds of buses donated by Chinese cities – some of which are still meant to take you to Guangzhou Central Station. Still, the reliance on external donations or loans, in this instance on Brazilian loans, is also what has kept the BRT from being built.

23. Dubbed the ‘My Love’ for the intimacy of the encounters on the bumpy ride; “in the My Love, you just hold tight anyone around you” (‘Djabo’, 2019, personal communication, June).

Regularisation

Suspended due to corruption, the revised BRT plan has yet to see construction kick off (“BRT scheme slimmed down, but still no money available,” 2018; João, 2016). Undeniably ambitious, the project displays the will to integrate ‘informal’ practices within Municipal structure to in turn engender public services that function in conjunction with the informal transport network. For the moment, *chapas* are subject to some regulation and occasional stops by the police, although, what exactly is regulated besides the licenses is a small mystery. In this instance, the regularisation process did not rest solely upon formalization. As for ‘*Myloves*’, most are banished from the inner city, they appear when necessity arises; at rush hour to take people to neighbourhoods far from the city centre (Pila, 2019). There is a push to develop a Mozambican designed ‘*my love*’, that is essentially a closed ‘pick-up’ suitable for both cargo and people – arguably increasing the security of the passengers. The BRT project is an example of the ‘temporary failures’ – delayed or incomplete projects often funded by IOs – leading to propositions for funding the development of the ‘informal’, private-led systems (Klopp and Cavoli, 2019).



Fig. 70. Flower traders working in a purpose-built structure.



Fig. 71. Street traders near the central station.

Endogenous vs. Indigenous

There are two ways of understanding the ‘local’ types of urban practices which contrast modernist planning policies and practices. On one hand, are the vernacular forms and methods which transform and contrast the modernist elements. On the other, are the endogenous practices that present original narratives and interpretations of the city. Vernacular is that which translates the indigenous; and the latter is that which belongs naturally to a region. Whilst endogenous refers to the concepts, objects and ideas that “grow from within” (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). As Ananya Roy (2005) argues; “Globalization is viewed as disempowering, while local communities are seen to be a force for change.” In this view, local practices appear incompatible with global or exogenous forces. When in practice, as Roy argues, both predicaments are not wholly exclusive of one another (2005).

Xitique

One of these endogenous practices is *Xitique*; colleagues, friends, party members, each contribute a given amount of money during a given period; at the end of each month they withdraw in sequence, agreed beforehand. Rotating-savings associations, like *xitique*, *susus* or ‘merry-go rounds’ in West Africa are common practices for those without access credit (Aizenman, 2017). Where interest rates are 12.75% and loans for small businesses around 18%, endogenous systems arise to navigate specific socio-economic conditions²⁴. In this case, the absence of mortgaging and lending systems makes investments more expensive than they otherwise would be (Jenkins, 2001).

24. “Banco de Moçambique,” December 2019; Faizal, 2020, personal communication January.

Xitique relies on the individual's social network. Founded on trust for the community and distrust for the banking system (De Avillez, 2015; Trindade, 2011). Yet, the system mimics that of a bank without physical space, it relies on the social relationships at a community level (Cuamba, 2008).

Social capital

In this light, Vodacom recently co-opted the practice through which users can pay in with their mobile phone – however users incur charges to the profit of the Vodacom. In this example, *xitique* is exploited as 'social-capital'. Explored by Elyachar (2011), 'social capital' conceptualizes social practices as carrying economic value. Given that, the neoliberal landscape facilitates the 'discovery' of endogenous practices of the poor, how can we conceptualize these to support or develop parallel systems without exploiting and unwillingly disrupting these social networks? The social infrastructure, behind the development of these practices, becomes vulnerable when it is 'discovered' as a source of profit. In the next examples, we will discuss how marketisation can be successful whilst engaging endogenous methods at a small-scale, neighbourhood level.

Finding the Middle Ground

In her 2016 article “An Urban Middle Class and the Vacillation of ‘Informal’ Boundaries”, Mazzolini sets forth the idea that the emerging middle-class is leading the changing dynamic in urban patterns across Sub-Saharan African countries as local authorities are seduced by alternative urban development forms which do not assist the growing middle-class. In turn, the middle-class turns towards ‘inverse planning’ procedures and “private proto-formal” agreements to satisfy their needs. In one instance, a group of residents in Costa do Sol, looking to obtain land-use rights (DUAT), hired an architect to subdivide and draught the existing plots, thus ‘formalising’ the neighbourhood, where the authorities required a cadastre (Mazzolini, 2016). Another private initiative is ‘*Casa Minha, Nosso Bairro*’ (My House, Our Neighbourhood); the project divides resident’s plots to develop multiple, two or three-story houses in the suburb, Polana Caniço. Selling one finances the cost of the upgrading or building the other. Alfonso Lozada (2019, personal communication, 23 May), who co-founded the project, argues that part of the success of his model was that middle-class households lacked an alternative to self-built housing; “when the 2016 crisis happened, the *metical* lost half of its value [against the dollar]; this meant that those who had loans could not afford to pay them back, and this particularly affected those who could get loans in the first place.” The middle-class struggled to afford the *prêt-à-habiter* ‘luxury’ flats. In essence, a consumer existed without a market. The project fills this niche consumer’s demand, which is likely to grow as the middle-class expands. In addition, the built typologies



Fig. 72.

Fig. 72. Incremental extension in a suburb of the city.

co-opt endogenous modalities. The dwellings rise above the majority single-story houses in the neighbourhood thus suiting densification provisions in the local plan and envision self-built extensions ‘upwards’ as the household grows (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015b). The project is now in its second phase and going forward; it is attracting more residents of the neighbourhood and gaining popularity amongst the local *bairro* authorities.

Alfonso insists that the engagement with the local neighbourhood representatives was significant – although at first some did not share his enthusiasm for the project. Currently, at the lowest level of administration, the *Chefe de Dez Casas* (Head of the Ten Houses) governs, followed by the *Chefe de Bairro* (Head of the Neighbourhood). Both have the potential to act as mediators between the Municipal authorities and private or community led initiatives. Similarly, during the Maxaquene Upgrading Project, the GDs were instrumental in coordinating the residents’ neighbourhood upgrading with planners. Transferring power to a local entity and sharing responsibilities amongst private, local and municipal entities can potentially alter these historically generated systems of privilege and mitigate the present centralised power relationships in the Municipality.

Architect as Advisor

Paul Jenkins proposes that architects and planners, in this context, should act as advisors (2019, personal communication, May). In Andersen, Nielsen and Jenkins’ (2015b) analysis of the evolution of the ‘Teacher’s Neighbourhood’ (an area initially



Fig. 73. ‘Casa Minha, Nosso Bairro’
(My House, Our Neighbourhood).



Fig. 74. 2-storey typology designed to be incrementally extended.

separated for teachers), in the North of Maputo, highlights the collaboration between traditional land-right owners and the municipal authorities; the former drew from official subdivision plans, mimicking the existing orthogonal grid. Here, residents were motivated by the potential of attracting newcomers with plots that appeared to be officially drawn. The residents' turn towards 'proto-formal' mechanisms to attain their needs endorses Mazzolini's findings on the middle-class (2016). The middle-class has the potential to persuade authorities that the processes, labelled 'informal' – for their position vis-à-vis State agencies – are productive, dynamic and viable ways of transforming the city. The absence of State and 'formal', private-led, land-development should persuade the authorities to encourage these processes of rapid-urbanisation. As Andersen, Nielsen and Jenkins (2015a) suggest; "the idealised notion of 'planning' might be replaced by a variety of flexible approaches through which emergent forms of 'plans' assert themselves alongside state-authored planning schemes." In this order, the role of the State would shift from control to guidance mode (Andersen et al., 2015b).

Adaptating

Bottom-up approaches to urban planning, and adaptive processes, are by no means novel. 'Pancho' Guedes was one of the early critics of the functional separation and administrative order in the city, appearing as an anti-modernist facing colonial planning authorities. 'Pancho' was on the international scene from the early 1950s sharing ideas with other members of Team 10 and attending CIAM meetings. In fact, proposals

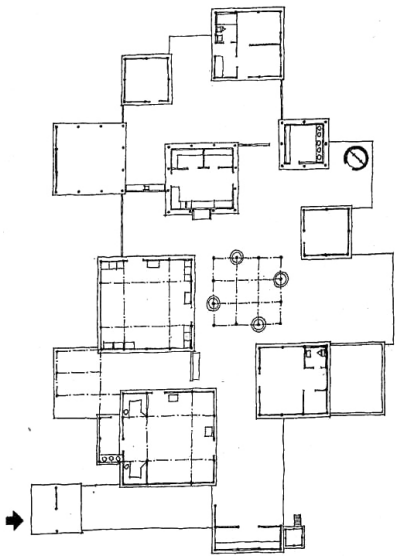


Fig. 75.



Fig. 76.

Fig. 75. 'Pancho's' 'clandestine nursery' plan.

Fig. 76. The nursery was built in 1968 in the suburbs.



Fig. 77.



Fig. 78.

for bottom-up approaches sprouted in Africa soon after the first wave of independence; Tom Avermaete (2010) highlights discussions during Morocco’s post-independence urbanism in favour of adopting “the experiences of self-builders in squatter settlements, rather than by the top-down approach favoured by large scale modernist housing programmes which failed to take into account the things that really mattered to the people they were meant for”. Many of Ecochard and Candillis’ housing-schemes envisioned self-built additions. As a result, new residents adapted the buildings and structures which envisioned changes – as with those which did not. ‘Pancho’ adopted a different approach, integrating local practices in his project for a clandestine nursery. Built in the suburbs in 1968, he combined the indigenous reed-weaving technique with a modern plan similar to that of the ‘Pyramidal Kindergarten’ built in the wealthy Sommerschild neighbourhood (Gens, 2015). Initially tolerated, it would eventually be demolished by Municipal authorities. At the same time, some of his more iconically modernist buildings were also adapted; in the ‘Smiling Lion’ and ‘House of the Dragon’ shops and restaurants have filled the parking space and bays between pilotis.

Fig. 77. One of Candillis’ projects shortly after completion.
Fig. 78. Self-built adaptations to the project existing today.



Fig. 79.



Fig. 80.

Mētis + Techné = Mēchne?

During the colonial period, the fundamental urban approach was based on technical knowledge or *techné*; planning focused of aerial surveying, zoning, etc. These methods would then be transferred to the new-born nation through structural continuity. The State continuously needs a universal logic of control to function, and *techné*, as a methodology, offers the possibility to administer large and diverse contexts through abstraction and simplification. *Techné* succeeds through careful measure and execution, offering quantifiable outcomes. As such, it is the preferred method of governments, lenders, donors, IO's and generally investors in the city. Yet, in its abstraction *techné* finds its limits, in the insufficient understanding of the processes shaping the everyday on the ground. In contrast, *mētis* embodies this localised know-how. One of the ways that Scott (1998) differentiates the concepts of *mētis* and *techné* is through the way they are attained. *Techné*, as logical and analytical knowledge, can be codified and communicated. *Mētis* is not easily codified – for Scott (1998), *mētis* is knowledge which can only be acquired through practice. Hence, street trade is unquestionably the realm of *mētis*, as is driving a *chapa*. Running a business is technical knowledge, the type one acquires from reading guides or manuals, however running a business in Maputo or in NYC differs for the skills required, skills which are obtained through experience in a specific setting. Notwithstanding, most fields have an element of both. Avermaete (2010) proposes that the “socialisation” of architecture and urbanism results from the encounter with the disciplines of ethnology and sociology.

Fig. 79. O Leão Que Ri' (The Laughing or Smiling Lion) shortly after being built in 1958.

Fig. 80. O Leão Que Ri by 'Pancho' Guedes, adapted to user's needs.



Scaling Interventions

As we have seen, low-profile interventions which have taken place initiated by the private-sector or through collaboration with transportation authorities have outdone planned, large interventions (e.g. the BRT), involving benefits for the everyday users and dwellers alike. Most recently, adding to the urban transport infrastructure, is a venture with South African advertising company Sprint that will finance chapa stops. Joaquim Tejada, arguing for more joint initiatives between the private and public sector at the Urban Mobility Conference in Maputo (2019) says; “for the agency these are ad-boards, for us they are bus stops; it is a win-win situation”. Like ‘*Casa Minha, Nosso Bairro*’, private initiatives, whether benevolent or profit-driven, can provide viable solutions when engaged with a regulating authority.

Networks

The network of *chapas* and other ‘informal’ transport networks, abide by the rules of the market – resulting in part from the neoliberalisation of the 1990s. Unwittingly, by tapping into the existing networks we risk jeopardising social networks, as seen in the case of Vodacom. Elyachar (2010) defines “semiotic resources” – in this case, the bonds between drivers, *cobradores*, community members and traders – as being neither a private nor public good, rather being a part of a “semiotic commons”. Elyachar contends that these relationships survive through practice and reproduction (2010). These relationships, in street trade, *xitique* or the networks of transport workers are the ‘infrastructure’ of social life. Hence,

Fig. 81. Extension of a house dating from the 1940's following its identical plan.

to impede market forces from dissipating these “semiotic resources”, there must be a regulation of private initiatives or a localised alternative form of engagement. In his assertive ‘ABC guide’ for Municipal Authorities (Guedes, 1963), ‘Pancho’ leaves some principles to upgrade the ‘city of reeds’: “Study the problem seriously and invent a flexible, practical, and fast way to act in collaboration with the Black Centre, and there through exhibitions, films and talks explain to the inhabitants of the ‘Cidade do Caniço’ what you plan to do to succeed and get their good will and collaboration (everybody likes to know and give opinions about what others want to do to them)” ‘Pancho’'s pragmatic view suggests a similar engagement with Community Associations and a statement of intent early on. Indeed, the understanding of the intricate relationships, social norms and existing networks, at a community level will determine whether State’s attempts to improve on ‘informal’ systems fail or succeed.

Associations

“The problem with kicking them [informal street vendors] out of the street is that the other party goes and talks to them”

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Authorities maintain the notion that informal workers, in particular, ‘*vendedores ambulantes*’ (street vendors or ambulant traders), are a marginalised class that risks destabilising society. The street has historically been a space of protest, thus for the authorities it is a contested battleground (armoured police vehicles are often present near stops to

prevent strikes). Valverde (2011) suggests that cities turn towards outdated conceptions of offensiveness (i.e. nuisance) in an attempt to manage spatial conflicts through objective rules. For 'meso-urbanism' to function in Maputo, the State must shy away from the desire to plan society. Accepting 'informal' practices, as seen in the *chapa* project, results from a will to understand the complex systems at play and to engage with the private actors running them. For the Chapa Project and the case of Residents in Costa do Sol, mapping and representation were as instrumental to the translation of the system and to the subsequent engagement of Municipal actors. In addition, Klopp and Cavoli (2019) observed in a comparative analysis on the development of semi-formal transport networks in both Maputo and Nairobi, that the consultation of representatives of the informal network associations was an essential part of the process towards establishing a 'proto-formal' network. However, there are few Community-Based Organisations formed outside formal systems (Jenkins, 2001). Associations of chapa drivers, and street traders exist in certain areas, but the majority of networks exist beyond formal engagement with municipal authorities. The encouragement and support of these networks brings about new possibilities for improvement of the existing conditions, be it in street trade, land-management or urban mobility (Chiodelli and Mazzolini, 2019). Unfortunately, the State has little interest in promoting these organizations in the present context. Going forward, initiatives that involve actors at a local level need to be encouraged.



Fig. 82.

“Paragem!”

“Quatro-quatro” (four-four) I sit in a crowded chapa; I want to get out soon but cannot remember the stop. *“Paragem”* I yell out to the cobrador. To my disconcert he asks where? I quickly reply *“esquina”* knowing that around here there is a corner where chapas stop. Briefly slowing down, as if the driver had heard me, the cobrador doesn’t open the door. Instead, we carry on 200 meters down the road. I tried; *“Paragem!”* I blurted out again. At this point the cobrador is upset, the driver, and I are, confused. This causes an uproar as the driver pulls over again. *“Este cobrador não presta”* “This cobrador is no good (...) he thought we wouldn’t speak up!” says an older lady by my side. Finally, I find my way out of the minivan, past the flimsy folding seats that line the narrow passage; I pass the cobrador who is quiet, like a scolded child.

Civic Engagement

The friendliness and collective engagement of residents – a communal quotidian struggle – is illustrated by some of the everyday encounters which the street has to offer. Even though the state of civil society is weak in Mozambique (Jenkins, 2001), participatory planning is not without precedent, as seen in the Maxaquene project and recent works by NGOs²⁵. As Bayat (2012) contends, the withdrawal of the State in urban governance is based upon “the participation of “civil society” through NGOs, local councils, and municipalities to deliver services, [to] organise budgets or conduct local planning.” Regularly, one finds oneself discussing politics on the street, residents are not afraid to voice their opinions in public,

Fig. 82. Most Mozambicans engage in political discussions with ease on the street.

25. See ‘Arquitectura Sem Fronteiras, Moçambique’ in Chamanculo and Munhuana.

yet there are few spaces for civic engagement. An educated segment of society, academics, students and middle-class residents, gather in cultural centres and at embassies or similar cultural events but these encounters too are too casual to generate significant civic participation outside of institutions (universities, cultural centres, embassies, etc.). Seemingly, discussion must continue to take place on the street where people are not afraid to voice their opinions.

‘Para-formality’

Likewise, cultural practices and adaptive ways of inhabiting the city demonstrate an aversion to power and are embedded in power relationships (Avermaete et al., 2010). These culturally embedded practices have the potential to function autonomously, and they usually do. With minimal State intervention, they are improvised systems of self-reliance. However, the State can benefit by participating in the support of these systems, developing them further in the case of transport or collaborating in the case of *Casa Minha, Nosso Bairro*. Furthermore, conflicts of interest, fragmented State entities and party-politics render top-down implementation difficult and undesirable – if even possible to implement. Rather than focus on mega-projects, new strategies should endorse ‘para- or semi-formal’ initiatives coming from the private sector, whether these are led by individuals or community associations. The important factor is differentiating between the tasks that fall under the knowledge of authorities and those that are the knowledge of an individual or community. On the ground-level, a series of privately led initiatives should be incentivised by

the State. However, as Mazzolini (2016) points out, shifting responsibilities from the government to individuals subverts the urban social contract between the Municipality and residents. In urban mobility the trend is to harness and develop alongside the existing paratransit services, instead of the traditional exclusion and adversity towards informal systems (Jennings and Behrens, 2017; Klopp and Cavoli, 2019). In finance, *xitique* harnesses trust within communities or their 'social capital' (Elyachar, 2010). In urban and architectural matters, the trend is to intervene on a small, yet replicable scale through which projects are developed incrementally, and still function without the prospect of falling to over-ambition. Architects should adopt embedded practices for communities to engage with projects from the outset and with local administrative authorities. To draw plans *a posteriori* may seem unusual; but having an empirical base to work from will allow urbanists and architects to build upon the existing fabric of the city, and only then to begin envisioning its transformation.



Fig. 83. Gated Playground along the Avenida Marginal.

Conclusion

Colonialism left a deep mark in the urban social landscape (Sidaway and Power, 1995). Grand-modernist projects saw the interests of the few materialise into a divided city. High modernism failed where schemes were put into practice; the full reach of the arc envisioned by Aguiar's plan was never completed for it ignored the reality of the concessions in place. Following independence, it seemed that the high modernist ideology would fade through popular uprising and community initiatives. However, an inherited planning system and weak local government power combined with a new centralised economy, hindered the institutional capacity to administer urban areas. Neoliberalism and private-led urban development became the dominant theory that saw the State further withdraw from urban affairs. Nonetheless, the quantitative model of governance, *techné*, perdures encouraged by International Organisations and the alluring diktat of globalisation. There is a continued belief in grand-plans and large projects. James Scott (1998), rightly speculates that "the more intractable and resistant the real world faced by the planner, the greater the need for utopian plans to fill, as it were, the void that would otherwise invite despair."

Interventions in the modernist urban fabric arise out of the necessity to reinvent spaces that suit the needs of those who

inhabit them. Nothing is more schematic than a gridiron plan; however, the grid grants the user the flexibility to express, expand, individualise and build as he sees fit. Likewise, basic infrastructure will always be used, if it is simple and sufficiently versatile to be adapted. Practices such as *kúxónqa*, see facades reincarnate and residents adding character and individuality to the city. Ultimately, fading, mimicry, and a transgressive reproduction eroded not only the duality of the city but also the underlying ideologies that govern it. In Maxaquene, the sharp lines of Modernist plans were fluidified by recognising the conditions on the ground. Then, aerial imagery was not a tool for reordering, but the key to understanding the complex changes occurring as the project was built.

Thereafter, adaptive systems were brought about by the resilience of embedded practices and the engagement of private-led associations. These precedents present an opportunity for planners, architects and city officials to reconsider the future approach to urban upgrading. For this to be successful, a few guidelines are outlined in this thesis. First, initiatives should be community-based or otherwise, engage early on with all parties concerned. Then, small-scale interventions should be prioritised in a way that they can be extended. Even large-scale projects with vast ambitions can be built up incrementally. Furthermore, in order to avoid excessive reordering, the State should act as the regulator and rarely as the driver of urban development. Finally, projects should co-opt or integrate ‘informal’ and embedded ways of doing which will increase the chances of success and legitimise the State’s commitment to improving the urban condition.



Fig. 84.

Fig. 84. Concrete pavement redone recently.

For those who are willing, there is freedom to be found in parting with the notions of informality and uncover the endogenous practices that best succeed in tackling the issues that face our cities. In our reluctance to adopt semi-formal systems, we risk reinstating or perduring past socio-economic schisms (Bertelsen et al., 2014). Furthermore, a growing middle-class has the potential to reshape this border between the ‘informal’ production of spaces and top-down structures of urban governance. By accepting unconventional forms of urban development, Municipal authorities can set the foundations on which residents will build trust in the State. Only then can the City expect the fiscal contribution from the systems and trades that it marginalises.



Fig. 85.

Fig. 85. Between Modernisation and Tradition; A dhow and the new bridge to KaTembe.

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