

(RE)ASSEMBLING PLACE:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE ON PLACE
MAKING IN MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

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ABSTRACT

An ethnographic approach and assemblage thinking are used to explore relational place making in a neighbourhood of Maputo, Mozambique. The assemblage lens is joined to sociological perspectives on the actuality and potentiality of place to consider both the current and future assembling of the neighbourhood as a 'place'. The thesis focuses on diverse place making and dwelling practices and the role of various human and non-human entities in making place. Place making is positioned in relation to 'formal' planning practices in order to consider the relative territorialising power of entities in the assemblage. Finally, visions of the future are explored and considered in relation to the current assembling practices, or 'labours of assembling'.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates relational place making practices in a neighbourhood of Maputo, Mozambique, namely the neighbourhood of Polana Caniço “A”. More specifically, it looks at building, dwelling, and place making using an assemblage lens. Ethnographic approaches are combined with arts-based methods and an intuitive approach in an exploration of place making in the assemblage of Polana Caniço “A”.

1.1 FUTURE-ORIENTED PLACE MAKING

This thesis is embedded in a literature on relational place making, and is concerned with understanding how the city is made through practices. The focus on practices is based on an understanding that everyday place making practices matter. More specifically, they have an impact on urban form – i.e. the city in its material dimension. The focus on place making emerged from an interest in re-thinking planning in the Global South. When formal state planning is not effective in making place, what takes its place? What fills the void of state planning? What happens to dwellers when state planning is ineffective?

There are many avenues that can be explored when you consider why planning should be done differently. In my case, I am most interested in the question of the ‘right to the city’ (a concept first developed by Lefebvre in his 1968 book by the same name) in light of the increasing gentrification and displacement of poor populations in Maputo (Barros et al, 2014).

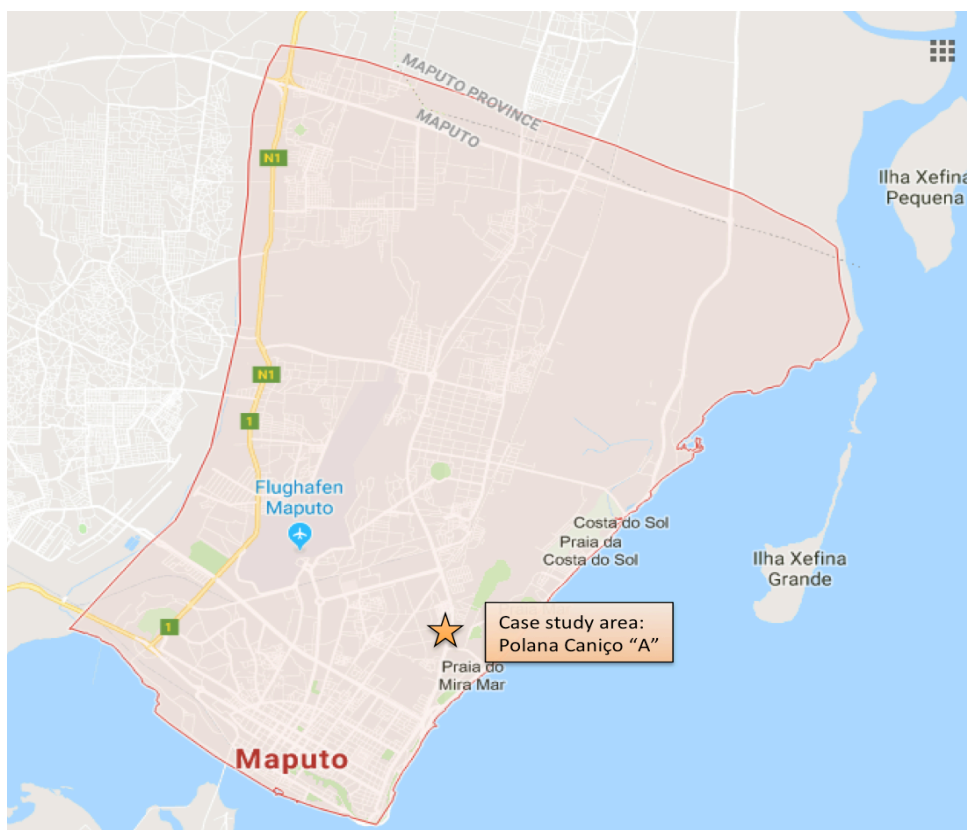


Figure 1: Map showing part of the metropolitan area of Maputo, including the case study area (indicated by a star).



Figure 2: Aerial view of the case study area, with blocks A-F indicating the area of intervention of Casa Minha, i.e. quarter 31 in the Polana Caniço “A” neighbourhood in Maputo, Mozambique.

Image courtesy of Casa Minha Lda., taken by Eric Rousseau (2017).

Place making is discussed with regards to the building and dwelling perspectives (see Ingold, 2000). The building perspective is seen as made tangible by a top-down, state-led approach to making place through planning and building, and the dwelling perspective is seen as representing a practice-based approach to place-making, where everyday practices deliberately or ‘accidentally’ make place. Casa Minha – the entry point for the case study – is seen as operating at the interface between planning and dwelling, through their building and planning practices and their interaction with dwellers. Thus, the thesis looks at two different ways in which three key entities of an assemblage – the state, Casa Minha, and ‘dwellers’ – influence the making of place, both in the very pragmatic sense of the built environment, but also in terms of use of place or future-oriented making of place. Planning – understood as the ‘traditional’, formal, state-led planning – is thus associated with a certain intentionality of place making.

Though place making can happen through everyday practices, there are also more deliberate interventions that occur to shape place in certain, pre-envisioned ways. Planning to make the city is a deliberate, future oriented form of place making. The elaboration of this thesis on future oriented place making is not limited to formal planning. The visions of the future – or utopias, as I first called them – of dwellers and other-than-formal entities are also considered. Originally, my conceptual focus was on utopias, but it was found in the field that the concept of visions ‘spoke’ better to people, and was understood less ambiguously.

1.2 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY: POLANA CANIÇO “A” AND CASA MINHA LDA.

Casa Minha Nosso Bairro Lda. (Casa Minha) has been my entry point into the neighbourhood of Polana Caniço “A” (PCA), located in the suburbs of Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique. I was initially drawn to the case because of its innovative way of doing planning: it is a private company taking a new approach to building projects, focusing on making them inclusive. As a new type of development practice in Maputo, the Casa Minha project influences the Polana Caniço assemblage, and can offer insights into the changing relations between entities that may re-assemble the neighbourhood in noticeable ways. It takes up the role of the government in planning at the neighbourhood/quarter scale, and thus becomes a planning implementer and visionary. It intervenes both in private and public space, by operating as a building company for houses and street space(s). It served as an initial starting point for entering the Polana Caniço assemblage, and for understanding the ‘comingtogetherness’ of things in this neighbourhood.

Casa Minha is a social enterprise that aims at bringing a “transformative solution to the challenge of urban expansion in Maputo”. Maputo currently has quite powerful dynamic of gentrification and large-scale, luxury developments, which are displacing the vulnerable and poorer communities who previously occupied these urban spaces (Heer, 2015; Bertelsen et al, 2014). PCA, the site of intervention of Casa Minha, is particularly prone to this kind of co-optation of space, as it is located conveniently close to the center (3km), and is well connected to one of the main axes entering the city.

Their concept is to build two, two-storey houses on a family plot, where there was only one before, and to sell one of them in order to finance the building of the other. This allows the original dwellers to remain in the neighbourhood, and for the neighbourhood to develop, densify and bring in new middle-class young Mozambicans. The claim that the founders make is that this type of development will allow the community to develop sustainably, and that this development will be inclusive, whilst still being economically competitive. Their six core principles – non-displacement, affordable quality, innovative financing, incremental architecture, planned growth, community involvement – is what makes their development model unique in Maputo, as there are no other private companies that both build *and* attempt to keep the original dwellers in the new settlements. This notion of ‘social entrepreneurship’ is unusual in Maputo, but seems to be a growing trend (personal observation).

From website (casaminha.co): “The Casa Minha model fits squarely within the approved Partial Urbanization Plan (PPU) of Polana Caniço approved by the Maputo City Council in April 2015. The project area is zoned for residential housing.

At present, the project area is populated by shoddily built homes constructed with sub-standard materials. Most have tin roofs that are generally not well secured few have internal bathrooms. There are almost no two-storey homes in the neighborhood so, despite its proximity to the city, it is quite sparsely populated. Since people build what they can given the means they have available, there is no coherent planning or public spaces in the neighborhood.

Casa Minha will change all of this by building high quality, 2-3-storey homes in a phased and incremental manner without displacing anyone. Any family living in the project area that would like to participate, can do so.”

As a ‘gatekeeper’, Casa Minha was immeasurably helpful. I would not have been able to do the research I did had I simply shown up one day in Polana Caniço and tried to do observations or talk to people. I was introduced to most of my key informants through Casa Minha, and this in the first week of being in the field. I was not the first to be helped in this way, and I do not think I will be the last, as Casa Minha are a generous organisation, and benefit from the added visibility, legitimacy and credibility when more is written about them and their model. To be written about means to be taken seriously.

1.3 FORMAL PLANNING IN MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

A historical analysis of the progression of urban planning in Maputo has already been covered extensively in e.g. Dobles Perriard, 2017; Bertelsen et al, 2014; Andersen et al, 2015a/b. I will highlight the current planning context as it stands, as this is most relevant for the current composition of the assemblage. Fundamentally, formal planning in Mozambique follows the Portuguese legacy of ‘blue-print planning’ – making large-scale urban plans that demarcate land use – which is necessarily expert-led, and involves little-to-no consultation, and has a modernist vision in mind. However, “the realpolitik of urban development is predominantly out of the hands of the state, and it is the residents’ socio-economic and cultural agency that triumphs over the state’s structural conditioning” (Andersen et al, 2015b: 440).

When discussing the ‘formal’ planning context, I am referring almost exclusively to the actions and framework set up by Frelimo (Mozambican Liberation Front, a political party that began as revolutionary group) in the various levels of their administration. Frelimo has been the ruling party in Mozambique since independence. They were the ones who fought against the Portuguese to gain independence in 1975. Initially Mozambique was a single-party state, but after the civil war against Renamo (Mozambican National Resistance, also a political party with a revolutionary background, and the main political opposition to Frelimo) and a series of interventions by international actors such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the formal political sphere was opened up. This included the opening up to international development organisations that became instrumental to further growth.

Interestingly, after independence, and in the context of a proto-socialist orientation¹ (Andersen, Jenkins & Nielsen, 2015), Frelimo was initially very antipathetic to urban spaces, and focused their development initiatives and political will on the rural spaces of Mozambique. In an effort to boost agricultural production and rural growth in the 80s, *Operação Produção* (literally ‘Operation Production’, 1983-1988) was launched: its main objective was to remove ‘parasitic’ urban dwellers (in essence, all urban dwellers who had no formal employment) and relocate them to the northern, under-developed territories (Andersen et al, 2015a). Although the program was discontinued in part due to political backlash, Frelimo’s original anti-urban position has continued to mean a lack of political attention to urban spaces and Maputo’s uncontrolled growth.

¹ Frelimo adopted socialist ideals for their newly independent nation, but did not fully develop these in the same way as the USSR at the time, who was a key ally.

Once the urban reality was accepted, it became clear that in order for the urban areas to stop being parasitic (Andersen, Jenkins & Nielsen, 2015)², it was necessary for the government to (re)gain control over these spaces. Prior to this, however, in 1976, a first project of territorial re-ordering in PCA imposed a grid structure on a neighbourhood that had previously been occupied more or less in an *ad hoc* way (Silva, 2012; Mutolo, 2007). Nowadays, large-scale *requalificação* (re-ordering) projects are once more being considered in the context of the *Plano Parcial de Urbanização* (a neighbourhood-level urbanism plan). This re-ordering would regularise land occupancy by enforcing the acquirement of DUATs (*Direito do Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra*, a title for land rights that is used instead of land ownership)³, which would give the municipality a chance to gain more control over land use in the *bairro*. Regardless of this restructuring of the neighbourhood, PCA is currently considered an ‘informal’ settlement⁴.

It is commonplace in literature on Maputo to refer to the duality of the *cidade cimento* (cement city) and the *cidade caniço* (reed city); referring to the construction materials that they were traditionally composed of. Bertelsen et al (2014) argue that this dualism between *cimento* and *caniço* actually needs to be expanded to a more contemporary division of: *cidade* (centre), *bairros* (suburban), and *peri-urbano*, or *periféricos* (peri-urban). Each of these sectors has distinct associative qualities and architectural characteristics. Polana Caniço, part of the suburban sector, is characteristically a mix of cement and *caniço* houses (*caniço* can here refer to any of the more temporary building material, e.g. zinc sheets, planks of wood, found materials, etc.), with a higher density (and thus smaller plots) than in the peri-urban areas, but almost never more than two floors (and thus significantly less dense than the centre).

The legacy of Portuguese colonial planning, apart from the duality between *cimento* and *caniço*, is that there is a tradition of large-scale city plans, and top-down planning approaches, following modernist ideals of the planned city. The formal and informal distinction largely still overlaps with the *cimento/caniço* spatial division, but is becoming progressively more blurred over time. However, in discourse about the nature of urban space in Maputo, they remain the dominant way to express the nature of the urban form.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Considering the above section, we conclude that formal planning in Maputo does not have a significant impact on place making, particularly in terms of urban form. This is a symptom of ineffective state planning. Although a vision and formal plans exist, the lowest level of planning – the *plano de pormenor* (the cadastral-level plan) – only exists in theory, as it has not been consistently developed or implemented in practice. Additionally, there are important dynamics of gentrification and exclusion that are resulting from a poorly regulated development of *caniço* zones. This thesis looks at who is making place and how, in a context of state-led, modernist planning that is inconsistently implemented. In the absence of a formal implemented plan, who or what fills the gap of building place, and how does this interact with dwelling in that same space.

² The idea of the ‘parasitic’ urbanite was developed in Frelimo rhetoric as they focused on rural development and emphasised rural values and lifestyle. The parasitic urbanite was thus a parasite on the nation.

³ See Eleonora Dobles Perriard’s comprehensive thesis (2017) for an excellent exploration of land rights and ownership structures in Mozambique.

⁴ One reason Casa Minha intervened specifically in PCA was that there was already a grid structure, and so it was possible to work with it; task would have been too much if they’d had to completely move things around rather than taking a meter off here and there.

The main research question is thus: **How is PCA (re)assembling?**

Although formal planning does not always have the most visible impact on the city, it remains the most cited way to change the city for the better. It is also assumed to be the only method by which the city *can* be changed. Having a more complex understanding of what makes the city ‘come to be’ – or emerge as a more, or less, coherent assemblage – allows us to reflect on other ways in which the city can be intentionally made. This is the ultimate goal of planning after all, the intentional place making of urban space, through building.

1.5 PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH THESIS

This thesis contributes to the literature on urban place-making practices by providing a descriptive and exploratory ethnographic case study of an urban planning context. Looking at a place-specific context and people’s creative strategies for making life liveable illustrates the variety of localised responses to diverse realities (material, perceived, imaginary). By mapping out diverse practices that have spatial implications, place making can be explored in Polana Caniço “A”. I will generally refer to these as dwelling practices.

The research objectives are the following:

- To understand the (changing, evolving) nature of dwelling practices in the Polana Caniço “A” assemblage
- To gain insights on where and what change is taking place in the assemblage
- To identify some of the visions of the future that are present in the assemblage
- To use an innovative set of qualitative methodological tools (i.e. arts-based workshops, sensory ethnographic methods)

1.6 RELEVANCE OF THE THESIS

This case is interesting because the Casa Minha case study is an innovative case in which a private organisation implements a government plan. Planning is about enacting change for a particular vision. Heer (2015) suggests that looking at what drives neighbourhood transformation can happen by looking at how the ‘ideal’ of the urban (different narratives of the ideal are possible) guides development.

SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

The case study relates directly to issues of the ‘right to the city’ and to ‘who makes the city’. Although these seem like very abstract concepts, they have very real implications for city dwellers and how they may dwell in place. It relates to issues of gentrification, displacement, and the problems of uncontrolled urban expansion and its effects.

The Casa Minha process also offers insights into different ways of involving dwellers into the planning process, as they rely on voluntary participation. Though this issue of participation is not a direct research focus, insights may be gleaned about how participative planning may improve dwellers’ quality of life and agency in making the city.

Casa Minha’s model is both innovative globally – where governments have tended to dominate the planning arena – and in Mozambique – with its history of socialist planning. Additionally, it is not

just *any* company, but a novel example of social entrepreneurship for Maputo, which does not yet have a history of private companies adopting social aims.

The design principles that Casa Minha employs (described in further detail in Chapter 4), and the model it has developed, have the potential to be reproduced elsewhere or scaled up locally. This has huge ramifications for how planning is done in the future in Maputo.

Additionally, the case allows us to gather insights of how the gap is filled when ‘formal’ (i.e. state-led) planning ‘fails’. We will note that not only does this failure give space for private companies to come in and perform a state role, but also gives greater space for dwelling practices to make place. This allows us to look at how place making and planning as both theoretical concepts and a form of praxis impact each other, benefitting from each other’s insights.

ACADEMIC RELEVANCE

This research addresses a gap in planning theory in how ‘planning’ can be done differently in a non-European context. Because of the legacy of European planning across the world, and the failure of this planning to consistently produce liveable cities, it is interesting to consider alternative ways of approaching the ‘planned city’.

I am motivated by an interest in understanding other ways of ‘being’ and ‘doing’, other ways of ‘dwelling’, as a source of inspiration for reconfiguring current place-making practices that are seen as the cause of many of the social and environmental problems of urban area: to look for difference and particularity. This means that this thesis is relevant in providing new insights in how planning could be done differently in a Global South context. Myers (2011) states that in order to develop an ‘alternative vision’ of the city, it is important to recognise the diversity of African cities. Looking at the particularity of one neighbourhood such as Polana Caniço aims at providing some insights into such context specificity.

Naturally, different narratives of the ‘ideal’ will include and exclude certain groups of people and certain things. As part of the assemblage, narratives will tend towards territorialising the assemblage – or ‘stabilising’ the neighbourhood – in a certain way. This idea of inclusion and exclusion based on certain enacted narratives of change or ‘visions of the future’ is relevant when considering planning literature on participative planning, but also when considering notions of ‘right to the city’, first proposed by Lefebvre.

The research combines an ethnographic approach, an assemblage lens, and planning theory insights to create a new discussion about place making in urban spaces. Added to this is the use of novel arts-based methods, which add a different depth to the research process. This approach is unusual and demonstrates an alternative way of approaching qualitative research.

1.7 POSITIONALITY AND A SUBJECTIVITY DISCLAIMER

I grew up in Maputo, and thus was drawn to this urban landscape as a place that was familiar, and yet somehow wildly unknown. Having the opportunity to research a neighbourhood that I lived nearby to means that I also satisfy a personal curiosity about the ‘other’; it allowed me to (attempt to) cross over the usual boundaries (black/white, expat/local, wealthy/poor) through the cloak of academia. This does not mean – of course – that any of those things that had previously kept me away magically

disappeared. Only, by bringing in purpose, I had found a reason to enter that which previously felt barred to me.

Though I was hoping to be original in writing about Maputo – thinking that very little scholarship had been published about Mozambique in general⁵ – I was surprised to find out that PCA is actually the most written about neighbourhood of Maputo (and thus of Mozambique), as it is located right next to the UEM (*Universidade Eduardo Mondlane*), and so all students end up doing their fieldwork there for the sake of convenience. This was handy in terms of getting my hands on quality sociological studies of the area, but at the same time means that there is an oversaturation of information about PCA compare to other *bairros* (neighbourhoods), and I am not helping this by being another student writing about it (though I may be privileged in receiving more attention for it since I am writing in English).

I am white, European, a woman, with university education. Though I grew up in Maputo, I would not say I *know* Maputo. I was part of the elite, the expats. I went to the American International School, where tuition fees cost as much as a year of university in the USA. I was driven around by my parents, or given money to take taxis (once I got old enough). I occasionally would take a tuk-tuk (or *txopela*), but that was more so as an ‘experience’ to do with friends than a real exercise in mobility. The few Mozambican friends I had I made through school, and they — lacking the edge of a parents’ job that paid for tuition fees — were necessarily part of the Mozambican political and economic elite (they are often one and the same), their parents having worked hard to get them into a school that would open up their way for university education abroad (abroad being synonymous here for the USA or UK, as these were deemed the only destinations worthy of spending on foreign education).

I would almost never walk in the street, and even less so alone. I was annoyed (and sometimes afraid) at the men who would call out to me. Being white kids, the threat of being mugged was always in the back of our minds; always better to walk with a tall guy if you were to walk at all. In high school, I alternated between home and school, and would occasionally go to restaurants with my parents or friends in the *cidade cimento*. I lived in a neighbourhood — Bairro Triunfo — that was formerly *caniço*, and formerly on the outskirts of Maputo, but had in the years since we had arrived (in 2006), turned slowly into an agglomeration of what would be called — by European standards — ‘mansions’, and the typical South African condominium model. Being located next to the beach was the biggest reason for this, as well as the enabling existing infrastructure of the Marginal. Bairro Triunfo is now almost ‘inner city’ considering how far Maputo has spread into the countryside, but I am still surprised at the reluctance of friends to go ‘all the way out’ to our house.

The fact that I am who I am, and that I have a particular relationship with Maputo that is years in the making, had a significant impact on the way in which I engaged with the field. I realised in the second week that I had a gender bias: I had not engaged in serious conversation with any men in the neighbourhood (excluding the office workers of Casa Minha). Although I was aware of this bias, I was not able to remedy it, as I would automatically block any open response to men calling to me on the street. Many opportunities were there to talk with men, if I could have responded to their overtures, but I was uncomfortable just at the thought of engaging with men who would automatically ask for my number and a date (and be pushy about it). I was not confident enough in Portuguese, or

⁵ I made the classic mistake when first looking up literature on Mozambique to only search in English, forgetting that it would be entirely logical for publications to be in Portuguese, since they were about a Portuguese-speaking country, and largely written by Mozambican, Portuguese, and some Brazilian academics.

sassy enough in general, to be able to withstand such conversations whilst still getting useful information out of them. It is hard to break habits.

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Looking at people's practices is the starting point for understanding the 'comingtogetherness' of things in the assemblage (a concept developed by Doreen Massey, see e.g. Massey, 1994 & 2004). The 'comingtogetherness' of the assemblage is similar to what in French is referred to as *agencement* by Deleuze and Guattari (1987); it is how entities interact and position themselves in relation to one another to make what is a temporarily coherent assemblage. This focus on practices follows a 'dwelling perspective' (developed further in the theoretical framework), and is **the first layer of investigation, addressed in Chapter 3**. This first analytical chapter of this thesis looks at dwelling practices in the assemblage and at their spatial implications. It begins with a sensory-based, intuitive description of the assemblage. Then, it introduces key entities – both human (dwellers) and non-human – that have a relation to the materiality of the assemblage. Some rhythms of everyday dwelling practices that positions entities temporally in a 'typical' day are discussed. Finally, the home is discussed as a site of embodied practices.

The **second layer of investigation, addressed in Chapter 4**, is how people's practices are enabled by, mediate, or constrain planning. This focuses on the interaction between formal planning and daily practices. Chapter 4 focuses on interactions and power relations between entities in the assemblage. The chapter introduces the key 'labours of assembling' and 'sites and situations' that characterise the assemblage, with a focus on contested spaces and practices in order to highlight the element of power. This chapter concludes the 'actuality of the assemblage', and answers the question of what keeps the assemblage coherent.

The **third layer of investigation, addressed in Chapter 5**, looks at how key entities in the assemblage envision the future of the city, or of themselves in the city. Including this layer means looking at the intersection between actuality and potentiality of place, and gives insights into how the assemblage may re-assemble in the future. This chapter concerns the 'potentiality' of place as envisioned by the various human entities present in the assemblage. This focus on the human is due to the understanding of 'planning' as the deliberate and purposeful use of place, of which dwelling is an overarching category. Visions are presented and then considered in relation to the actuality of place for possibilities of emergence or conflict.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of everyday or daily practices on place making. As such, this theoretical framework addresses the conceptualisation of place making, and brings in a methodological approach that allowed me to look at practices in the context of place making. This chapter elaborates on how the main research question will be explored throughout this thesis.

We saw in Chapter 1 that the main research question is: **How is Polana Caniço “A” re-assembling?** The first part of this chapter addresses the theoretical framework used to break down this question. The notion of ‘re-assembling’ used in the main research question pre-assumes a theoretical framework that emerges from an assemblage lens, which needs to be contextualised more broadly into a debate about the actuality and potentiality of place. At the end of this section, the sub-research questions are presented.

In its second part, this chapter addresses the methodological rationale that allows me to answer my main and sub-research questions. The third part discusses briefly the data collection and analysis that were the result of the methodological rationale.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

ACTUALITY VS. POTENTIALITY OF PLACE

Bertelsen, Tvedten, and Roque (Norwegian and Mozambican anthropologists) discuss in their 2014 paper the discursive dynamics that make up urban space in Maputo, notably the dichotomy between *cidade cimento* and *cidade caniço*, which they argue is no longer adequate as a description of the urban realities in Maputo, and has only brought research to a ‘dead end’ (2014: 2755). They mention “the oft-repeated distinction between a *bairro* (part of the city) of *caniço* (lit. reed) – a reference to the materiality of houses in the so-called African parts of the colonial city – and the *bairro* of *cimento* (lit. cement) – the cadastralised quadrature with brick or cement housing – in reference to the city’s central administrative and commercial areas” (*ibid*: 2753).

Their focus is on discourse whereas mine is on practices, however their use of the actuality vs. potentiality of space/place is relevant for my understanding of the tensions between various forms of the assemblage in PCA. I use an assemblage lens because of its usefulness in helping to see beyond singular human agency, and other ontological assumptions that will be further described in the next section. In assemblage terms, the actuality of place refers to the current state of the assemblage and the potentiality of place refers to future states of the assemblage, which are partially contained in the current state.

The actuality of place contains clear subject positions, ‘what we are’, or what is currently there, whereas the potentiality of place has non-subject positions, or ‘what we might become’ (Bertelsen et al, 2014). Here, the ‘we’ is taken to refer to the assemblage as a coherent entity. The assemblage lens, described in further detail below, takes ‘what is there’ as a starting point to discuss how things connect and relate to one another. It is thus concerned with the ‘actuality’ of place, or how things relate to one another *at this point in time*. Planning and visions of the future, on the other hand, are more concerned with the potentiality of place, or what the city might become. The potentiality of place therefore relates to what the assemblage could look like in the future. These are not two disconnected things, because the potential of the assemblage emerges naturally from what the

assemblage currently is. Therefore, potentiality is contained in (but not bound to) the actuality of place.

The distinction between space and place is nuanced and they are often used interchangeably. I will use space in the sense of *spatiality*, or the position of things *in space*. Place is here used to refer to space that has been ‘made’ by attaching meanings to it, or by the practices that take place in a space. In line with Heidegger’s philosophical standpoint – a German phenomenological philosopher, see e.g. Heidegger, 1971 – the relation between man and space is understood as taking on the form of dwelling as the material manifestation of being-in-the-world.

ASSEMBLAGE THINKING AND RELATIONAL PLACE-MAKING

The theoretical framework is developed in line with social theory on relational place making – notably the branch of work developed following Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of the assemblage, first developed in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987). They initially referred to the assemblage as a ‘constellation’, and the reader may find in this section that there are in fact a multitude of words that are appropriate for pointing to the essence of the assemblage. I will tend towards using these words somewhat interchangeably, as they come naturally in the process of writing.

Assemblage thinking conceptualises place as the result of networks of entities, and thus takes a relational standpoint to place making (Massey, 1994; Harvey, 2007; Cresswell, 2014; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; DeLanda, 2006). Additionally, it offers a vocabulary (developed by DeLanda) for understanding the composition and dynamics of the assemblage.

The idea behind an assemblage is that entities come together to form a grouping of things and processes that is flexible, fluid, and characterised by ‘ruptures’ (or events) which change the characteristics of the assemblage. These entities are characterised by relations of exteriority (as opposed to relations of interiority), and thus opposes itself to an absolute notion of entities (e.g. places) that have come together to form a whole; rather than homogeneous groupings, assemblages are heterogeneous.

Anderson and McFarlane (2011) highlight that the assemblage emphasises gathering, dispersion, and coherence (p. 124). Although the assemblage is made up of heterogeneous elements, it may still be coherent in the way it comes together. Thus, when taking an assemblage lens, we may investigate the coherence of the assemblage. This may also imply that in gaining coherence, the assemblage becomes bounded, acquires borders, and can thus be limited to a particular geographical area. The terms that DeLanda (2006) uses to describe the processes of ‘comingtogetherness’ (a concept developed by Massey) of assemblages or place are de/re-territorialisation and the expressive and material roles of entities.

Baker and McGuirk (2017) operationalise assemblage thinking, stressing the importance of looking at the fine-grain of *practices* by 1) using an ethnographic method, 2) tracing sites and situations, and 3) revealing labours of assembling. Assemblage is here operationalised on the basis of ontological and epistemological commitments of assemblage thinking. This includes an ontological assumption of multiplicity, with an emphasis on non-linearity and contingency, where multiplicity becomes an “interpretative strategy used to displace presumptions of structural coherence and determination” (ibid: p. 431). This assumption of multiplicity aims to “situate structures in the diverse and dynamic contexts in which they take shape and give shape” (ibid: p. 430), which requires a rich empirical

account of the assemblage. Another assumption is that of processuality, which collapses structure and agency (a central concern e.g. in ANT) into a concern with process; the process of “arranging, organizing, fitting together” entities, through “stabilization, disassembly, and reassembly” (i.e. (de/re)territorialisation), which gives researchers a sensitivity for both stability and change (ibid: p. 431).

KEY TERMINOLOGY FROM ASSEMBLAGE THEORY

Expressive role vs. material role

The roles that entities can play within an assemblage can range from expressive to material, going through every combination of these in between. The material role can broadly be interpreted as the material (physical) characteristics that become visible in an assemblage. The expressive role is what one could consider the ‘social’ emergent characteristics: the associations, meanings, discourses, and interpretations, which become visible in an assemblage. These roles have an impact on the positioning of the entity in the assemblage, and thus on the relative power of the entity in (de)territorialising of the assemblage (see below). I will use the expressive and material roles as ways of talking about the position of entities in the assemblage, but they are not as important for understanding how PCA is assembling; for this we turn to de/re-territorialisation.

De/re-territorialisation, assembly, comingtogetherness, *agencement*

Assemblages are constantly in process, and thus processes of territorialisation and de-territorialisation can occur simultaneously; one component can both territorialise and deterritorialise at the same time or in different moments. Processes of de/re-territorialisation are akin to what is called in other *agencement*, assembly or comingtogetherness, in other assemblage literature. *Agencement* literally means the ‘disposition’ of things, but also implies a certain *agency* in the disposition of things, and so refers to the labours of assembling necessary to position things in a certain configuration in the assemblage. As such, it is a term very close to what Massey calls the ‘comingtogetherness’ of things in the assemblage, but is essentially its French cousin. I find will tend to use these terms interchangeably, but will attempt to stick as much as possible to those developed by DeLanda.

Processes of territorialisation increase the internal homogeneity and stabilise assemblages; processes of deterritorialisation do the opposite. Territorialisation is thus the process of *assembling* that makes up the assemblage. The way in which the assemblage is (de)territorialised will be a result of the dynamics between entities and the interactions and power relations that characterise their assembling.

THE BOUNDARY OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

Territorialisation can imply the creation of a physical boundary, but not necessarily. The boundary (be it physical, social, relational) that the assemblage creates is never fixed, and shifts constantly from the bringing in and taking out of different components and components interacting in different ways.

In order to reduce the scope of this potentially huge assemblage, I will be looking particularly at practices that occur *in* Polana Caniço, as a way to then limit the entities involved in said practices. This can be further reduced geographically to the three *quarteirões* (quarters) of intervention of Casa Minha: namely, quarters 1, 31, and 32. Within these quarters, one road in particular, R. 3644, was a primary focus of my ethnographic work. Practices focus the assemblage, and these are limited to what will be understood as dwelling practices (of which planning practices are a subset). The assemblage is

limited to those relations that shape urban space and form, planning practices, or more generally the materiality of the quarters.

PLACE MAKING THROUGH BUILDING, DWELLING, AND PLANNING

Tim Ingold – a British phenomenological anthropologist – observes “there must be more to dwelling than the mere fact of occupation” (2000: 185). This statement intrigued me, as it seems to point to something that feels intuitive: that the simple fact of occupying space is not enough to call it home. It also points to the fact that occupying a built environment is not equivalent to dwelling in it.

Being able to dwell means being able to have a sense of place. Dwelling constructs place, it makes place. This is both in the abstract sense and the practical sense. Abstractly, place making by dwelling looks at how entities perceive and understand the space that they inhabit, and the meanings that they attach to the spaces they inhabit. Practically, place making by dwelling means building: literally creating and altering spaces. I will be using the concept of dwelling to discuss how residents in the assemblage – which I will refer to as ‘dwellers’ – relate to the space they inhabit, and how this makes place.

This ‘dwelling perspective’, as Ingold calls it, takes the animal-in-its-environment as a starting point, as opposed to the self-contained individual that is the basis of the opposing ‘building perspective’. The dwelling perspective is closer to an assemblage lens, which also considers the human as integrally linked and ontologically equal to its environment. The ontological starting point of both the dwelling perspective and assemblage thinking is that entities (e.g. humans) become what they are by being in an environment, because entities are not isolated or self-contained things. The building perspective, on the other hand, presupposes an “imagined *separation* between the perceiver and the world, such that the perceiver has to reconstruct the world, in the mind, prior to any meaningful engagement with it” (ibid: 173). The building perspective, therefore, assumes an ontological separation between things and their environment, whereas the dwelling perspective assumes them to be the same. Relations between entities and their environment, or between entities, are not a static, one-time relationship. It is constantly in the making, or becoming. We will see in the next section that the assemblage is conceptualised as a dynamic and ever-changing agglomeration of things. The unfolding of relations over time thus makes place in a dynamic way. This thesis can only therefore be a snapshot in time.

When we plan we are deliberately determining how we will dwell in the future. This includes determining how spaces are used to dwell. Planning is the future-oriented approach to dwelling. Planning practices, especially of the formal kind such as those of the state, also delineate the possibilities of dwelling by applying rules and regulations to the ways in which people can occupy space. As it takes a deliberate approach to dwelling, planning usually results in building. It thus physically shapes spaces to make new places. Formal planning practices will often also impact the current materiality – or building – of dwelling, by stating what are appropriate or inappropriate forms dwelling. It is a continuous process, as “environments are never complete but are continually under construction” (Ingold, 2000: 172), and planning is in essence about shaping the environment in a context where it is constantly changing. This implies the same for “building, then, [which] is a process that is continually going on, for as long as people dwell in an environment” (ibid: 188); there is no ‘final form’ of the built environment, and forms in the environment can be seen as ‘instances of architecture’.

IMAGINING THE CITY: VISIONS, DREAMS, UTOPIAS AND THE POTENTIALITY OF PLACE

The other side of considering the actuality of place is to then look at the potentiality of place. This can be approached through various concepts: visions, dreams, utopias, imaginaries, etc. The initial research focus was on utopias, but I realised that this did not resonate with my research participants, or in fact, most of the people who I talked to about my research.

Ganjavie points out that the value of a utopian project (be it literary, cinematic, or materialised), is that it helps in identifying social meanings that have imaginary potential, and brings heterogeneous social aspirations together to create new social forms (2012: 14). He goes further to say that “capitalists created the most-intelligent utopia ever, and people cannot desire other utopias because this form of utopia does not allow the existence of other utopias” (Ganjavie, 2012: 15). This points to the potential hegemonic nature of utopias when taken up, for example, by the capitalist project. However, this supposed hegemony should be challenged. In fact, following Gibson-Graham’s thought process, this is exactly *why* it should be challenged, by opening up spaces for the ‘other’. For this reason, part of the purpose of this research is to challenge the formal planning ‘utopia’ (referred to later as ‘visions’) by highlighting ways in which the visions of the future are diverse.

Utopias are not fixed: they are a dynamic reaction to the present. The literature suggests that diversity, pluralism, and tolerance, should be more integrated into our understanding and use of utopias (Ganjavie, 2012). Miles’ discussion of these very real places show that utopias are not necessarily ideal, but rather very real, where “much of the daily practice of a new society consists of finding ways in which people can collaborate on an equitable basis, respecting rather than obliterating difference” (2008: 1).

RESULTING ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The tension between actuality and potentiality of place is what structures the two key angles of investigation of this thesis. First it is necessary to understand them independently from one another, and then only can we consider how their interaction creates the potential for *change* in the city. In Figure 1 we can see a visual elaboration of the theoretical framework, showing the overlap between actuality and potentiality of place, and the interactions between elements that are contained within these.

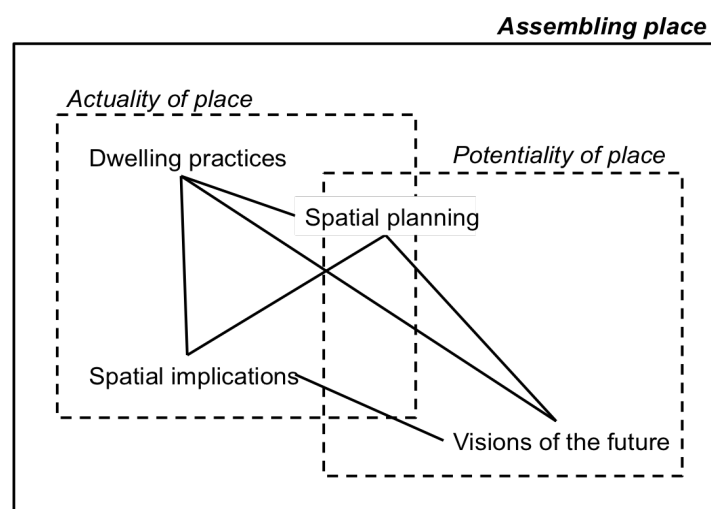


Figure 3. Visualisation of the analytical framework

As a result of the theoretical and analytical frameworks, the following sub research questions have been identified:

- What are the diverse place making and dwelling practices in the Polana Caniço “A” assemblage? (Chapter 3)
- How do dwelling practices interact with formal planning in Maputo? (Chapter 4)
- What are the various futures envisioned by entities in the assemblage? (Chapter 5)

2.2 METHODOLOGICAL RATIONALE

This research project will follow an exploratory and intuitive research design, looking particularly at practices (embedded in the sociological tradition of practice theory). Avoiding the use of ‘strong’ theory in the research approach allows me to remain open to a wide variety of practices that I may not have noted if I was operating from a strong explanatory framework. This also allows me to remain open to a pluralist understanding of dwelling and place making practices.

AN INTUITIVE APPROACH

As I am necessarily a part of the assemblage that I study, I have chosen to push this positionality further towards an intuitive, transpersonal approach to data collection and analysis. An intuitive approach allows the researcher to trust their ‘gut feeling’ and to use more emotive or sensual ways of knowing. It is a hermeneutical method that links intuition and intellectual precision (Pisters, 2016). Rather than dismissing systematic rationalities and methodologies, an intuitive approach complements these by allowing subjectivity and positionality to play a more explicit and conscious role in research (Anderson, 2000). This intuitive approach has an impact on how participant observation and conversational interviews were conducted in this research. As the methodologies were aimed at an exploratory approach, the addition of an intuitive rationale meant that exploration could be done quite freely, following the feel of the field.

ASSEMBLAGE THINKING AS METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Assemblage thinking has been proposed as a concept, descriptor, or ethos (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011) with particular methodological implications. I will here use it primarily in its descriptive capacity, as this applies best to using it as a methodological guideline. However, as an ethos, as mentioned in the introduction, assemblage thinking allows for a plurality of knowledges, which is a beneficial approach for this type of exploratory research.

Baker and McGuirk recommend an experimental methodology, which is not strictly bound in process but rather may accommodate for what is found in the field over time: assemblage thinking “require[s] [that] the ‘reach’ and intensity of methodological attention not be pre-determined” (2017: p. 435). Practically speaking, they say that “if an ethnographic sensibility is concerned with ‘*how to look*’, and tracing sites and situations is concerned with ‘*where to look*’, a methodological practice directed to the task of revealing labours of assembling is concerned with ‘*what to look for*’” (ibid: p. 437, emphasis added). This operationalization functions as follows:

- i. Using ethnographic methods, as these help to develop an in-depth qualitative understanding of situated contexts. This, according to Baker and McGuirk, makes multiplicity, process, and labour visible, and allows us to ‘enact’ uncertainty.
- ii. Tracing sites and situations allow the researcher to look and that various sites and spaces

within which practices and labours take place.

- iii. Looking at labours of assembling (equivalent to the *agencement*, or arrangement/arranging, configuration of the assemblage) emphasises the multiple and processual ‘socio-material labours’ occurring in different spatial contexts and configurations: they are relational and distributed (ibid: p. 437), and are essential in producing and maintaining assemblages (see *territorialisation*).

SENSORY ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS

Pink outlines place-as-ethnographic-knowledge, and suggests that “by theorizing collaborative ethnographic methods as place-making practices we can generate understandings of both *how people constitute urban environments through embodied and imaginative practices* and *how researchers become attuned to and constitute ethnographic places*” (Pink, 2008: p. 176, emphasis added). It is a reflexive approach that allows one to explore the sensorial experience of place. This can very simply imply the use of a variety of ‘documentation’ tools.

Writing is the usual suspect, but to this I added sketching as a form of observation that is explicitly subjective, as opposed to e.g. photographs, though these could be considered equally subjective⁶. These sketches were used to elicit conversations, both as a process (people seeing me in the street asked what I was doing), and as product (using the sketch to start talking about place-making). I also made audio recordings of memos, so that the non-textual elements of voice could be documented. Siri Pisters – in a personal communication – also recommended the use of poetry/prose, collages, and mind mapping in order to jot down more experiential or emotive elements of encounters in the field (this is particularly useful to do after interviews). I used these methods both in the field to record sensory impressions and when I was home trying to make sense of the data.

Using insights from Pink’s sensory ethnography, I included shared sensorial experiences such as walking or eating in my daily research practices (see Pink, 2008). Through these shared experiences, ‘sensory knowledge’ of the assemblage was developed. Walking was especially relevant in this context, as I was interested in seeing how people interact with their environment. Sharing in this practice of walking allowed for a more embodied understanding of their experiences. This embodied understanding follows Casey’s (1996) emphasis on looking at our ways of being in the world, or how we are ‘emplaced’. This is a reflexive practice that is necessary to consider when doing sensory ethnographic work. This consideration of emplacement is also important in relation to the assemblage lens, as it reminds us that as an ethnographer, we are also making place at the same time as studying it, as we become an intrinsic part of the assemblage.

An interesting term in this approach is that of ‘commensality’, as “*the exchange of sensory memories and emotions, and of substances and objects incarnating remembrance and feeling*” (ibid: p. 181); sharing practices such as eating allows for ‘new levels of awareness’ (ibid.). Engaging in eating brought about a “way of knowing (about) other people’s worlds and treat the experience reflexively” (ibid.). It allowed me as an ethnographer to participate in place making practices. Thus recognising my positionality as a ‘maker’ of the assemblage and of place. All of this engagement in practices was

⁶ Although photography is a long-established medium in ethnographic research, I feel that in this context it may be a problematic tool, as it requires the use of a camera, and thus distances me from the assemblage by putting a layer of film between me and that which I am observing. In a very practical sense, the necessity of consent for taking photographs is another restriction on this medium.

recorded through written and oral memos centered on the sensory experience of place and of interactions.

ARTS-BASED METHODS IN WORKSHOPS

I chose to use arts-based methods developed by Pearson et al (2018) in the context of the SUSPLACE program (see <https://www.sustainableplaceshaping.net/>). I had previously taken part in a workshop that used these methods and had found it very engaging; this made me hopeful that they would allow me to engage differently with people in the field. Additionally, I wanted to test alternative methods to the standard interview/questionnaire combination, and wanted to see if I could also learn to use these methods effectively, or at the least test them in a different field context. Doing an arts-based workshop meant that a lot of the activities were future-oriented, and this suited my aims of wanting to investigate utopias, as well as following a more intuitive and sensorial methodological rationale.

The purpose of workshops that use arts-based and creative methods is that they enable the researcher to go beyond the conventional methods used in interviews, focus group discussions, and workshops⁷. As such, they generate different types of data, and can be used to triangulate speech-bound data. The use of such methods requires a significant amount of acquaintance with the field, and this is why they were organised in the second half of the fieldwork period. This allowed me to continue with the intuitive approach in order to identify which specific methods are best suited for the context. The purpose of the workshops, also, evolved over time, as the assemblage became better known.

2.3 CONDUCTING RESEARCH

DATA COLLECTION

UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT

A baseline understanding of the field was acquired by reading several key studies on PCA, most notable of which were the theses by Eleonora Dobles Perriard (2017) – on land tenure issues – and Anésio Ribeiro Manhiça (2016) – on daily practices and the emerging distinction between PCA and Sommerschield II, and a PhD dissertation by Jeanne Vivet (2015) on displaced populations from the civil war. In addition to academic literature, I had access to several planning documents – including the *Plano Parcial de Urbanização* – that serve as the formal basis for development in Maputo. Interviews with two key academics and practitioners in urban planning in Maputo also gave some insights into the current state of things.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH (FIELDWORK PHASE 1)

Ethnographic methods were the primary form of data collection in the field, and were carried out throughout the 8-week period. The methodological implications of assemblage thinking and of an intuitive approach were taken into account.

Participant observation was a useful tool for engaging with the practices of people in the field. It is a

⁷ Theory U (outlined in the SUSPLACE handbook (Pearson et al, 2018)) identifies five points in the process of creating knowledge: convene, observe, reflect, act, harvest. The SUSPLACE handbook outlines 29 tried and tested methods, positioned within these five moments of the U. Methods such as guided meditation can allow for participants to acquire a different mind-set, and thus elicit a different kind of knowledge creation and relationships between researcher-researched.

flexible tool that allowed for complete immersion where desired. The outputs of the observations were used to map out people's practices, and to identify the transformative potential that is already there. In practice, the 'fully observant' side of the spectrum was used much more frequently in the form of sitting, note taking, and sketching. I observed many of Casa Minha's and dwellers' daily activities, and was permitted to join on the tours of the houses that Casa Minha would give to prospective buyers and other interested parties. I also joined in on meetings and discussions (moving towards participation), and became an 'honorary' member of the team in a way (I was taken in stride in the presentations, asked to testify for them about the quality of the neighbourhood, and asked to help with actualising a research project).

I wanted to use the approach of the *flâneur* for the first encounter with the field, and as part of the preliminary phase of the participant observations. Amin and Thrift develop this technique in their book *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (2002), which Pink complements by adding that, "although vision is clearly an important part of urban experience, there is in fact a case for re-thinking both *flânerie* and urban ethnography as a multi-sensorial form of engagement, rather than simply in terms of vision" (Pink, 2008: p. 180). *Flânerie* is thus not limited to visual experience, but considers the whole range of sensorial experience: heat, smell, touch, etc. The *flâneur* is the one who "walks without haste, at random, abandoning himself to the impressions and sights of the moment" (Pink, 2008: p. 180). The *flâneur* is open to everything. Although the technique of the *flâneur* did not work extremely well in my case, it is still an interesting way to approach the making of impressions about a place. As such, I would like to have the reader *flâne* through my descriptions of Polana Caniço "A", so that they may have a more intuitive understanding of the study area. I would like the reader to have a subjective experience of the neighbourhood, whilst understanding that it is *my* subjective experience.

Conversational (i.e. informal, open) interviews were used to complement the mapping of practices and for a preliminary identification of narratives of current imaginaries and future-oriented urban utopias or visions. Though initially these interviews were meant to be entirely open, over the course of the weeks I ended up developing a semi-structured interview guide to help make these interviews more fluid, and targeted towards gaps in information. I also in the end did a couple of interviews with some key actors, with whom conversational interviews could not casually occur.

Using visual and sensory ethnographic methods encouraged going beyond just looking at speech for information, but rather using visual and sensory tools in order to elicit emotions, discussions, and further elaboration on topics of interest (see Pisters' (2016) doctoral research proposal for a further elaboration on sensory methods in a community setting). These methods were used, though not always systematically. Some methods that were included were visual sketches, recording sensory memos – focused especially on sound and heat –, poetry, memos on emotions, and engaging in practices such as eating, buying, walking, or the daily *bate papo* (gossip).

FORECASTING FOR VISIONS OF THE FUTURE: WORKSHOPS (FIELDWORK PHASE 2)

The second part of fieldwork (beginning in week 3, a week earlier than initially intended) was more focused on the arts-based workshops that were meant to draw out the utopias present in the assemblage. I speak of these two phases as if they were clearly distinct, but in practice there was much more overlap, and I continued with the ethnographic work until the end of the fieldwork period.

The original aim of the workshops was to:

- Corroborate my preliminary mapping of diverse planning practices through collaborative mapping;
- Draw out visions of the future;
- Create a science fiction story that was somehow representative/emblematic of the visions identified.

In the end, these aims were not entirely met. For the first, I had too little analysis completed in order to be able to enter a collaborative mapping process, and felt that it would be wasteful of my participants' time. The second worked partially, and the workshops were designed to focus on this aspect. The findings related to this aim are discussed in Chapter 4. The final aim was something that I held at heart, as I wanted to have a creative output at the end of the thesis period that I could 'give back' to those who helped me. However, after the first workshop, I realised that science fiction was not a well-known or well-understood genre, and that creative outputs as understood from my (Western) perspective, were difficult to generate. As an alternative method of generating a form of story that could be used to present results, I held a morning activity with the group of girls that were faithful attendees of the Saturday morning activities that Casa Minha held, in which we focused on storytelling using Dixit cards⁸. The three more formal workshops I held had the same planned structure, but adapted themselves naturally due to the participants and circumstances within which they were held. The structure followed can be found in the Annexes.

DATA ANALYSIS

In the field, I did some preliminary analysis by mapping relationships in the assemblage using paper and Sketchboard.io. Writing of analytical memos, and preliminary coding of relationships. Discussions with my parents were also invaluable in developing my ideas and understanding of what I had found. Later, I continued to use an iterative mapping process in order to understand key relationships between entities in the assemblage as well as the practices that 'made place'. Mapping the assemblage included highlighting: key practices (labours of assembling), sites and situations (places), and relations.

This mapping was guided by the inductive empiricism prescribed by an assemblage lens. Relations were coded according to an assemblage vocabulary; using said vocabulary as an analytical tool to explore place making. Dynamics and power relations that were indicative of change – in the broadest sense of the term – in the constellation of the assemblage were particularly considered.

I made some use of narrative analysis by incorporating storytelling as a way to process data. This is clearest in Chapter 3 where I include a section entitled "Follow the ethnographer" that is inspired by Bruno Latour's vignettes. This narrative approach was also used to develop personal histories of dwellers. These histories were not included due to anonymity concerns, and were replaced with the ideal-types of dwellers that are discussed in Chapter 3.

⁸ Dixit is a card game that uses illustrated cards that are meant to be able to be interpreted in multiple ways. From the Wikipedia article: "**Dixit** is a **card** game created by Jean-Louis Roubira, illustrated by Marie Cardouat, and published by Libellud. Using a deck of **cards** illustrated with dreamlike images, players select **cards** that match a title suggested by the "storyteller", and attempt to guess which **card** the "storyteller" selected."

CHAPTER 3: DWELLING AS ASSEMBLING

This chapter focuses on dwelling practices in the assemblage, and a preliminary understanding of the spatial implications of these practices. The chapter is primarily descriptive, focusing on giving a sense or a feel for the study area. Following the dwelling perspective, practices are understood as making place: thus making place through the everyday. This implies a focus on practices and sites of practices. Thus, this chapter answers the first research sub-question: *What are the diverse place making and dwelling practices in the Polana Caniço “A” assemblage?*

The purpose of the first part of this chapter is to introduce the reader to dwelling practices and the assemblage in a more intuitive and sensorial manner. This part makes use of a mixture of recorded impressions – a poem, sketches, and memos – from my fieldwork, combined with descriptive ‘walk throughs’ of parts of the case study area in the tradition of Latour. This section also helps to introduce some of the sites and situations that the assemblage is composed of.

The second part introduces the dwellers of the assemblage, as well as some entities that make up their dwelling environment. The purpose of this is to understand how entities are involved in different everyday dwelling practices, and how they come together in sites.

The third part is that of the rhythmanalysis (inspired by Amin and Thrift, 2002), which looks at daily rituals and rhythms that eventually build lives and the urban. The argument here is that though daily practices may seem insignificant in making place, the repetition of the everyday is key in establishing rituals of place making, and has an impact on the materiality of the assemblage. Looking at rhythms also indicates some of the sites and situations that are important in making place in the assemblage.

The fourth part discusses specifically the home as a space of embodied practices, as this is a key site for dwelling practices. Building practices are discussed as having material implications for the making of place in the ‘home space’. The economic practices that make life and dwelling possible are also discussed with regards to their spatial implications.

The conclusion of this chapter is that everyday dwelling practices bring coherence and stabilise the assemblage, and that a variety of human and non-human entities are involved in these everyday dwelling practices.

POETRY IN THE AFTERNOON (19 June)

heat, sound, smells of *xima*⁹ cooking
 people seek shade
 chatting in the street
 walking to who knows where
children in the street, without a clear parental figure
 maybe an older sister, making sure they don't cry
sand in my sandals
 (when does sand become dirt and get the association of being dirty?)
music with a heavy bass
 some rapper, talking about sommerschild
the start of a sunburn on my face
the embarrassment of having a mediocre level of portuguese
the anticipation of spending two more months in the field – when will the excitement come?
much closer relationship to the ground
 ratchety chickens
 children on a 'natte'¹⁰ on the floor
there's a sound that reminds me of summer in europe, but I can't pinpoint it

⁹ *Xima* is a maize-flour thick porridge that is a staple food in southern Africa, but goes by many names. In Mozambique, the preparation is sometimes a little different from other countries, as they will add coconut water when cooking it.

¹⁰ One of those floor-mats made out of *caniço* (reeds) that are so common in southern African households.

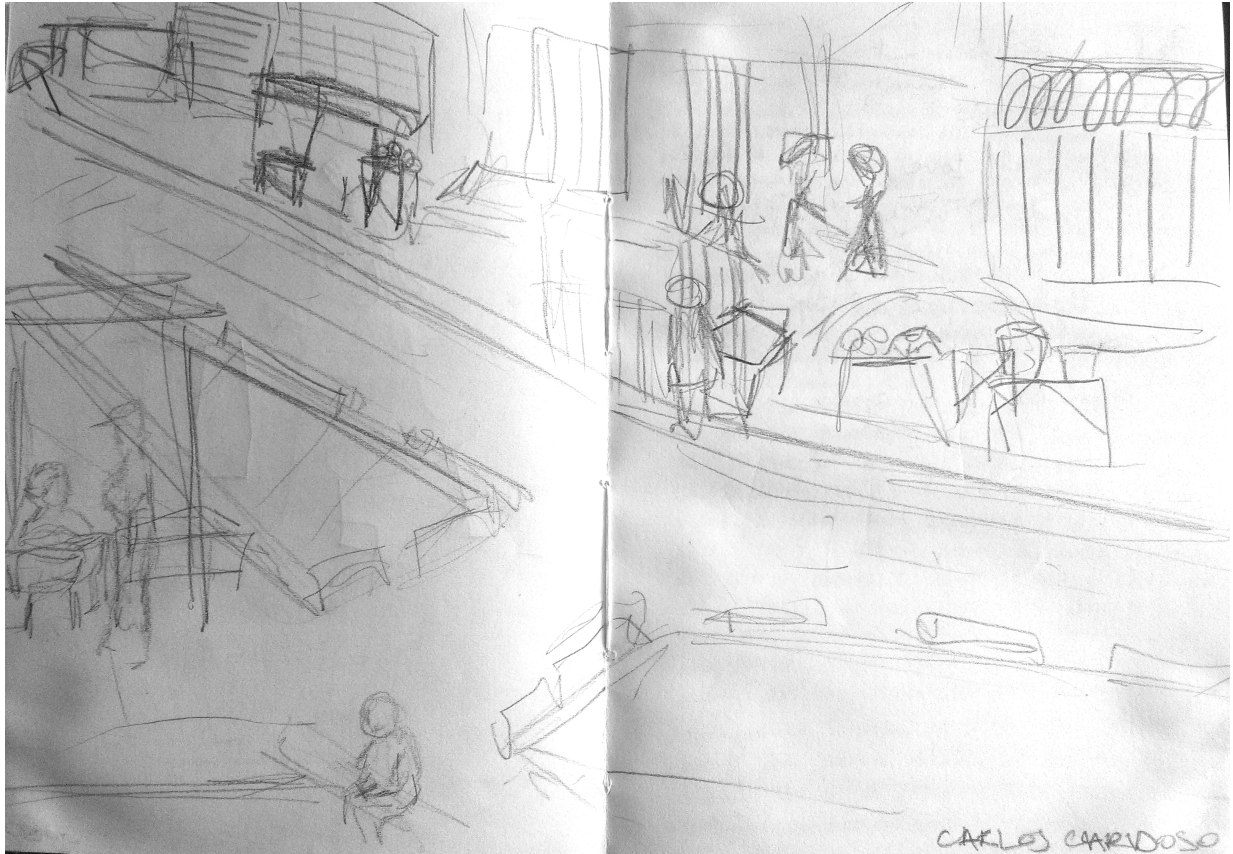


Figure 1: A street view sketched when I was sitting with my back against Casa Minha's materials depot (an old *loja*). Many people stopped while walking past to ask what I was doing, and what I was writing about. I was a bit of a local curiosity. Informal economic activities are visible as agglomerations of dwellers and their non-human companion structures (*bancas* and *barracas* and the produce laden onto them) on the sidewalk of the street.

3.1 FOLLOWING THE ETHNOGRAPHER

I arrive at Polana Caniço from Julius Nyerere, leaving the noise of cars behind me as I go up a sandy road, the end of which turns into charcoal dust from the depot. Turning right onto Carlos Cardoso, I am always amazed at the amount of activity that takes place on this paved street: it would be almost unimaginable in the Netherlands to find a car repair/maintenance shop operating casually in what is usually used as parking spaces, or to be able to find such an abundance of food within 10 metres of where you stand.

There are a couple of construction projects visible, emerging out of the one-floor houses surrounding them. These are the Casa Minha houses. The houses are compact for Mozambican standards, and have the finished look of a project undertaken and finished in one go — a rarity in a country where self-builds are common, but where money quickly becomes scarce. On my way to the Casa Minha office, I walk past a neighbour already braiding hair in his street-facing loja, and he greets me warmly.

I start my day by having instant coffee on the concrete benches that used to be planters, picking a spot in the shade or the sun depending on the time of day and the heat that comes with it. I am just outside the casa piloto, which means that the neighbourhood kids who are playing in the street almost immediately join me. They are always very curious about what I am doing, and I think they welcome the distraction from everyday-ness and the addition of a new person to play with. They ask to draw in

my notebook – doing renderings of their ideal house, or of their best friend – and attempt to braid my hair – a doomed task. A passing woman on her way to buy some charcoal tries to teach me how to greet someone in Changana, an equally doomed task, as I have no feel for this local language.

When I walk around the streets of the neighbourhood, a couple of the young girls tag along, chattering excitedly about how they're with 'Tia Leticia', and already lamenting the day I will 'abandon' them like so many other protégés of Casa Minha. They point out to me where the mean dogs are kept, and comment on the tree being trimmed at one of their friends' house.

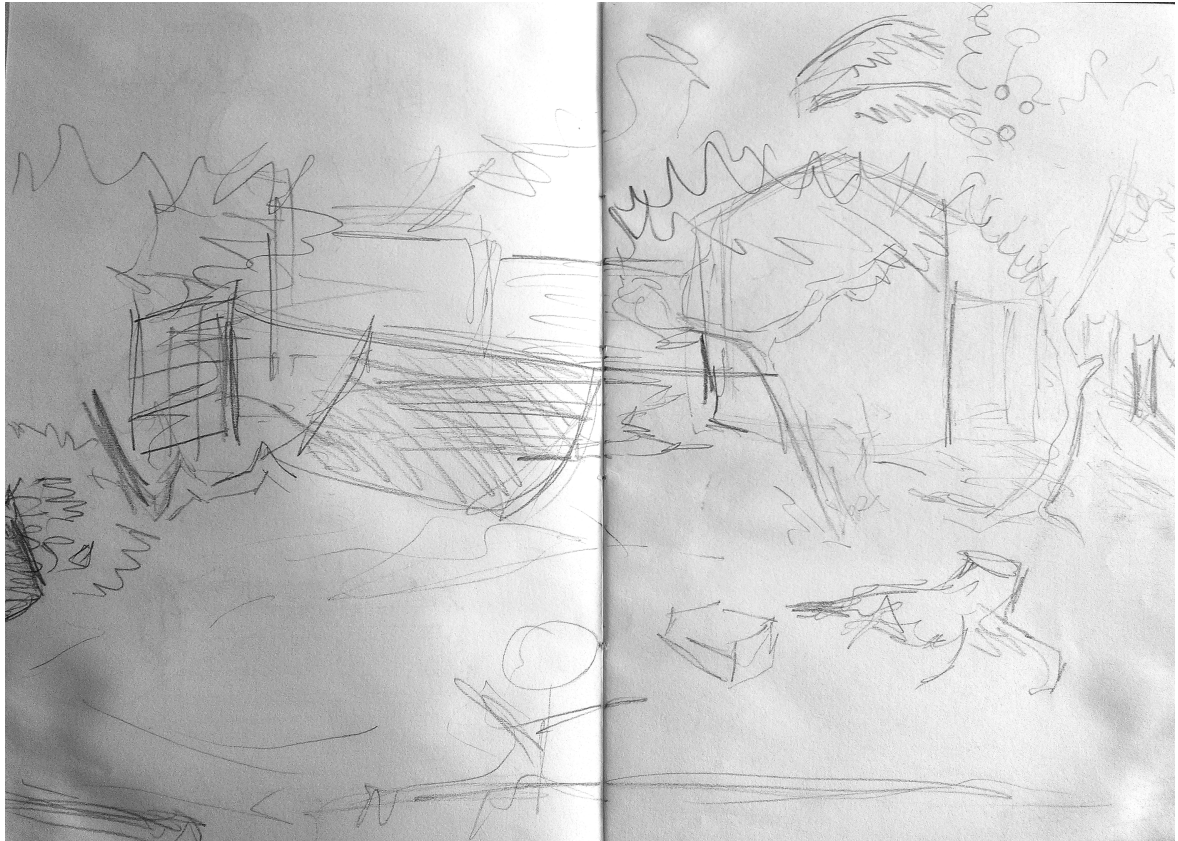


Figure 2: The view when sitting on the concrete benches outside the *casa piloto* of Casa Minha. It is here that I usually sat when drinking my morning instant coffee, and had a moment of socialisation with the neighbourhood children. We see some sheets hanging, and a multitude of trees. The compound has a main house and an outhouse with the toilet (a hole in the ground).

The heat and the sun mediate a lot of the daily practices: the bate-papo takes place on different corners of the street, depending on whether people feel warm or cold. Different shade options are crucial. For me it was often the shade of the building, which would shift over the course of the day, or that of a tree. For many, it's the shade of the overhangs at the various lojas that provides space for a momentary chat with a neighbour. It's also in the shade that women will braid each other's hair (an activity that often takes many hours to complete) as they sell their produce, cookies, and various plastic wares. Shade is something that Casa Minha took into account in the design of their houses: they created window-shading jut-outs to help regulate the direct radiation into the houses.

I am talking with one of the dwellers about her day when she says she needs to go buy some things for tea, and tells me to come with her. We walk over to a banca on R. Carlos Cardoso where an old lady is grinding flour to make badjias, a typical fried snack. My interlocutor buys a couple, and a bread from

another lady further down the street. We go back to her house where I am given a cup of scalding tea, half a bread, and a couple badjias to put in the bread. There is margarine, sugar, and creamer on the table. The children are avidly watching DisneyXD. After this, the oldest will be walking off the school.

Later, I go up to the topmost terrace of the Casa Minha office to sit in the shade, drink some tea (black with milk (or rather, Cremora: milk powder) and sugar, a nostalgic reminder of my childhood in Zimbabwe), and do some meditative listening of the neighbourhood. I am a bad meditator, and the static exercise combined with the enveloping heat almost inevitably put me in a half-sleep that I have to drag myself out of, but in the first moments of listening, I feel almost in harmony with the things around me.

My peace is distracted by loud music coming from a bar nearby. This is where you can find the neighbourhood men, relaxing and drinking under the covered terrace. The bar is a site that I only entered once, seeking out João, and where I immediately felt observed to the point of being uncomfortable (and this being at 2pm on a Saturday). Drinking is a key leisure activity in the neighbourhood. It seems that a large part of household salaries is spent on alcohol, and that the end of the month coincides with significantly more drunk people in the bars and on the streets.

I can feel my feet burning in the sunshine. Music and construction noises are ever-present: a circular handsaw, buzzing aggressively. There is no sound of cars, but the bomba sounds harshly against the relative quiet. It is a comparatively quiet part of Maputo, and combined with the coolness offered by the trees, it feels like a safe haven of familiarity.

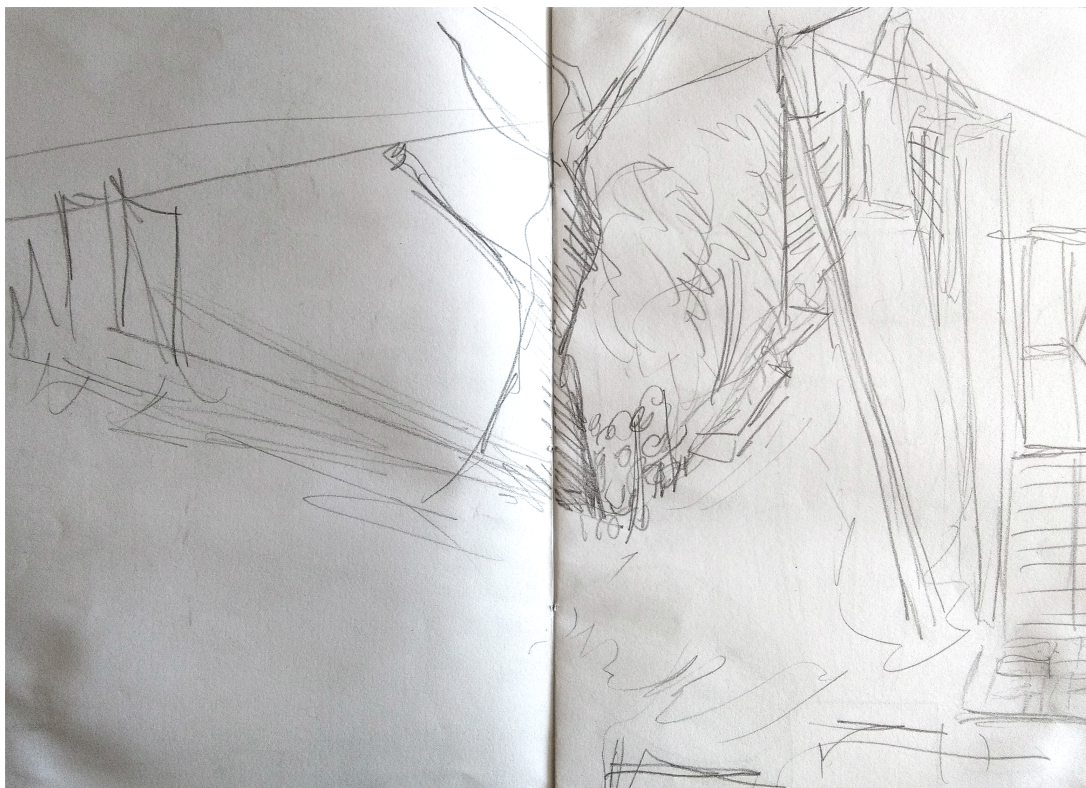


Figure 3: Corner view from the *casa piloto*. A wide variety of building materials were visible from this angle – sheets of corrugated iron, plastic, thorny bushes weaved as a fence, cement bricks – as well as the cluttered feel of urban services provisioning - electricity being the most visible.

DAILY PRACTICES TAKING PLACE IN VARIOUS SITES

Through this section, we have seen a couple of slices of the everydayness of things from the perspective of the ethnographer. Moments like drinking coffee in the street, or having tea with one of the dwellers, are important in understanding how different entities come together to make up those moments. We also see that passive observation, or just being-in-place, gives insights about how place is made, and also helps the observer – in this case the ethnographer – to understand how she herself makes place in the assemblage.

To understand how the assemblage comes together, it is important to know *where* it comes together: what are the sites of daily practices. Through this intuitive walk-through, we now know that these sites include:

- The streetscape, where most of the day activities occur – kids playing, informal trading, building, storage place – including street corners and sidewalks, big and small streets
- The home, a female-dominated space
- Sites of (informal) economic exchange: *bancas*, *barracas*, more official shops (e.g. for frozen and canned items), *lojas* located at the interface of the home and the street
- The bar, a male-dominated space

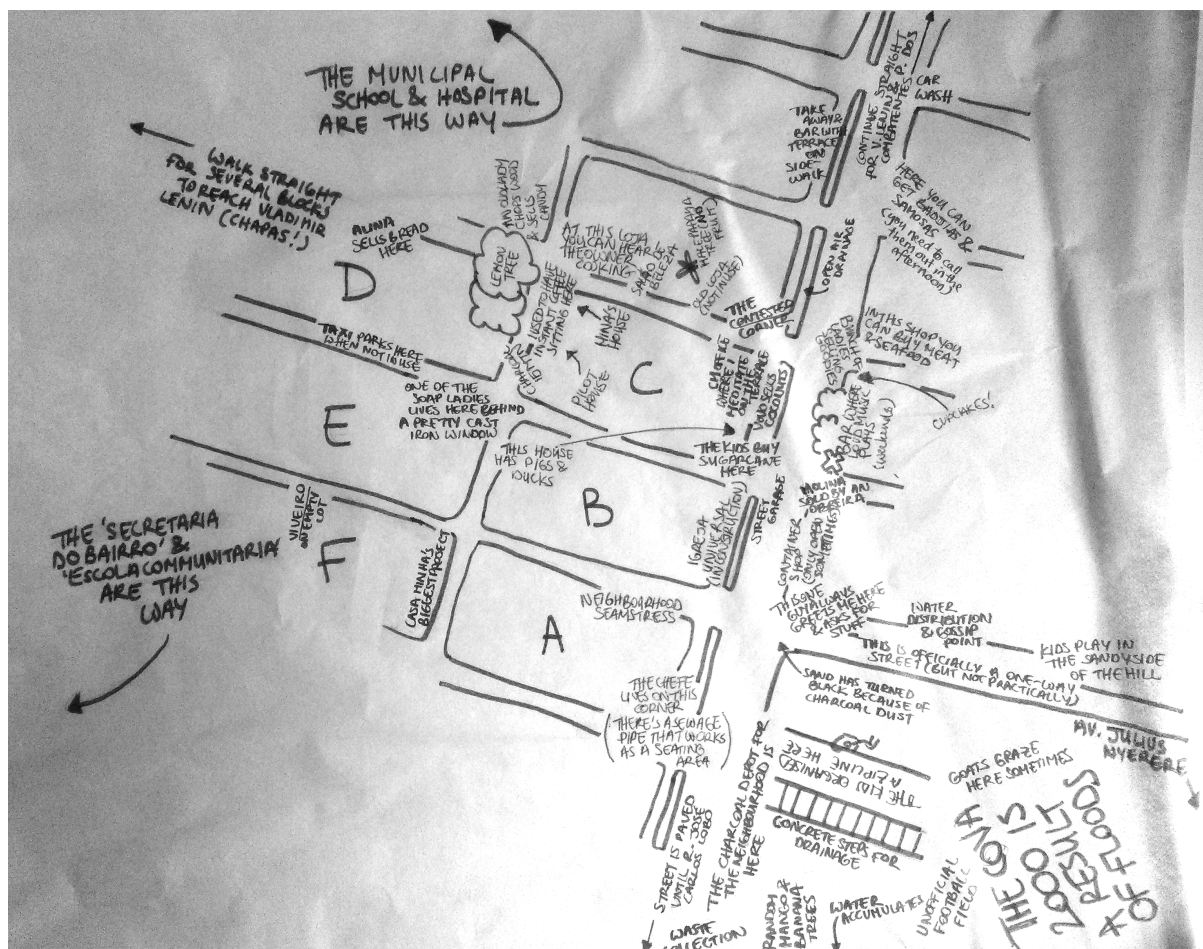


Figure 4: Soft map showing the case study area. It shows the positioning of various entities and activities. This map should be used in conjunction with the descriptions below in order to help the reader visualize the assemblage. Note that the ABCDEF blocks correspond with the map presented in Chapter 1 of quarter 31. The reader will note that many of the descriptions presents on the map are a result of the ethnographer's interaction with various entities in the assemblage, thus making the ethnographer an implicit part of the

3.2 INTRODUCING THE ENTITIES OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

This second part introduces the various human and non-human entities that are present in the assemblage, and that are involved in dwelling, building, or planning practices. Through their introduction, a preliminary understanding of how they fit into the assemblage is gained. This introduction will be built upon to show the practices and relationships that these entities engage in, and how this (de/re-)territorialises the assemblage.

IDEAL-TYPES OF DWELLERS

In order for the reader to feel closer to the dwellers, and to get a feel for them as people with lives and dreams, below is a section introducing some of the key dwellers I had the pleasure of getting to know, in the form of ideal-types. The choice of using ideal-types is based on the desire to protect the dwellers' anonymity, but also serves to present some of the key roles and capacities of dwellers that were noted during the ethnographic fieldwork. Note that these are primarily female dwellers; this reflects a bias I had during my fieldwork associated first with the availability of dwellers during the day – women were more likely to be at home or working in the streets, and those more amenable to talk to, as men are more likely to be out working – secondly with a personal discomfort when talking to men – aggressive flirting was a constant annoyance – and thirdly due to the nature in which I 'snowballed' my introductions to dwellers. Consider the following as verbal portraits of ideal-types of dwellers. These are meant to increase the understanding of dwelling practices done by these ideal-types in the assemblage.

Athena is a young wife in her 30s, with young children, and is formally unemployed. She does not have much education, as she only finished her third year of high school, and doesn't have a particular skill set. She struggles daily to provide food for her family, and will engage in informal economic activities on an irregular basis in order to generate a supplementary income. She likes the idea of Casa Minha and the development it brings to the neighbourhood, but finds that it negates her home-building efforts and the years she has spent on building her current house. She is also concerned that she will not be able to pay for the upkeep of such a modern house, since she does not have a stable income. She has an extra room in the *dependencia* that she is thinking about renting out.

Alberto is a young man in his 20s, who lives at home with his parents and siblings. He currently works from a room in the house as a hairdresser, under the tutelage of his older sisters, but is also following a course with MUVA where he is learning how to become a chef. He hopes that in the future he will either be able to obtain formal employment in one of the many hotels or restaurants in Maputo, or even better, be able to set up his own catering business. He has mixed feelings about Casa Minha, because intellectually he feels that it benefits the neighbourhood as a whole, but on a more personal level, the model does not respond to his ambitions and dreams (see Chapter 4). Overall, he appreciates the efforts of Casa Minha, and although it does not fit with his aspirations of a big house to host his family and friends, he thinks his parents are silly for not joining up to the program (he does not yet have his own plot), and rues their 'backwardness'.

Avó or vovó has been living in the neighbourhood since the civil war, and has witnessed all of its changes over time. She has many children and grandchildren, some of whom still live with her in PCA. Her family is stretched out in the province of Maputo, and she continues to maintain strong relationships with the rural area she comes from. She has a *machamba* in the peripheries of Maputo, which her daughters and daughters-in-law tend to. She often sells a mix of produce from her

machamba and from the Zimpeto market on the corner of her street. She is very opposed to the idea of Casa Minha, as it would require her to give up too much of her current dwelling practices; she likes having ducks in her back yard, cooking outside with charcoal, and thinks the idea of having an American-style kitchen where your guests can see you cooking is ridiculous.

Alina is a young girl that can often be found selling bread in the street, or caring for her younger siblings while her parents are busy working. She spends her day doing household chores, playing with her friends in the street, and occasionally going to school (depending on if her uniform is repaired, if she has time and school books, and if the teacher is not absent again). She joins in the Casa Minha Saturday morning activities, and enjoys being creative: dancing, singing, making jewellery, or drawing. She has big dreams of helping children when she grows up, and living in a pretty house.

All of these dwellers are neighbours, and will often be present on the same street, or sometimes even in the same house. This means that within the neighbourhood there will be interacting and sometimes conflicting dwelling practices, or at least diverse practices as dwellers go about their daily lives and work towards their personal dreams.

NON-HUMAN ENTITIES IN THE ASSEMBLAGE

This section outlines certain entities that make up the materiality of the assemblage. I have focused here on **entities that have a direct role in dwelling practices or are a part of formal planning practices**. The entities are discussed in terms of the practices they mediate, and their expressive and material roles in the assemblage.

THE TRINITY OF 'NATURAL' NON-HUMANS: SAND, WATER, AND TREES

These entities are present in multiple sites, both public and private in nature. They are important when considering dwelling practices because they are so omnipresent and as such perform an important homogenising role in the assemblage. Other 'natural' entities are of course present in the assemblage, but they are not worth mentioning here, as they do not play an important role in territorialising the assemblage in terms of place making, or the materiality of the assemblage.

Sand is an ever-present element of living in Mozambique. You cannot really talk of 'earth' when you live so close to the coast (though there are some more classical agricultural lands around Xai-Xai, as an example). *Everything is sand*. As such, dealing with sand shapes a lot of daily dwelling practices. For a housewife, sand is the struggle of keeping it out of the house (especially when it has rained), and the constant routine of sweeping. It is also the decision to pour cement in their courtyard in order to reduce their housekeeping tasks, and make it cleaner for their children to play: this is sand in its 'dirt' expressive role. Children most commonly play in the street, and the sand is a good play-companion to avoid injuries. In the *cova* – a depression on the side of the neighbourhood that was created during the 2000 floods – the steep sandy sides are dug out to make hideouts, or used to have a makeshift zipline. Sand is the thing that washes away entire communities when there are floods. In public spaces such as the street or the sides of the main avenues (e.g. Julius Nyerere, where the slopes have been cemented over in order to prevent more erosion onto this key thoroughway in the city), concrete comes to replace sand, because sand is deemed too dangerous to leave be. But sand is also constructive, as it is an essential part of making concrete, and thus can never truly disappear from the assemblage, and continues to territorialise it, though playing a completely different role when

combined with construction materials.

Sand, as a key material aspect of dwellers' environment, mediates how they dwell and the strategies they adopt to improve their dwelling space. Refusing to deal with sand, for example, may lead to cementing up a plot, reducing the material roles that the ground may have (e.g. can no longer grow anything on it, reducing infiltration of water). The material role of sand as something that is considered 'dirty' is linked to its expressive role as undesirable; it becomes a sign of improvement to not have to deal with sand, or not interact directly with sand e.g. by cementing or putting a capulana in between the human and sand, or the imperative to use *chinelas* (flip-flops). This constant struggle between sand and dwellers is a sign of a conflicting relationship that still stabilises the assemblage in its constancy.

Sand and water interact to re-shape the materiality of the assemblage during high-intensity (weather) events. The first thing I think about when someone says "water" in the context of Mozambique is floods. Floods and torrential rains. I remember as a child the absurd hilarity of seeing the Marginal and the Baixa flood with water after heavy rains, and the cars that would float by aimlessly, incapable of resisting the strength of the water; I did not realise the damage that these floods caused.

When the government contracted the extension of Julius Nyerere — starting at the T that marks the beginning of PCA — there were a couple of times when the whole of the sand layers put in place would wash down to the level of the Portuguese school, creating an impassable barrier for those coming from the suburbs going into town. So much money was literally washed down the drain when these rainfalls happened. The municipality has grown wiser since then, and they have begun to reinforce the steep slopes on the side of the Julius Nyerere — between the T and Combatentes — with concrete decorated in what is now becoming the 'trademark' Mozambican mosaic decorations.

But water is of course also a force of life, and not just destruction. Access to water is a key concern for all families living in PCA. In the *quarteirões* surrounding Casa Minha, majority of houses are connected to the municipal water, but usually with only one tap for the whole compound. Those who have successfully built 'improved sanitation systems' with a flush toilet (and shower) will occasionally have this building also connected to the municipal grid; otherwise, they simply use the main tap to fill buckets to then use in the privacy of the toilet and shower. Waste water, on the other hand, has no municipal system. Individual compounds have septic tanks or just holes in the ground for black/yellow water. Grey water from kitchen/laundry/other household cleaning is simply poured onto the floor of the compound to be absorbed by the earth/sand or down the open street drains, or in the street if no drainage is present. This creates small little rivers in the sand roads, and over time creates little rifts and valleys that people have to nimbly step over as they go about their daily business. Cars are not so nimble in navigating the rifts made in the wider roads, such as R. Lobo.

Water is connected to different modes of collection — both human and non-human — that temporarily make it static, and which are linked to the different ways it enters into the assemblage. Rainwater, for example, is collected in containers which can be ad hoc - like re-purposed oil drums - or more purposeful - like the typical Jojo plastic tanks. These containers help to provide a more steady supply of water, a reserve for when the municipal water is no longer available (this can be the case for a number of hours a day). Rainwater which is not collected either is filtered into the ground, or runs down into natural drains (sandy, paths made through erosion), or man-made concrete drains; in both

cases it ends up at lower points in the city, usually ending its course in the Maputo bay.

What is interesting to note is that for those with no access to municipal taps or collected rainwater, there is a distribution point in PCA that serves to supply the ‘more informal’ parts of the neighbourhood, notably on the east side of Av. Julius Nyerere. This distribution point is located just north of the *cova*, and also serves the more social function of gossiping and chatting; walking past this point, particularly in the early morning, there would always be a large group of people (mostly women, but also some younger children and some young men) chatting away as they would fill up their plastic jerrycans.

Trees are a very dominant entity in terms of how they are used within Casa Minha’s marketing of the neighbourhood: they fit within a discourse of ‘green neighbourhoods’, sustainability, and quality of life. Although they are a ‘natural’ non-human, they are heavily involved in human manipulation.

Casa Minha often mentions the trees as a key distinctive feature of the neighbourhood and thus as a selling point; it is true that the more luxurious or older neighbourhoods of Maputo, such as Sommerschild, have a lot of trees that remain from the colonial period, as opposed to the newer neighbourhoods that are distinctly more barren and in part due to this, hotter, and with less public spaces for socialising or economic activities.

In addition to this, they have very material effects on dwellers’ lives: they provide fruit (most common are papaya, mango, and lemon) and shade against the hot sun. As such, they are part of food practices and socialisation, two key sets of practices in the neighbourhood. Having access to fruit through the trees also supplements family incomes, and thus the trees are also integrated in the economic practices of dwellers. Trees are rooted in the private space – literally – but serve many public functions, and thus another example of the fluidity of public and private space. Trees perform a series of public services, such as providing shade, regulating the temperature in the neighbourhood, as well as the water management.

SYMBOLS OF MODERNITY: MAKING THE URBAN

The following non-human entities are particularly relevant with regards to making *urban* place (whereas the previous non-humans could also be present and play the same roles in a rural space). They are important tools of formal urban planning, and thus are often put in place by state entities and their subsidiaries (e.g. the contractors who lay down the roads). However, once in place, we can note that dwellers and other entities will appropriate these ‘modern’ entities for their own practices, sometimes changing their intended material and expressive roles.

The electricity poles make up the formal network of electricity provisioning, but not every house has been officially connected to the network. This does not mean that there are houses without electricity: ingenious systems are put in place by families to connect up to the grid. I always found it hard to tell which was the officially made connection and which was the opportunistic one, but a Mozambican friend of mine with whom I walked through the neighbourhood could almost immediately point out to me the ones that were likely to be self-made. *[I always wondered if the EDM (Electricidade de Moçambique) workers themselves could tell the difference between their or their colleagues’ work and that of supposed amateurs.]*

Although the natural material role of these poles is to participate in provisioning electricity, they have the potential for another expressive role as spaces of communication. The wood or cement electricity poles are used as public noticeboards for announcements (e.g. when Casa Minha posts *convocatorias* (announcements/invitations)), or for advertising services. [*Similarly, the blocks of cement put down as passageways over the drains are also used as display spaces for goods — e.g. potjies (cast iron pots that are used on coal fires) and fresh produce. Cement brick walls are often adorned only with white-painted phone numbers accompanied by a two-word description of the service offered (though sometimes the description is missing, leaving the phone number as a mysterious anomaly).*]

Concrete – the mother of all industrial construction materials – is the dominating visible non-human present in the assemblage after sand. All the bricks of the houses are made of concrete, as are the street drains and the streets themselves (paved with concrete ‘tiles’ as opposed to being covered in a smooth surface). Concrete is what symbolically distinguishes the *cidade cimento* from the *cidade caniço* in terms of both form and status. Concrete signifies the upgrade from rural to urban life. It is the symbol of the *amelioramento do bairro* (betterment of the neighbourhood). People will cite concrete as the thing that helps people improve their housing conditions; the sign that things are going well for the household. I had the opportunity to watch a bricklayer and his apprentice putting up the wall around a compound: the concrete is mixed on the street itself, in a seemingly random ratio with sand and water (though it is probably a very well-practiced operation, and thus only seemed random to my untrained eye), and expertly used to lay concrete blocks one on top of another, using a string as a level. The presence of concrete in the assemblage is mediated by, and in turn allows for, specific income-generating activities. Construction is one of the main formal employment sectors in Mozambique (Ulandssekretariatet, 2014), but is also an easy entrepreneurship opportunity. Casa Minha employs such independent users of concrete who have developed their business in PCA.

The use of modern building materials carries an expressive role linked to the socioeconomic ascension of the household. When dwellers speak of the improvement of the neighbourhood, they inevitably mention the transition from *caniço* to cement. Homogeneity of building materials, converging in cement, is a clear sign of access to economic resources. Aspiring to ‘modernity’ symbolised by cement is crucial to how people dwell, and how they envision their future dwelling, as they will forsake more traditional – but more affordable – building materials in favour of concrete.

Concrete is also the material of all state building projects: roads and drainage being the two key materialisations, or expressive forms, of concrete. Concrete gives the feeling of modernity, of cleanliness, of maintenance. Dwellers use it to appropriate the public space and upgrade it. They also use it to keep their private outdoor space ‘clean’, reducing the amount of sweeping they have to do. The government uses it to protect their investments, but also to prevent more settlement in the open spaces reserved to ‘green’ spaces. For example, the steep slopes between the case area and Julius Nyerere have been cemented up and decorated with mosaics in order to prevent erosion and further informal settlements in a flood-prone zone, and to protect the Julius Nyerere from mudslides.

Speaking of state building projects, it is funny to watch cars drive past on R. Carlos Cardoso, as there are these very typical, overly deep, speed bumps that have been put in place a bit everywhere in Maputo. Passing over them with a low car is almost impossible without scratching it unless you take it at an angle, so drivers will almost inevitably take them diagonally by going onto the sidewalk a bit. It

is the ultimate example of infrastructure that was put in place to promote a specific behaviour – namely, slowing down on roads where people have a tendency to drive too fast, the consequence of which is increased risk for pedestrians – but actually promotes a different behaviour that counteracts the initial purpose, as it puts pedestrians even more at risk.

I could mention more ‘modern’ non-humans, but for the sake of brevity and conciseness, I will end this list here, to move onto two intertwined entities that both seem to spontaneously emerge from the assemblage, because they are so intrinsic to daily practices.

UNINTENDED BEST FRIENDS: THE TXOVA AND TRASH

The *txova* is the ultimate multi-purpose tool. It is a pushcart on two wheels, a bit like an improved wheelbarrow, and is powered by someone pushing it. It serves for waste collection — both of normal (household) waste, picked up by municipality workers dressed in blue overalls and wearing protective gear, and of old metals, picked up by individual entrepreneurs who presumably reuse/recycle them (I never managed to follow one home, though I did see a front terrace filled with old metals) — as well as for deliveries of goods to the various smallholder shops, like the one across the street from the Casa Minha office, which is housed in a well-built concrete building, complete with metal bars and metal-sheet doors, or the one a little to the right of it that operates from an old shipping container. The waste collectors each have whistles they blow to call out the housewives to bring their trash, and they will trade with them the full canvas bags for some ‘fresh’ (i.e. empty, though very smelly and dirty) ones.

The *txova* is also what allows a lot of street business to operate outside of PCA: for example, the fresh coconut vendors on the Marginal come down from their neighbourhoods early in the morning, using the road or sidewalk as is most conveniently to reach their selling point — usually the indents in the road that are meant as bus stops for the *chapas*. The mobility of the *txova* allows unregulated activities to take place more easily, and be easier to move around once authorities attempt to regulate the activity.

Trash is a material entity that is directly linked to place-making practices and use of space, not just in PCA, but also in all human settlements¹¹. This is certainly why anthropologists have decided to do archaeologies of trash in order to better understand modern societies (see e.g. Lodge, 1993). Waste collection in PCA is done primarily by the *txovas* (and those pushing them: energy behind them) and the concrete drains (and the water: idem); the former is the formalised and accepted practice, and is related more so to household activities. Waste is swept to one side of the compound throughout the day, and later packed into old rice bags to give to the municipality worker (I have mentioned this elsewhere).

For waste that is created outside of the household, however, there is no effective municipal waste collection, and thus the drains become waste collectors. Casa Minha has begun to take a serious interest in processes of waste management, as the presence of ‘excess’ waste in the neighbourhood hurts the image they are constructing of an up-and-coming neighbourhood for the middle class. Mismanagement of waste is assumed to be a problem of lack of money, but really it is a lack of outdoor waste collection. Bins are sparse and street clean-ups are irregular at best. It makes the very skinny chickens happy though, and they’ll peck through the waste all day. People have a tendency to

¹¹ And elsewhere too, considering the floating continent of plastic that migrates around in the oceans.

just throw their waste onto the floor (usually packaging from food bought in the street); it is also the case with people who drive around in fancy cars. As such, waste seems to have a life of its own in the assemblage, constantly re-emerging and re-territorialising the assemblage as somewhere that is considered dirty and poor because of the presence of waste.

Most waste is from packaging or organic waste (those who have animals like chickens, ducks, or pigs give them that waste), but there is also a lot of construction waste in the streets. Left over rubble from past rooms or houses, old walls that were never completely torn down; the history of dwelling can still be seen. Dishwater and cleaning water are also thrown into the street. At the same time, it is part of the majority of women's care for their space to sweep the sand or poured cement in the street front of their houses, and so the private and public uses of space are mixed up in everyday practice.

DWELLERS AND THEIR TVs: FILLING IN THE BLANKS

The TV is a way to keep oneself occupied in 'dead' moments; when there is nothing productive to do, you can simply sit in front of the TV – it's always on, so you don't need to commit yourself to it by actively switching it on – and see what is happening in your favourite *novela*. Occasionally the national news channel will give an update on how things are going with the world. Or you can change the channel to watch the latest music videos. In any case, it's something *to do*, when there is nothing else to do. A TV is a standard part of any Mozambican household with sufficient funds.

The material role of the TV is that it occupies a central place in the interior of a house, and is necessarily accompanied by a full sofa set. It also requires a connection to electricity, making the household interact with EDM (either through legal or illegal means) to be connected and to *stay* connected. This then mediates the need for money (big or small, depending on how much you top up at once), in order to be able to continue watching *novelas*. It is also linked to satellite dishes, which vary based on a household's income. The TV has an expressive role as a status symbol – having access to a TV, and enough electricity to make it run everyday, is a luxury, and one can see physical differences between handmade vs. DSTV¹² satellite dishes that indicate differences in household's wealth. The financial obligation imposed by a TV, and the addition of several other entities associated with it, means that dwellers invite a series of other practices into their household, such as buying pre-paid electricity, or saving electricity on other appliances so that you can watch TV at the end of the day.

The TV also functions as a locus of socialisation – being able to discuss what happens on TV, watching TV together, getting 'cultured' about media – and for building of expectations about life as it sets a standard for personal progress (though not necessarily a realistic one). We will see in Chapter 5 that the role of TVs in setting expectations and desired visual aesthetics has a territorialising effect, as it informs people's decision or desire to move out of the neighbourhood to 'greener pastures' (i.e. larger plots in the peripheries of Maputo).

CHURCHES: EMOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

There are multitudes of churches in PCA, and they are a relevant actor in the social and religious lives of PCA dwellers. They are not formally connected to the formal planning nexus, but do play a role in

¹² DSTV is a South African network provider, associated with having access to all the 'important' channels.

place making in PCA, as they interact regularly with dwellers, and have a material presence in their use of space for relatively large church complexes. The major Sunday activity is going to church, particularly for women, and there are many people who also go to church on weekday mornings (6 or 7am) before setting up their *bancas* or going to work or about their daily chores. The church is an important support group both with regards to counselling and for providing insights into financial health, family issues, and other relevant (and often sensitive) matters. The *obreiras* (community workers) such as Angelina, are a team of people who volunteer their time at the church for the practical maintenance, as well as to be the direct contact of congregation members, attending to their problems, and praying for them in *orações* (orations/prayers).

‘BIG MONEY’ VS. ‘SMALL MONEY’: WHAT MAKES THE WORLD GO ROUND

The first thing you notice as a white expat coming into Polana Caniço is that nobody will ever have change for the bills you carry. This is because you have ‘big money’: money that can only be used liberally by those with from middle and upper classes for whom a 200MTN bill (Meticais Novo, approximately 3-4 euros) doesn’t even represent dinner. For the majority of dwellers of Polana Caniço (and of course there are exceptions), who live day-by-day, ‘small money’ is what makes the world go around on the day-to-day: 15MTN here to buy some coal for the day, 10MTN there to buy a loaf of bread. “Big money” is only an end-of-the-month thing when the paycheck comes in, and it is used for a bag of rice and beer from the bar (the general consensus is that drinking is a problem in PCA, and that the end of the month is the worst in terms of drinking). Women working in the street at the *bancas* and *barracas* bring in small money at the end of the day; men are usually the ones bringing in the big money.

Money in this sense, and the type of money that you have access to, will mediate a lot of dwelling and planning practices. Access to ‘big money’ will enable larger, more material planning practices, in the sense that entities will subsequently have a means to ‘make place’ in a very physical sense, through construction. Lack of access to money in large quantities is one of the reasons that incremental architecture or the *casa evolutiva* is such a successful concept in Latin America and now in this *bairro*. Building takes a long time using this strategy, but it remains appropriate for dwellers current dwelling needs.

STREET CORNERS AND DWELLERS

Street corners are the principal sites of ‘informal’ economic activities. As sites of concentrated mobility, there are more people likely to go past, and thus buy the products. This is also why Carlos Cardoso has so much more street vendors, as it is the main axis on the east side of the neighbourhood, and many people will use it on their daily business. Street corners are also where people will run into acquaintances and take a moment out of their day to socialise. Similarly, children are more likely to play on street corners, as they have more space. Thus, the material role of the street corner as a site of encounter is key in mediating social and economic practices.

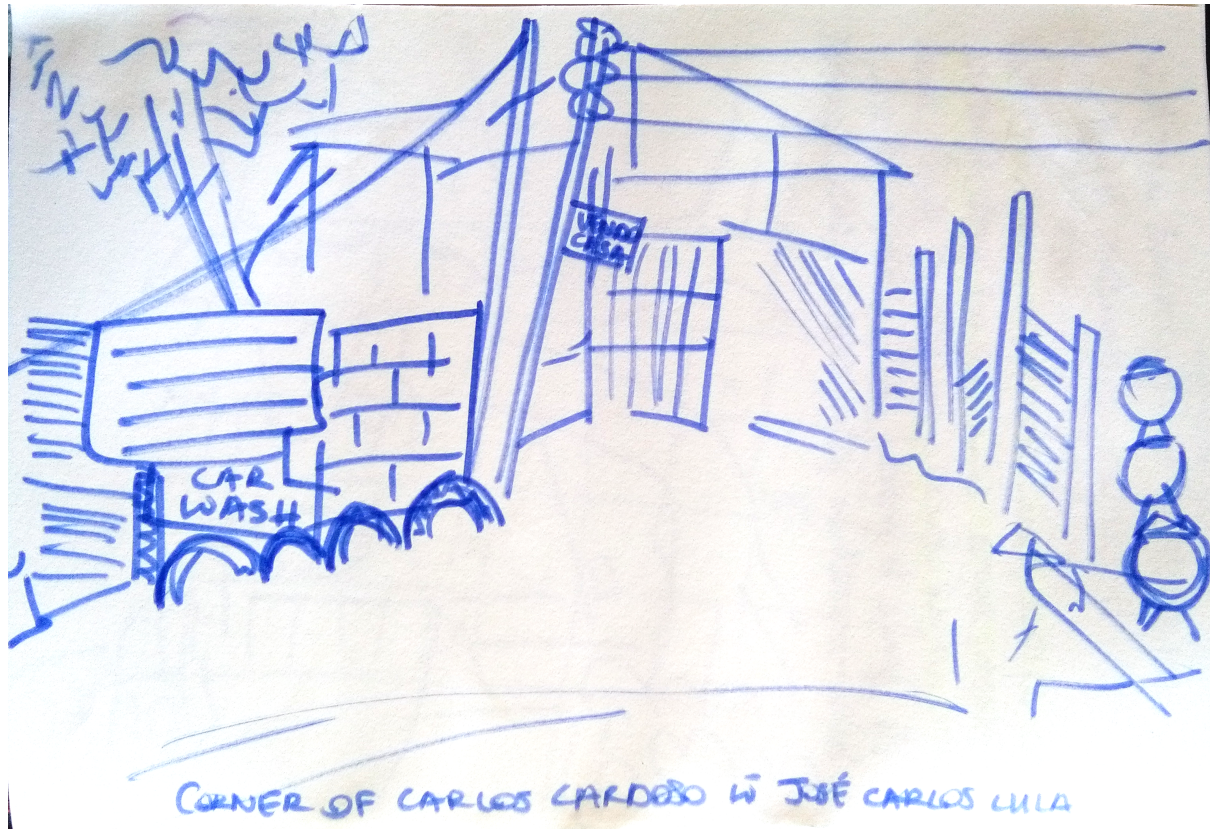


Figure 5: Field sketch showing the corner of roads Carlos Cardoso and José Carlos Lula. We can see some pots for sale and improvised advertisements on electricity poles and walls.

3.3 DAILY RHYTHMS OF DWELLING PRACTICES

The purpose of this section is to introduce the reader to the temporality of daily practices, in combination with their spatiality. This section is not from the perspective of the embodied ethnographer, but rather from the analytical ethnographer, detached rather than embedded in place.

The morning rush hour lasts a long time on the Marginal and on Julius Nyerere; they are two key entry avenues for those who live in the outer suburbs of Maputo, people who preferred to buy a larger plot of land out of town to build their own houses and have the luxury of owning a car for the commute. The morning is also a *chapa* rush hour for those who don't have cars and rely on this private form of public transport to get into town. It is always described as an uncomfortable experience: bodies are too close together, it is too hot and stuffy inside, and the driving is chaotic. There is some regularity, however, in the stops that the *chapas* make, and these have been identified in the form of a map that makes them legible (see Annex X). The presence of regular stops indicates a certain coherence and self-organisation in the informally arranged public transport. The *chapas* also make almost exclusive use of the paved or cemented roads; in part because these are the main axes relevant to serving certain areas of the city, and partly because these are, in fact, paved, which makes travel much easier. Regardless of this, as soon as you can afford it, you buy a car. Having a car is a sign that you 'made it'.

The rush of cars seems almost to never stop in Maputo. People are always going places. But the rush of pedestrians within the *bairro* has more of a temporality to it. In the morning you see many people walking to work or the nearest *chapa* stop, from 5 or 6 a.m. until around 9 a.m., depending largely on how far people have to go, and what activity they engage in (those selling food for lunch or all-day snacks will leave later than those selling breakfast). But after that, the flow of walkers wanes rush of

people going to work has ended by now (though you see the occasional well-dressed person running out of the house and trotting down the street), and is replaced by women going about their chores – including the small shopping for a handful of coal or tomatoes – and socializing or selling their wares.

Arriving at 7am, there are definitely people moving, but much less exchange of money going on; the ladies at the bancas/barracas have not set up camp yet (only do so after 8, sometimes even later: when I interviewed Artemisia around 11.00, she was still setting up her vegetables). People do not buy vegetables early in the morning, since they will only buy them when they need them to prepare lunch, as they buy only day-to-day necessities. On some days, some informal vendors are not present, as they are away replenishing their stock either at the more centralised markets, like Zimpeto, or at their *machambas* in the peripheries of Maputo or further in the rural areas.

The construction work of Casa Minha starts early in the morning; the quartermaster was always there to greet me and open up the office when I arrived before the office workers – who would get in starting at about 8a.m. Casa Minha workers are active all week, excluding Sundays, and as most of the construction workers live in the surrounding areas, they will spend long hours of the day to finish the days' work.

There is a distinct ritual to women's movement in the neighbourhood. Domestic life is clearest in the early morning: TV is running, kids aren't at school yet, nobody is loitering outside, and there is the occasional sound of pots clanging. In the early morning, they are preparing their children for school, giving them tea and then sending them off. Then they focus on sweeping, doing dishes, and laundry. They need to start early with this, because you can never be sure to have municipal water throughout the day, and it is most likely to stop in the afternoon¹³. Doing laundry early also means the clothes have time to dry before the evening, and so clothes can be brought in (clothes left out overnight are just begging to be stolen); I usually saw laundry hanging only from the early afternoon on.

The TV is on the whole time in most households, and there is usually one person watching inside in the case of large households. Unemployment isn't felt so deeply if you have something to pass the time.

Around 10 a.m. women will make sure to buy some bread, and maybe some *badjias* (fried bean paste) if there is money to spare, to go with the tea for the children who go to school in the second shift or who have just come back. If all the chores are finished, mothers will finally give themselves time to wash themselves, if there is still water. The re-emergence of the sound of pots and the smell of cooking and charcoal fires is in the late morning.

Children are playing in the street throughout the day, but with definite peaks: changes in school shifts means that kids are already in the street on their way home/to school, and so socialise and play a lot more. Going to and from school is also the time when they will buy sugarcane to snack on, or if they have a bit more money on hand, some candy or biscuits. [*When they see a white person, the usual request is for bolachas (biscuits), which represent the ultimate treat.*] Sugarcane and little packets of *molina* (a mix of peanuts and sugar that tastes a bit like peanut butter but is much more brittle) are the standard local snacks.

¹³ One of the big aspirations in life is to be able to invest in a *bomba* in order to be able to rely on a constant supply of water. Otherwise the next best thing is to have an old barrel to fill up when water is available. The *bomba* comes with big black plastic tanks – usually marked *Jojo* – that store the water in elevation.

Once chores are finished, usually around 14:00, women will begin socializing in earnest, especially if they have already gone to the market to buy more bulk items. Intersections are key sites for casual social interactions: chatting, gossip, smoking together, place to play football. It is at this point that you notice how many things in the street serve as an improvised seating space. There are no benches, but the concrete steps of *lojas* that are not in use, the sides of the *valas*, half-destroyed chairs brought from the house, and concrete blocks, all serve as improvised resting places that favour *bate-papo*. Choosing one over the other depends on where the conversation started, the time of day and related position of the sun, how hot and windy it is, and what activity they were in the middle of when they started chatting. The heat (or rather, lack thereof) also influences how many people are in the street: on a cloudy, windy day, there seems to be almost nobody.

This rhythm of chores-then-socializing only applies to those women who do not also have a commercial activity; many have a *loja* attached to the house, and will multi-task their housekeeping with selling products from the little room. You can hear pots clanging in the background when you stand at a *loja* and call '*sua licença*' (standard greeting in Portuguese: literally 'may I have your permission') to let them know you'd like to buy something. Some houses will have a hairdressers' activity where one or more members of the household (both men and women) will fix up the neighbours' hair. Many women will sell goods on the street in *bancas* and *barracas* not far from their homes, and will continue to manage their (older) children from there. The (older) ladies that hold *bancas* or *barracas* will usually doze off in the late morning, sitting in their plastic chairs, when not many people are buying from them. *[I don't think I ever saw someone buying from Victoria; coconuts and peanuts must be a special occasion thing.]* *Lojas* and *bancas* are not occupied all the time; they will sometimes go unused for weeks, months, or years at a time if the person who owns them cannot afford to make the first investment in stock. This does not mean they aren't being used as social spaces though.

Though most of the movement in the *bairro* is outwards in terms of people, there is also significant activity in terms of the movement of goods *into* the *bairro*. Trucks (4x4 bakkies) come by to re-stock the small shops, or *txovas* come in laden with goods. Mass-produced bread must come in at some point in the day, though it remains a mystery to me at what time that is, because all of the bread sold is exactly the same, and there are no local bakeries. Sometimes bigger trucks will come in on Carlos Cardoso with crates of soft drinks and beers to stock up the bars.

On Sundays, the rhythms change. The streets are not necessarily busier, most people are at home with their families, but the composition of who is on the street differs slightly. There are much fewer *bancas* (Artemisia, Victoria, and Angelina weren't there), but still a couple (people have to eat; and it goes both ways). The *loja* on the corner of the *casa piloto* is still opened, and the bars open earlier than on weekdays. Those walking in the streets have a different purpose to their walking. Most of them are coming back from church, doing some quick errands, or visiting someone. Young men are more present and travel in groups of 2-5, but they are just strolling, with no urgent destination in mind. Most people are wearing their 'Sunday best'. This is especially the case with the women, as a lot of them are wearing their white church clothes and their best or newest capulana. The Casa Minha workers are not present on Sundays, and so the quarter returns to a relative silence, without the sound of a buzz saw droning in the background. The thing that breaks this silence is the loud music emerging from one of the many bars of the neighbourhood, which is buzzing with men in various stages of drunkenness throughout the day.

3.4 HOME AS A SPACE OF EMBODIED PRACTICES

Following the assemblage operationalization of Baker and McGuirk (2017), I will look at sites as spaces of embodied encounter; sites as spaces in which practices and things come together to make place. Following the dweller, we focus on the innermost space of dwelling – the home – and look at how the home is made and used in everyday practices.

The home is almost synonymous with private space, but more broadly incorporates all spaces in which one dwells. Traditionally, dwelling and the home are considered bound to each other spatially, but we will find in this section that the dwelling space tends to stretch out into border spaces and the public space. ‘Home space’ is not space-bound, but fluid¹⁴. For the sake of readability, I will first consider only private space – i.e. the plots of land allocated a private entity – and consider dwelling in the public space in the next chapter when I consider interactions in public space.

BUILDING A HOME: DWELLING IN PRIVATE SPACE

Building is a sub-section of dwelling, and thus it is important to address how people build. People build primarily following the notion of the *casa evolutiva* (a term developed in Latin American literature). This means that a house will not be built into its final form from the get-go, but rather that it evolves with the needs of the household. In Mozambique, people will usually start with a *dependencia* (secondary building) at the back of the compound, and then save up money to build the main house, in the hopes that then they can build the main house much more elaborately. However, most families never end up acquiring the money necessary to build the main house, and continue to live in the *dependencia* for at least a generation. They will otherwise build one room at a time, or one wall at a time, depending on the needs of the family and their desire for increased comfort, status, or indoor space.

A household almost never builds with the intent of renting out, renting is usually an opportunistic behaviour where a room is available and can be then turned into an income. There are some more rare occasions of single mothers especially using their excess income to build a room specifically for renting.

Building is usually a very slow process, with materials bought whenever there is some excess income. For example, I saw a pile of sand in front of Athena’s house that had been standing there for several years in the expectation that more money would come in to eventually make cement to build an outer wall. Piles of bricks – leftover from previous builds or bought in anticipation – are often seen lying around in a compound.

Building rarely implies following building codes, as this would mean paying to obtain a permit at the neighbourhood secretary: a long and tedious task. Many rooms have windows that have been bricked up after being initially left as open space. This is most likely because buying windows is more expensive than bricks, and so a family on a tight budget cannot afford to leave a gaping hole in their wall while waiting to have enough money to put in glass.

¹⁴ Instead of the usual public-private duality (which I will largely use), one could also use the duality of indoor vs. outdoor space, as this breaks the usual boundary between private and public, and can lead to a better understanding of how people use and understand their use of space. Indoor space is necessarily private, but outdoor space blends between the private and public, as we can see domestic practices, and thus dwelling space, extend beyond the border of the household plot that would formally be considered the border of the private.

Following the rural building tradition, many compounds have several different freestanding buildings (rooms) that have a dedicated purpose. Building everything under one roof is considered the more 'modern' and urban style of building. There is often a dedicated space for different domestic activities. Bedrooms are not used for anything but sleeping, the living room will be used to eat and watch TV. Costa (2005) observes that in some more traditional households, the man of the house is the only one to sit at the dining table to have dinner. A kitchen is present, but might actually be rarely used for cooking; this depends on whether cooking is done with charcoal or gas. Gas will mean cooking indoors in a dedicated kitchen space, charcoal has to be used outdoors: there is usually a half-covered cooking area used when it rains, or the mobile steel 'barbeques' are positioned anywhere convenient in the outdoor space.

As Costa (2005) observes, most domestic practices – cooking, bathing, dishwashing, laundry – takes place outside in the center part of the compound, even if there is a dedicated room inside. This is because, although the space is there, the space is not adequate for mediating the domestic practices; its material role is not adequate for interaction with the human entities that need it to dwell (e.g. no natural 'drainage' indoors, so can't just throw out dirty washing water, need to be outside in order to be able to do this, since there is no plumbing). Just having a dedicated indoor space with four walls and a roof doesn't make it into a functional space for dwelling.

Although it first appears that members of a household are very static in their dwelling, there is actually a very significant mobility of individuals that Costa (2006) discusses in terms of urban-rural dynamics. Extended families are spread out over multiple spaces, and these spaces come together to form a dwelling space that is used varyingly over the year(s). Most people buy a plot of land in the hopes that this will become their final dwelling space. But, due to changing circumstances, particularly economic circumstances, households will often move neighbourhood. These changing circumstances can also include broader changes in the land and housing market, and other formal and informal urban markets (Costa, 2011) For example, a large scale apartment complex project, such as those found on the other side of the Julius Nyerere, could mean the displacement of dwellers to make way for the new buildings. But, the new buildings, if associated with increased infrastructures (especially secondary roads), can lead to further independent construction, raising the price of land, and thus making it a viable strategy for families to sell off their land.

MAKING A LIVING: THE USE OF PRIVATE SPACE FOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Many daily practices are mediated by economic activities that revolve around the household 'making a living' (or surviving, depending on how comfortable they are). The formal employment sector in Mozambique is proportionally small, and cannot accommodate all economically active individuals. Thus, in working to make a living, the use of space is heavily mediated by so-called 'informal', or other-than-formal, as well as more 'formal' economic activities.

It is commonplace for families to have an extra room built to serve as a *loja*. It will generally be a small room, with a cast iron 'window' that serves as protection and separation from the customers. The access door is usually located within the boundaries of the compound, so that it can be accessed only from inside the private space. This is the case even when there is no fence that formally delineates the street from the private compound, and so although the access point may appear to be publicly accessible, in practice this would already represent crossing over into private space. The extra room attached to the house can also serve as a hairdresser, or any other small business that a member of the family would like to develop.

Although women are not always the main breadwinners in the household, they are often unofficially responsible for ensuring that the family has enough to eat (Costa, 2005). As a result, women will engage in economic activities – monetary or other – that ensure food is on the table at the end of the day (*ibid.*); they will tend to ‘hustle’ to make extra money on the side of the main income. For example, any extra rooms in the house can be used to generate an income by renting them out. Women will often use their ‘home space’ to make goods to sell in the street (e.g. food, soap). If they continue to have a connection to rural spaces – through family connections, or ownership of a piece of land – or some other form of cultivatable land, then they will often cultivate some key crops to supplement to family income.

3.5 SYNTHESIS

In this chapter, the assemblage has been described from the perspective of the entities that compose it, and the rhythms and sites that make up daily practices. We can observe that many of the practices most evident are those domestic practices that make up dwelling. Socialising and play are also crucial in the daily use of public space, and in making this public space into part of the ‘home space’. Economic and provisioning practices are also important, not only in mediating socialisation, but also in creating specific relations between the neighbourhood and spaces outside of the assemblage, such as *machambas*, the Zimpeto market, or the city centre. Casa Minha’s building is also a part of the new dwelling from entities entering the assemblage, as they are very quickly altering the built up space to mediate a new kind of dwelling.

The presence of certain non-human entities mediate a lot of the dwelling practices that dwellers engage in. They also transcend the public-private distinction in many cases, and will move fluidly between these spaces, often through the actions of dwellers, but also because of the agency of other non-human entities.

What we see is that everyday dwelling practices are essential in stabilising or territorialising the assemblage, through the everyday repetition of habits, rituals, practices. We will see in the next chapter that this territorialisation is then challenged by ‘external’ human entities that are part of the assemblage but do not *dwelt* in the assemblage. The intervention of these entities in place making is notably spatial, and takes place in the more contested public space.

CHAPTER 4: INTERVENTIONS IN SPACE, THE INTERACTION BETWEEN DWELLING AND PLANNING

This chapter addresses the second sub-question: *How do dwelling practices interact with formal planning in Maputo?* This question can be broken down into an interaction between three different human entities: dwellers, Casa Minha, and the ‘formal nexus’. It looks at the second layer of investigation: the interaction between people’s practices and planning.

The dwelling practices discussed in Chapter 3 are contrasted with planning practices, in order to understand how they interact and in this process make place. Dwellers are involved primarily in dwelling practices, whereas Casa Minha and the formal nexus are involved in planning. The overlap between these two practices takes place primarily in building practices. The interaction between practices is characterised by processes of de- and re-territorialisation – i.e. dis-assembly and re-assembly or dispersion and gathering – which are a result of labours of assembling. When labours of assembling converge, they stabilise the assemblage, but when they diverge or contest one another, then the assemblage becomes temporarily de-territorialised and assumes a different configuration. This results in a discussion of power, understood here as the capacity of an entity to de- and re-territorialise the assemblage. The point of this chapter is to show the ‘comingtogetherness’ of things in sites and how this makes place.

The chapter is structured following the various sites of interaction of dwellers, Casa Minha, and the formal nexus. This shows the spatial implications of relations between entities in the assemblage. First the formal nexus will be introduced briefly, and then various sites will be discussed, going from the private to the public. Casa Minha will then be discussed as an entity that de- and re-territorialises the assemblage in their interaction with entities. Finally, assembling in the assemblage is discussed in light of what makes the assemblage coherent.

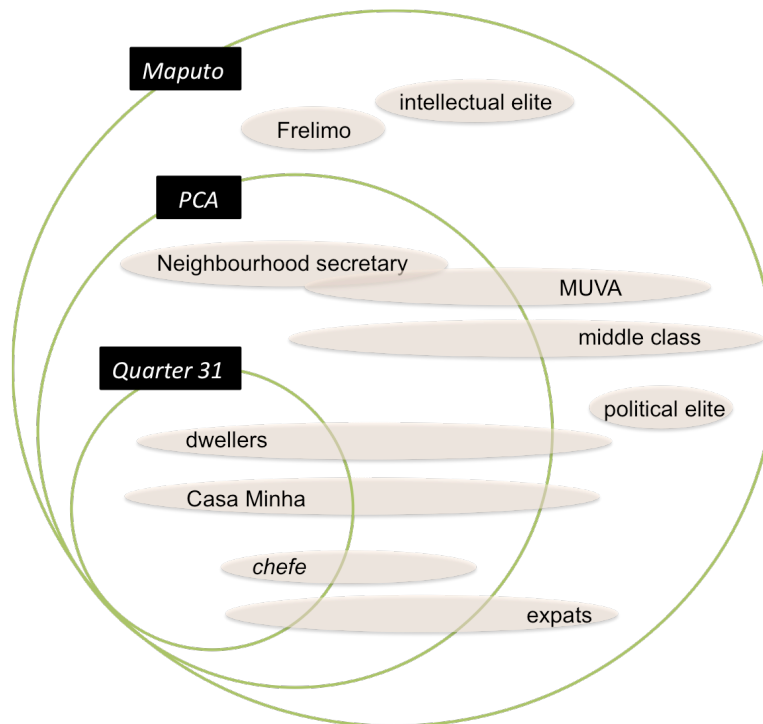


Figure 4: An overview of the spatial presence of various human entities in the assemblage and spaces within which the assemblage is embedded.

4.1 THE FORMAL NEXUS

The following human entities make up what I will refer to as the ‘formal nexus’. This nexus consists of all institutions and organisations that play a role in ordering (planning, managing) the PCA neighbourhood (or Maputo – or Mozambique more broadly). In Figure 1, we can see that these entities are varied in their spatial presence, and do not always interact directly with the spaces (or sites) located in PCA. The level of interconnection between these actors is very high, both in the professional as in the personal sense. Knowledge institutions are also an important part of this nexus, as they work to generate data about the city in order to make it legible for intervention. Narratives about the city, such as the *cidade cimento* vs. *cidade caniço* distinction are thus reproduced through these entities, and have material effects on how PCA is planned for.

Expatriates and the Mozambican middle class work in the formal employment sector: primarily for **international NGOs, consulates and embassies, and businesses**. They are connected in the workplace, and this is where Casa Minha spreads the word about their project to potential buyers. The international development community is heavily involved in all aspects of community development, though they are not intensively present in PCA. They have been directly involved in setting up or working in NGOs such as MUVA and Vamos Djobar.

MUVA is an NGO that focuses on young women’s economic empowerment and inclusion in the workforce. It is funded by the British government and managed by Oxford Policy Management (Club of Mozambique, 14 Nov 2016). I met with a number of people enrolled in the MUVA traineeship programs who live in PCA, and they have a clear vision for their economic future. This is a vision of progress and entrepreneurship. They are in close contact with Casa Minha in order to discuss setting up a civil society organisation that would help the neighbourhood grow. They play an important role in developing dwellers’ capacities to become (self)employed, and thus increase the quality of life in the *bairro*.

The role of MUVA is to empower the younger generation in their capacity to create economic opportunities for themselves, and thus dwell as they would *like* to rather than how they *have* to. This is fundamental to the emerging change in attitude that visible in the neighbourhood. Being able to do something means that one has higher chances of finding ways to be economically productive: either through employment, though this is a difficult route, even for most technical trainings, or through entrepreneurship.

The *chefe de quarteirão* (quarter chief), Sr. Siteo, is the first line of government authority that dwellers and anyone who wants to do anything in the quarter (administrative unit of 6 blocks, approximately 60 plots) must go to. Approval is key, and cannot be found a way around. The *chefe* facilitates all paperwork and official permission needed for personal or other projects, and also keeps tabs on all that is happening in his quarter. He is the main regulatory element in the Mozambican political system, and is a leftover from when the single-party structure was in place. It can be argued that the function he serves is still very socialist in nature, although the government has officially moved towards a more liberal and republican model. There is a unit slightly bigger, called an *unidade* (unit), comprising 20 *quarteirões* (quarters), of which Sr. Siteo is also the *chefe*; he thus wields a lot of power at the neighbourhood level.

The *secretaria do bairro* (neighbourhood secretary) manages the whole neighbourhood (approximately 46,000 people in the 2007 census; Moreira, 2014), and has a small administration to help support them in this capacity. The *secretaria* is reputed to be a wise woman, commanding the respect of those in her neighbourhood. She has many dreams for the future of the neighbourhood, hoping that it will one day match the richer neighbourhoods in the city center in terms of facilities and infrastructure. Her administration is the main government entity responsible for the legal paperwork dwellers might need.

MAKING PLANS: CASA MINHA, THE SECRETARY, AND MUNICIPALITY

Casa Minha, in order to obtain legitimacy and formal backing to intervene in PCA, drew up the *plano de pormenor* (detailed quarter-level plan) and presented it for approval to the municipality of Maputo. The plan had to fit within the structure put in place by the *Plano Parcial de Urbanização* (PPU), the neighbourhood-level plan that was developed by PROINTEC, a Spanish consultancy firm, contracted by the municipality. The detailed plan was approved, and since then, Casa Minha has been working closely with the neighbourhood secretary for any building permits and other bureaucratic approval for the implementation of the plan. They regularly present their progress to both the secretary and the municipality, as this is part of the accountability structure. In exchange for this, Casa Minha expects full support of both the municipality and secretary in the process of implementation. This involves smooth granting of building permits and DUATS – a legal document proving legitimacy of an entity's access to land, and a necessary element of the regularisation of land use in Maputo. This process is, however, not always as smooth as wished, and the building process has been stalled various times due to bureaucratic slowness. This means that Casa Minha has to expend significant energy in ensuring that these documents are obtained, something that costs them quite a lot of money in terms of labour hours.

ENACTING PLANS: CASA MINHA AND THE CHEFE

Casa Minha explicitly recognises the authority of the *chefe* in the quarter, and will consult with him for all matters regarding the community and communication with the community. They see him as the necessary ‘gate-keeper’ into the *quarteirão* and treat him with (almost excessive) respect; he is the replacement figure of the village chief, and not involving him in major decisions would result in a political *faux pas*. Both Casa Minha and the *chefe* use each other’s status and authority to further their own goals. The *chefe* sees Casa Minha as a way to preserve his quarter, and the way of life that people lead in the quarter, whilst still improving quality of life. As a (primarily) foreign organisation, the *chefe* sees Casa Minha as an authority on development, particularly in terms of setting goals and a vision for the neighbourhood. Opposition to Casa Minha is taken as a personal opposition by the *chefe*. However, he does not risk his personal authority in favour of promoting Casa Minha.

Both the *chefe* and Casa Minha (re)territorialise the assemblage. The *chefe* tries to keep the status quo, and so maintains relations as static as possible. Together they have introduced a new element into the assemblage – the new form of dwelling through different materiality of houses –, and thus first de-territorialise and then re-territorialise the assemblage. This re-territorialisation takes both a material and expressive role; material in the sense that the urban form is changed (in both private and public space, by Casa Minha’s construction intervention), and expressive in the way people talk about the neighbourhood and change the way they frame it. Members of Casa Minha will almost inevitably meet with the *chefe* at his home; he is impossible to find otherwise. I only saw the *chefe* come up to the Casa Minha office, and this was because *he* was the one who had a favour to ask of Casa Minha (as opposed to the other way around, which is usually the case).

MAKING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD LEGIBLE: PLANNERS AND SCHOLARS

There is a disproportionate amount of research being done in PCA compared to other Maputo neighbourhoods, and this is largely due to its proximity to the UEM: students will choose it as a case study out of convenience for their theses. In addition to this, there is a lot of international writing and interest in PCA as well, that make the neighbourhood more ‘legible’. This naturally territorialises the neighbourhood in certain ways, as researchers continue to cross-reference each other and use each other’s assumptions about the nature of the neighbourhood to pursue new knowledge. *[I am entirely guilty of this, of course.]* Casa Minha has been encouraging this production of knowledge about PCA in an effort to make their model better known and to make the space they are intervening in more legible, and thus more apt to intervention.

The PPU is another tool through which the neighbourhood is made legible and more open to intervention. It creates a variety of artefacts (non-humans) such as zoning maps, PowerPoint presentations, and renders that show the current perceived state of the neighbourhood, and contrast it with the desirable future of the neighbourhood. They show a ‘before’ and ‘after’ intervention that fixes, or (re)territorialises the assemblage. The PPU will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

NGOs are the main planning implementers in Mozambique. There is an overall planning structure that has been created by various administrations over the years, but there is little capacity for implementation of the various plans; in the case of the *plano de pormenor*, citizens or organisations like Casa Minha can present one they have made and get it approved by the municipality, but they are then responsible for implementation. The interaction between NGOs and the government is of a high intensity. This is sometimes perceived negatively, as it is seen as a form of government control over

all elements/dimensions of planning. This means that NGOs are highly implicated in the direction of planning in the country, but do not have autonomy in goal setting.

4.2 INTERVENTIONS IN PRIVATE SPACE: ORDER-MAKING AND CONTROL

It can be noted that the primary top-down interventions in space by the state are in order to establish order and to control uses of space. This dynamic of control – as opposed to e.g. enabling dynamics – means that dwelling is constrained by planning, but also rebels against planning in small, everyday ways. The most disruptive practices performed by Casa Minha or the formal nexus are building practices, as these have the most tangible spatial implications. They also have wide ranging implications for dwelling, e.g. by increasing land prices in the neighbourhood, leading to unintended displacement of original dwellers.

The home space, or private space is most difficult to ‘change’, though Casa Minha is giving their best effort to have an impact on the private sphere, this is also where people will be most reluctant to cooperate if they feel it’s not in their best interest. In order to have more of an impact on private space, Casa Minha has to better adapt itself to the dwellers’ dreams, their dwelling practices, and their practical constraints (e.g. monetary, family size). Once building takes place in the private space, it has a tendency to remain for extended periods of time, remaining visible even when it is replaced by newer constructions and no longer used in dwelling, as is especially the case with old walls or rooms that fall in disuse. The archaeology of cement shows the durability of different periods of dwelling and its impact on urban form: the materiality of the assemblage.

Private space is here defined as plots of land that have been allocated or bought by specific human entities, be they family groups of various types, or merely individuals, or private entities such as Casa Minha. Private space is dweller-dominated in terms of the agency of entities, and is territorialized internally by dwellers. There are attempts by formal planning to regulate this, but these attempts are mostly effective in terms of allocating land, not in terms of regulating how people actually make use of said space.

Casa Minha tries to influence the use of private space on an expressive and material level, by introducing an aesthetic level that should be met by houses in their area of intervention. They also limit the spread of private space in to public space by widening streets back to their originally prescribed width (6 meters). By influencing private space, Casa Minha hopes that they may positively impact how the neighbourhood ‘presents’ to outsiders and potential buyers.

The regulation of private space is an interesting aspect of planning, as there is formally a set of building codes for all new buildings (taken from Portuguese building codes dating from the 60s); thus, when applying for a building permit, these codes have to be considered and respected. However, most buildings in PCA did not apply for a building permit, or did not respect these codes. This is in part because dwellers will not realise there is such a necessity, or will actively avoid regularisation (for fear of being restricted or punished for previous irregularities), or cannot afford it. Hence, the formal regulation of private space is in practice not very effective. Similarly, it does not seem that activities taking place in private space are formally regulated: e.g. in the case of having animals such as geese, ducks, chickens, or pigs. The sociocultural norm is to be able to keep whatever a household requires for sustenance; it did not appear that any (large-scale) commercial breeding was taking place in the

quarter (or anywhere else in the *bairro*); people may still sell a duck for extra income.

The *chefe* is the primary authority regulating dwellers' lives. He is the one that assigns plots to newcomers (or at least historically was, as there are no longer empty plots in this quarter); he remains up to date on the economic activities of all households, as well as their political affiliations; he is the first administrative contact when deciding to start a home-improvement project or a new para-formal activity in private or public space. The *chefe*'s power is perceived as overwhelming and controlling most of the time, but his role is not always well understood. For example, a lady selling produce on the side of the street had not thought that she might need to ask him for permission to be able to sell her wares. The choice to 'formalise' or 'regularise' an activity often falls to the dweller and their willingness to interact with the local administration; this is also true regarding obtaining building permits or official licences for business from the neighbourhood secretary.

BUILDING AS THE MAIN RE-TERRITORIALISING PRACTICE

Casa Minha's building practices has a lot of potential for changing the urban form of the quarter, though it is mediated by resistance to and contestation of their interventions, demonstrated in dwellers' willingness to participate. Their consistent use of 'modern' construction materials brings their houses in the direction of 'modernity'. They also directly contrast to the current materiality of the neighbourhood, first because they contrast with the more 'traditional' or *caniço* materials in terms of the expressive roles of these, but also in terms of the configuration or use of the more 'modern' materials, where concrete is used to create durable buildings according to modern building standards. Where a self-build in a household will have various phases spread out over multiple years, giving time to the materials to adapt to the changing needs and circumstances of the household over time. A Casa Minha build, on the other hand, is done rapidly, moving a household from one state to another without any transition or adaptation period. It also configures the modern materials in a more structured, 'designed' way that impacts the quality of the build, but also its upkeep needs. This influences the future requirements of the building on the household, and gives more agency to the house as it exerts power over how the household dwells.

In contrast, dwellers' construction practices can also re-territorialise the assemblage if combined with greater access to economic opportunities. Because they are dependent on a more or less consistent and significant in flow of money for buying materials, access to economic opportunities increases the potentiality of space. Having money means being able to build, and thus enact change on the materiality of the assemblage.

The role of money in enabling material transformations in the assemblage is important: having 'big money' means being able to materialise your vision. Alternatively to 'big money', the right connections to people in positions of power – due to money or their political position – and thus the right network also help to materialise dreams and visions. This is why socialising can remain a key 'glue' factor in re-territorialising the assemblage; much of the labour of assembling can be done by mobilising the right entities. Business as usual is very powerful, as people will prefer stability to change on the short term. It seems that in the end, change-making potential lies in a lot of practices, but the enabling factor is access to 'big money' (short term), or to slow progressive change in everyday place-making or dwelling practices, related to a wide variety of factors (long term).

The general trend is towards the homogenization of building materials towards cement (business as

usual, but replacing current dwelling which is quite ad hoc), replacing all organic materials, and thus reducing the possibilities of dwellers to source building materials in their direct environment. Homogenization of materials also means that the neighbourhood will aesthetically give a greater sense of order and development over time. These are changes that can be observed in other suburban neighbourhoods of Maputo.

By attempting to involve community in the development of the neighbourhood, Casa Minha has taken a different approach to the traditional top-down state-led planning. It is almost a private-sector version of a participative planning approach. The architectonic model that they propose is quite different from other private-sector construction projects, and thus diverges from the standard visual aesthetic that dominates all 'new' neighbourhoods that have been built on the Sommershield II aesthetic. This difference, however, is also viewed with some suspicion, and as not immediately desirable, as it does not conform to the 'standard' luxury developments that are so dominant in both condominium and self-build projects. The dwellers still respect Casa Minha's proposition, they will never say it is a 'bad' model, but will merely argue that it does not 'work for them'.

4.3 BORDER SPACES: SITES OF CONTESTED USE

The border spaces generate a lot of tension within the assemblage, as they are the most susceptible to contestation of uses between actors. Especially in a case such as PCA where there has been encroachment of plots into the public space (i.e. street), or into other dwellers' plots, it is difficult to say who has the legitimacy of use of a space.

Change is most likely to occur in the most contested spaces of the neighbourhood, such as street corners and main roads. This is because the dominance of an actor in such contested spaces is not stable, and changes in composition of entities in spaces is most likely to change the way in which that space is used. The Carlos Cardoso road, in terms of the car-dedicated space, is already quite 'fixed', but the uses on the side walks could be impacted, as these are most visible to outsiders, and therefore Casa Minha may want to influence this as much as possible. This might mean that once the connection road is built between Nyerere and Cardoso¹⁵, the activities currently taking place on the sides of the *cova* could be affected (e.g. kids playing, animals grazing). There might be an increase in street vending on that street once the road becomes an important access point for the neighbourhood. As a key access point to Julius Nyerere, this connection road may also become a site of mobility for more entities than just cars, thus reducing the mobility of that intended user, as it is forced to slow down, or use less space on the road, as the space becomes shared by different entities.

The corners on the inside of the neighbourhood are also important, as they are sites of socialisation and economic sites, apart from being sites of mobility; if they become fully functional as mobility spaces, then all the other practices that currently take place on them would be threatened (though many main roads in Maputo beg to differ, e.g. the N1). However, we see that with Casa Minha's vision of the pedestrian city strives to maintain this multi-use of space.

The border between private and public space, often materialised in the form of border walls or some other physical barrier, is an equally contested space, and this was particularly noticeable in the case of

¹⁵ Casa Minha has entered in a partnership with the ILO to formalize the road that connects the Julius Nyerere with Carlos Cardoso on the north side of the Cova 2000.

the old lady who refused to collaborate with Casa Minha by tearing down her old wall to help in an effort to widen the street. The reasons for her refusal were complex and not limited to her as an individual, but it showed that although Casa Minha has urban ambitions linked to voluntary participation, the latter might negatively impact attempts at order making.

One of the self-identified most powerful moments of Casa Minha's intervention in the neighbourhood was when they (Casa Minha and members of the community) pushed down the wall of a house that would be entering into the project; signalling the end of an 'era' and the freeing up of public space. Although this is indeed an instant that dwellers remember, there is a contrasting moment that contradicts this 'success' on Casa Minha's part. When paving the R. 3644 that leads up to their office, they encountered a problem with one of the dwellers, which refused (and continues to refuse) to tear down their outer wall. This resistance to Casa Minha has taken on a symbolic value, representing the 'older generation' of dwellers who are generally less open to change and intrusion from outsiders. It also is visually significant, as all other dwellers agreed to move back their walls to accommodate the proposed street width, and thus this wall literally juts out as a symbol of non-compliance. Due to Casa Minha's position of non-displacement and community negotiation, they have no way to make this dweller comply to the new public order, and thus 'fail' in their task of re-ordering the quarter.

4.4 OUTDOORS, OR PUBLIC SPACE: STATE-CONTROLLED... OR IS IT?

The outdoor, or public, space is more obviously the realm of the state, as they are the ones responsible for the building (and maintenance) of this space. However, we will note that even in these spaces, dwellers tend to dominate in terms of dwelling practices that make place. This is because their everyday use is very effective in determining how space is used in the short and long run; whereas state intervention in public spaces usually determines a use or function, and then 'hopes' that this use will be respected.

REGULATING PUBLIC SPACE USE, USE OF SPACE FOR BUILDING/DWELLING

Private vs. public space is occasionally visually undistinguished, though in practice all space is allocated to someone. Even the street, or parts of the street, is occasionally informally allocated to a certain individual or activity, such as in the case of car mechanics operating on the street. I once witnessed a fisherman fixing his nets in what seemed to be a square, or part of the street – at least it did not at first seem to be part of a household's plot, though through later investigation I found that remnants of a brick wall that might indicate otherwise. As he needed a lot of space, he had claimed a significant amount of this open space for the most part of the day, though he did not block people walking past.

Though use of public space would seem to be primarily regulated by the state, this is highly contested through daily practices, as they end up determining the primary uses of this space. The state only officially intervenes every couple of years at best, so daily practices have an advantage in terms of influence on place-making (is more influential). Even if you have a high-quality street (e.g. paved), it needs to be maintained (by dwellers!) on a 'daily' basis in order to continue to have the functionality intended, but also the 'status' or value element desired (e.g. development of neighbourhood).

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Although it seems that a *laissez-faire* attitude dominates para-formal economic activities in a public space, there is in fact a significant degree of control (and thus power) on the part of the *chefe*. His choice to turn a blind eye to certain activities that did not receive formal recognition means that he may decide at any point to 'crack down' on supposedly illegal street vending. Alternatively, another formal entity, such as the police, could do this, though they presently have no benefit in doing so (unlike in the city centre). However, visually the street vendors exert power in reinforcing their position (and thus their rights) to public space.

The domestic or dwelling space expands what is traditionally considered private space into public space. Apart from dwelling practices, we can also consider the *loja* expands build private space into the public space. This both brings private space into the public, but also brings the public into the private, as the more 'public' practice of economic transactions is brought into the home. Another practice that blurs the boundary between public and private through dwelling is care for public space. For example, I once witnessed a man pouring cement into a hole that had developed in the concrete in the street in front of his house. He was fixing the street, which he had likely covered up in the first place, as he felt responsibility for this particular section of public space, which was thus incorporated into his building practices. Another example of a dwelling practice extending beyond its private boundary is when women sweep the street in front of their houses as part of their daily domestic rituals. Pride in a clean home extends into the street in front of the home. The classic example of dwelling in public space, however, is the use of public space for economic activities and socialising, which merge into each other.

The relationship of Casa Minha with the dwellers¹⁶ is quite varied, and depends on the personal relationships between certain individuals. Although Casa Minha has the more 'formal' authority, partly due to their position of power because of the money and resources that they bring in, but also due to their relationship with local administration and broader international aid community, this authority is contested in daily practice by dwellers. This is especially the case in terms of use of public space. The issue that Casa Minha and dwellers most 'clash' over (though their ideals might be aligned) is the presence of trash on the streets and in the *valas*. Despite Casa Minha's efforts to have a regular clean-up actions – by organising a member of the community who then organises several people to participate in the clean-up – the *valas* especially continue to be full of trash, which negatively impacts perceptions of the neighbourhood by incoming potential buyers.

THE APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE BY DWELLERS FOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The street economy (or informal economy, as it is often called, though in this case a lot of these activities are regulated) consists of a complex array of practices that takes place in the public space that is the street. The sites that economic practices take place in vary in terms of permanence and level

¹⁶ The existence of a 'community' that shouldn't be dismembered through displacement seems a bit like a political construct... do people have this sense of community? It seems that family ties are more relevant, as many people have their parents and other family members living in the *bairro*

of ‘formality’ (in the sense of having been approved by relevant authorities; these include the ‘community’). The *banca* and *barraca* are the two most common sites. You also have the walking street vendors (e.g. the nail polish applicators (they don’t actually sell the nail polish bottles, these would be too expensive), and the street ‘services’ (e.g. car maintenance: car washing and car repair) that occupy the streetscape. These are all sites that are present in all of Maputo, but one that is particular to the study area is the coal depot that takes up the space between the top of the *cova* and Rua Carlos Cardoso. This is a depot that serves to supply the whole of the Polana Caniço “A” neighbourhood, and is an unusual use of public space when compared to the more small-scale, individually based economic activities that characterise the rest of the streetscape.

Because of the un-formalised nature of the use of public space for economic activities, this use of space is more temporary, less ‘fixed’. Although individual vendors may stay in the same spot for years, they will never have a more ‘permanent’ settlement; they remain in zinc/tin-made structures that can easily be moved or abandoned (*barracas*), or simply continue to operate from homemade tables and benches (*bancas*). Large-scale activities such as the charcoal depot may be more permanent in nature, and more formally recognised, but are still open to contestation. Actors such as Casa Minha who aim at developing the neighbourhood, may choose that this activity does not fit within their vision of the future, and act to change the use of space.

Their use of space is always open to contestation, by formal authorities (e.g. the *chefe* or police), or by other dwellers (e.g. those whose wall they are leaning up against). Use, therefore, is negotiated between vendors and between vendors and the *chefe de quarterão* (who is the main regulatory agent at this scale). Occasionally, as was the case for Vovó, their use of space was contested by the owners of the corner house, who were rebuilding their walls and no longer accepted the informal use of ‘their’ corner, possibly due to concerns for the ‘cleanliness’ of the wall, or for questions of image and status. Though street vendors like Vovó may not ask for permission, this does not mean that permission has not been given: the non-intervention of the *chefe* is a non-formalised, non-verbalised consent to/acceptance of the actor’s economic activity. He is well aware that an actor is making use of the space for x activity, but will choose not to do something about it - not *formalise it*, as is his role - in order to allow said actor to continue to make a living.

4.5 CASA MINHA AS A DOMINANT, AND CONTESTED, ENACTOR OF PLANNING

Casa Minha has a lot of negotiating power with the powers-that-be (government entities at multiple levels), and has used this to secure their future. They have also become the implementer of a wider, state-approved planning vision, by taking up the task of developing and implementing the *plano de pormenor*. This comes with a rhetoric of progress, modernity, growth. Casa Minha has more authority and ‘charisma’ as an institution than dwellers, and they use this charisma to convince external actors that their vision is the best vision for the site they chose. Dwellers will intuitively want to agree with Casa Minha’s point of view because they are viewed as being the experts, being more enlightened, and part of an international elite that has a history of influencing development in Maputo and Mozambique more generally; this placement of responsibility for development on the shoulders of Casa Minha and other similar organisations to a certain extent reduces the feeling of agency in effectuating large-scale change in their neighbourhood. Dwellers do not feel responsible for changes in the public sphere.

They also have significant re-territorialising power associated with the resources that they are capable of mobilising: money, support (from individuals and institutions), and people motivated by their cause (myself being a prime example). They are composed of a charismatic group of people who have succeeded in appealing to the wider international community in Maputo, and are capable of using these connections to have access to opportunities for furthering their vision. Their relationships within the assemblage, and their centrality regarding future-oriented discussions and planning, have put them in a position of power and authority. However, these relationships also have the potential to destabilise their position, as they are being simultaneously supported and contested. Their relationship with the *chefe* territorialises their position within the assemblage, but that with some of the dwellers is de-territorialising this position.

There are various tensions between support and contestation of the Casa Minha project and vision. On the one hand, the majority of the vocal dwellers support the vision of modernity and progress that the project puts forward. On the other hand, the everyday practices of dwellers – such as cooking outdoors on coal – openly contest the type of dwelling that Casa Minha has put forward as desirable. This type of dwelling involves a European form of dwelling, with all domestic practices concentrated under one roof as opposed to the more traditional separation of activities across different practice-specific buildings or spaces within one family compound. The type of dwelling also assumes a particular type of family structure, namely the nuclear family with one or two parents, and their children, which contrasts with the varied family structures that Costa outlines as present in Maputo (see Costa 2011). As such, not only does Casa Minha contest the value of specific dwelling practices, but it also challenges the social organisation of dwellers in private space. This has been a major critique on the part of the dwellers, as they argue that the particular spaces that Casa Minha creates do not respond to their dwelling needs.

It sounds cliché, but naturally present non-humans like sand and water are, in fact, forces of nature. This means that they have to be reckoned with when making plans for the future. Indeed, dwellers are not the only entities that contest the Casa Minha vision. Non-human entities, such as sand and waste, also resist the order-making project. This is not a deliberate or value-laden resistance, but it is significant nonetheless in mediating the potentiality of the assemblage. Sand and waste are both symbolically and materially associated with ‘dirtiness’ and ‘unkemptness’, or the failure of management of public space: *disorder*. However, attempting to regulate the waste and sand that appear almost constantly on the streets is a labour-intensive activity. As such, in terms of the labours of assembling required to move the assemblage towards the expressive role of ‘clean streets’, Casa Minha has to spend a lot of energy in territorialising the assemblage in this way. This means that they are very susceptible to a de- and re-territorialisation of the assemblage, as soon as the labours of assembling becomes too much for Casa Minha to manage. Even if sand could be thoroughly managed within the boundaries of the neighbourhood, the wind or rain could at any point in time move sand from outside the neighbourhood back into its borders. As one dweller wisely said, ‘you cannot put cement everywhere’ (Workshop 1).

Casa Minha also disrupts everyday practices and dwelling practices by offering an alternative way forward, one that doesn’t involve the usual processes of change and development, and so dwellers that opt to participate have their dwelling practices fundamentally altered; on the short term because they have to find a new home for the duration of the construction, and on the long term because the change in dwelling space gives rise to different uses of said space. Cooking is notably different if it takes place indoors, especially if the open-plan kitchens are maintained in the majority of houses, as that

arrangement runs counter to several domestic practices, especially when hosting relatives.

4.6 SYNTHESIS: COHERENCE IN THE ASSEMBLAGE, THE MAKING OF PLACE

In this chapter, the assemblage has been discussed in further detail in terms of the relations that make it up, i.e. the ‘comingtogetherness’ or *agencement* that creates it. This *agencement* is how entities come together in space to make the assemblage. There are various labours of assembling and entities that keep the assemblage coherent over time. The *chefe* is one of these entities, as he has overview of the quarter over a long period of time, and manages use of space both in the public and private domain. Dwellers who remain in the neighbourhood over long periods of time also lend some stability and coherence to the assemblage, as they continue to territorialise it in the same way through their daily practices. They may occasionally de-stabilise it through forced mobility in and out of the neighbourhood, but so far this has not led to major changes in the urban form, or materiality, of the assemblage. In terms of labours of assembling, much more than any formal, one-time intervention, the everyday use of place, regularity of practices, and habits that take shape in place and that are part of dwelling are what maintains the assemblage as a residential space that is recognisably the same over time.

Due to the importance of everyday practices in shaping place and stabilising the assemblage, things that disrupt everyday practices and the built form will have a larger re-territorialising potential. Casa Minha, as a de-territorialising force and a new addition to the assemblage, disrupts the habitual labours of assembling of dwellers. On the other hand, they re-territorialise the assemblage in certain ways by marketing it – and thus making it legible to outsiders – in a specific and deliberate manner. We see that academia – both national and international – also make the neighbourhood legible in specific ways, reproducing discourse about the nature of the assemblage over time.

In general it seems that dwelling and planning practices that are related to generating income – i.e. economic practices that are related to place making – are the most directly influential in determining both daily and more long-term uses of place. For this reason, women’s provisioning practices (i.e. finding extra income) are important, because they shape both private and public use of space on a daily basis. Small, other-than-formal businesses make use of available spaces in both the private and public domain, sometimes with and sometimes without formalisation by the state. Women’s maintenance of space also has potential for becoming more impactful on public space, as was witnessed with women’s care for the street-space just in front of their houses.

Formal planning, or the formal nexus, we have seen above, attempt to regulate uses of space and build occasionally in public spaces. Dwellers are more-or-less kings in their own domain, but do have to occasionally deal with the regulating presence of the state on their dwelling, building, and economic practices. They have a strong presence in public space as well, since they are the ones who make use of the space and thus assemble entities in that space as necessary for their daily dwelling practices. Apart from this, we can see below that ‘natural’ non-humans are responsible for stabilising the assemblage, as they create base conditions within which the assemblage operates, and restrict the possibilities of re-territorialisation of the assemblage. Casa Minha – operating at the interface between building and dwelling, state and dwellers – are a dominant but contested maker of place, as they actively shape their area of intervention.

Contested sites include public space, as the state wants near exclusive control over the use of this space, and would ideally like to restrict its use to mobility-related practices and certain pre-determined economic zones. In practice, however, it is used by dwellers for many different practices that at times go counter to the prescribed plan. Corners become contested sites of economic practices between dwellers, and the focus of competition over different uses and aesthetics. Private space use is largely determined by dwellers, but the government and Casa Minha have an ideal of what the private home should look like in terms of built space. There are additionally some dwelling and practice-oriented preferences on the part of Frelimo that are reminiscent of their ideological position on the urban-rural divide, and what they consider to be 'modern'. The use of DUATs is a way for the municipality to regain control over private space, and as such is a tool by which order-making is imposed on dwellers.

Thus, we see a number of points of tension and power relations between formal planning (done by Casa Minha and the government) and the dwellers in their daily dwelling practices. Dwellers are dominant in their private space, though formal planning attempts to regulate the assembling in this space. The 'home' often extends onto the 'street', effectively extending the space of dwelling into public space, and thus blurring the boundaries that the state attempts to establish between different functions of space. Casa Minha operates on the interface between public and private space, and is a mediator between the entities found in these spaces. The tensions discussed in this chapter become even more apparent in the next chapter as we discuss visions of the future of the assemblage.

CHAPTER 5: ENVISIONING THE FUTURE IN POLANA CANIÇO “A”

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the potentiality of space by outlining some emerging visions of the future in the Polana Caniço assemblage, looking specifically at the desired future, as this brings in the imagined potentiality of the assemblage. The chapter answers the question: *What are the various futures envisioned by entities in the assemblage?* The actors whose visions will be focused on are ‘the government’ (as a formal planning actor), the dwellers of PCA, and Casa Minha.

The ‘formal’ planning vision will first be addressed. It can be noted that this is the most verbalised vision, as it takes the form of a series of planning documents and other artefacts such as maps and renders. It is the vision that is put forward by government entities, but is produced in collaboration with other entities. Next, the dwellers’ dreams and visions of the future are discussed. These are more vague and idealised in nature, but often make reference to already-existing materialities – such as an adjacent neighbourhood or a predominant ‘modern’ built form – and to very material ‘lacks’ – such as a hospital or a school. The Casa Minha dream is somewhere in between the formal vision and dwellers’ dreams, as it makes use of maps and renders and other such formal planning tools to make their vision legible, but also uses more value-laden vocabulary to show the ‘ideal’ they have in mind. Finally, the implications of the visions for assembling are considered, particularly with regards to the intersection between the actuality and potentiality of the assemblage. The chapter is concluded with a synthesis.

5.1 THE ‘FORMAL’ PLANNING VISION

The formal planning vision is that of the government bodies which have a role in shaping the urban: namely, the municipality and its low-level administrative offices. Much in line with a ‘modern’, ‘Western’ view on planning, the formal vision is one of formalisation of the urban through regularisation (i.e. paperwork, making the urban visible) and order making by separating functions and activities, and associating them with clear territorial boundaries (i.e. zoning). The government currently feels that it has little to no control over urban space, even over previously planned areas. Thus, through *requalificação* (re-ordering) projects, it aims to regain control over its population and the space they occupy.

Part of this aspect of controlling the urban implies taking responsibility for it, and thus a focus on the provision of services alongside a functioning mobility infrastructure. The government thus has this imaginary of planned development, based on the colonial legacy of how to plan the city to which was added the proto-socialist stage that focused on big state. Frelimo is quite bound to the revolutionary and socialist discourse that gained them support in the independence struggle, but they are not committed to this discourse in practice, and thus cannot respond adequately to the very real neoliberal market conditions that are slowly overtaking any semblance of pro-people development.

In an insightful conversation with Paul Jenkins – a prominent scholar on urban planning in Mozambique – he argued that the dominant imaginaries, those that work and take hold of people’s minds, are those that make space for the middle class. Citing an example of a project he was part of when working for the municipality, they set a standard size for plots of land, which then became the allocated norm without any government interference. Simply because the plan ‘worked’, or rather,

was appealing to those building their houses, it was replicated in ‘artificial planned areas’: new neighbourhoods in the periphery. These ‘artificial planned areas’ reproduced government-based planning structures: including a grid infrastructure, order, fences, and restrictions on street activities. Giving a ‘blueprint’ that works both practically and ideologically for self-builders is key to creating urban order (i.e. planning), according to Jenkins. This is indicative of the success that the *casa evolutiva* (lit. evolving house) or incremental/evolving architecture has had in the ‘self-help’ and ‘self-build’ philosophies of dwelling.

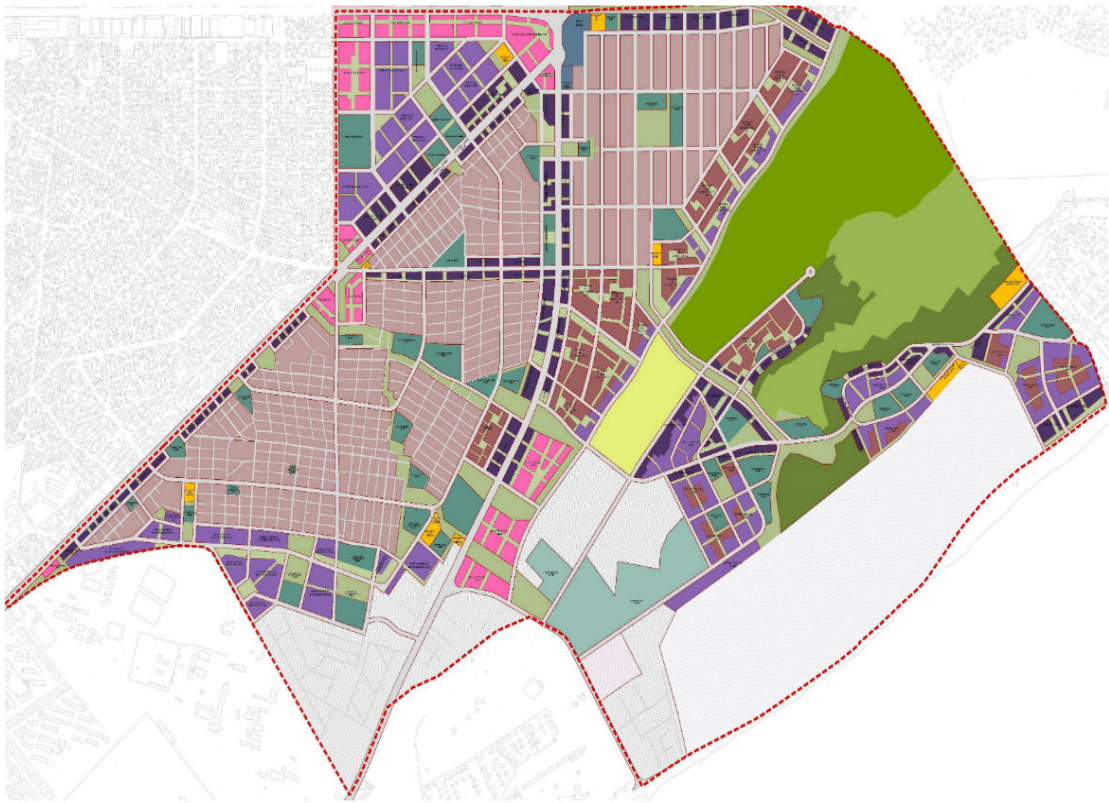


Figure 5: Redevelopment plan developed by PROINTEC (a Spanish consultancy company) in 2015 for the Municipality of Maputo (*Conselho Municipal*), for the Polana Caniço "A" area. Unfortunately, the document from which I sourced this map did not contain a key for the different zonings; I am aware only that the light pink is zoned for residential use to a maximum of 3 stories height (Quarter 31 is part of this zone).

The *Plano Parcial de Urbanização* (PPU; partial urbanisation plan) is one of the key documents regulating land use in the neighbourhoods of Maputo. In the case of PCA, it was developed largely by the Spanish consultancy firm PROINTEC, and has non-displacement and densification as its main objectives. In Figure 1 we see a zoning map developed by PROINTEC for PCA, in which clear zones are indicated for different activities and types of dwelling. The zones mostly correspond with distinctions that are already being made in practice, as is the case with the large green area that is predominantly a golf course and some marshlands.

According to Dobles Perriard, “the principle of densification has turned into one of the master words of the new urban paradigm, repeated relentlessly during the Habitat III conference and in the preparation of the New Urban Agenda” (2017: 40). Notably, it is on these two points that Casa Minha built their strategy. The proposal has the (self-proclaimed) advantage that it does not excessively change the urban structure of the most consolidated areas of the zone. Additionally, it concentrates the

most radical interventions in the area of greatest hydro-geological and environmental fragility, where it is most crucial to stop illegal occupations and spontaneous construction. This is also where the most vulnerable and insecure populations are currently residing – it is thus also conveniently those who are easiest to displace, as they are the least likely to have the right documentation. The PPU focuses on the highest efficiency in terms of the non-displacement/densification ratio. For this reason, the third architectonic typology, multi-level living (*habitações em altura*), is recommended as it has the best relation between resettlements and gaining spaces for public use, it has the least amount of resettlements, people just have to move up (though arguably this is quite a significant resettlement, particularly in terms of dwelling habits).

Another focus of the PPU is on accessibility and mobility, reinforcing internal traversability of the *bairro*, and increasing the minimum street width (from its actual minimum: too small for a car to pass through). Part of this is due to a desire to increase access of emergency services – police, firefighters, and ambulances – but on the other hand it also increases car-based mobility of the population.

Espaço residencial:

Áreas de implantação dos módulos

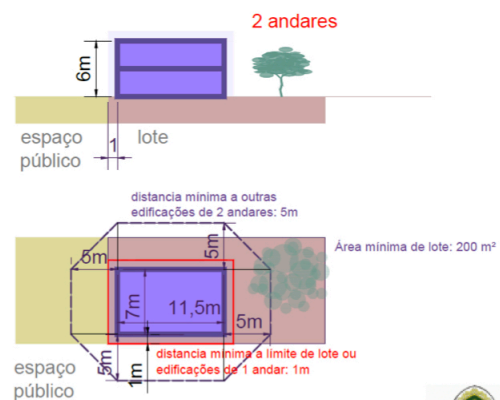


USO: RESIDENCIAL UNIFAMILIAR

EDIFICAÇÃO

Altura máxima:	2 andares (6m)
Dimensões em planta:	11,5 x 7m
Distância mínima ao limite de lote:	1 m
Distância mínima a edificações de 1 andar:	1m
Distância mínima a edificações de 2 andares:	5m

2. Descrição geral do zoneamento



Conselho Municipal da Cidade de Maputo - **PROJECTO DE REQUALIFICAÇÃO DOS BAIRROS POLANA CANIÇO A e B**
Apresentação da versão final do PPU, Abril 2015.



Figure 2: Excerpt from PPU pitch presentation, showing the area of implementation (including the case area), a visual ideal of the housing type, and various technical details. The render of the house is interesting as it is meant to represent the architectonic ideal, and this ideal seems to be quite close to aesthetic values that one can see in Southern African architecture, particularly in condominium-style builds.

The last key element of the PPU is the setting aside of 15% of the land for public services (electricity, water and waste management, etc.) – because the spaces that were previously set aside for these services were progressively encroached upon – and for collective use green spaces (a non-existent luxury at the moment in the *bairro*).

Though the formal vision of planning is state-based and focused on inclusive development, the reality of many of the developments currently materialising in Maputo is one of privately led large scale construction projects, usually resulting in overly-proportioned hotels that remain empty months after their opening, or apartment blocks and condominiums that only a tiny proportion of the population can afford, that also remain largely empty. Interestingly, as we see in Figure 2, the aesthetics that accompany these kinds of developments have become overwhelmingly popular, and are now the ‘obvious choice’ when imagining the future of dwelling. The priorities of the political and economic elite is in investing their money into what is perceived as stable investments, and letting foreign actors invest their money in construction as well.

5.2 DWELLERS’ DREAMS AND VISIONS OF THE FUTURE

I am reluctant to treat the dwellers as if they were some homogeneous group, but for the sake of practicality, I will present the following dreams as emerging from the dwellers, though this may seem an abstract group. These dreams are those that I understand to be important, based on conversations and the workshops I led with dwellers. In the workshops I primarily had participants that were young, married women; construction workers of Casa Minha; and office workers of Casa Minha (these latter are discussed more so in the Casa Minha vision).

Some key dreams that emerged were the return to the homeland, education for children, building a home, and access to goods, services, and infrastructure. I will break these down a bit, as they are key for understanding dwellers’ aspirations, and thus the subsequent value associations in their visions of the future. I distinguish dreams from visions/utopias because they do not have the same quality in terms of guiding practices; dreams usually remain abstract, as vague notions of what one would *like* to happen, but not as a clear directive goal.

The return to the homeland dream was most common in (though not exclusive to) the older generations – such as Avó – who had migrated to Maputo many years ago, often just after independence or the civil war, and left their extended relations behind in favour of job opportunities or following a husband. The dream to return to their home province is associated with returning to a ‘simpler’ life of working the land – a life they used to know – and reconnection with the family group. It indicates a dissatisfaction with urban life and the difficulties associated with it, particularly economic difficulties, as a return to working the soil also means independence and auto-sufficiency that cannot be achieved in an urban landscape.

The dream of education for children, one associated more with young-mom Athena, is one that comes with a reality where many families cannot consistently afford to send their children to school – paying for uniforms and school materials takes a toll on the family budget – and where many children will drop out of school to start working in the informal sector. Though the rate of university students at the Eduardo Mondlane University is rising and the amount of technical tertiary studies available is also rising, there are not many who can afford to not work once they have finished high school. Finishing high school itself is already a challenge for the majority of Mozambicans. Education is seen as the pathway to a better quality of life, as there is the association of education equals higher income. Education is also a mark of status and social mobility. It is a goal that is both realistic and just-out-of-reach at the same time.

Building a home is a dream most present in the younger generations, such as Alberto, who do not own

the home that they live in – it usually belongs, in women’s case, to the family-in-law – and are dissatisfied with the quality of their housing. They would like to buy a cheaper plot of land somewhere in the periphery of Maputo – Marracuene, a satellite town, is often mentioned, as it is not yet overcrowded as is Matola – and have some crops and be able to build a large house from scratch. Andersen et al (2014) also noted that home-making is crucial to people’s sense of self and progression in life: “The very high level of sociocultural importance placed on creating a house/home, which underpins the enormous proportion of (often limited) domestic savings invested; and commoditisation of space has now entered the house plot, with the growth of subrentals as a way to sustain weak household incomes” (Andersen et al 2015: 439). Home making is one of the primary forms of practical positioning of the self in a desired future.

Access to goods, services, and infrastructure is linked to their value as symbols of status but also of increased quality of life. It is a dream that all ideal-types have. Being able to afford buying things from a supermarket – one of the chain-owned South African ones – means you have significant disposable income and can buy higher-end processed goods or produce at a marked-up price. Supermarkets especially are associated with increased goods quality. Access to services and infrastructure such as a steady source of water, paved roads, hospitals, a police squadron, and so on, are all linked to the *melhoramento* (improvement) of the neighbourhood. This dream is particularly linked to the aspiration of looking one day like the *cidade cimento*, or becoming the new Sommershiel II, which are associated with higher overall quality of life.

Beyond these more individually- or family-centred dreams, there are other aspirations for those who wish specifically to remain in PCA. Notably, the ‘ideal urban’ comes primarily from Sommershiel II; possibly because it is most proximate, and encroaching into the PCA space, and thus becomes the ‘way up’ or ‘forward’. When talking to the trainees of MUVA, a recurring expression was “*meu futuro está aqui*” (my future is here); they cited building networks and place-based experience as important in their individual dreams of growth through entrepreneurship.

The aspiration and desired transition towards the characteristics associated with Sommershiel II (discussed by Ribeiro Manhiça, 2016) is an oft-mentioned vision of the future. People see it as inevitable, but at the same time do not imagine how they may be agents in effectuating this change. The characteristics associated with Sommershiel II include improved quality of life, ‘progress’, and modernity. It is change that comes from outside, from Mozambicans with money, or foreigners who invest in construction. In one conversation with a young adult in PCA (in the ideal-type of Alberto), we talked about the new luxury duplexes being built on the Julius Nyerere. These duplexes are completely against the vision of Casa Minha, and very few dwellers, if any, of PCA would be able to afford them, but they represented for him the ultimate desirable house. A large, comfortable, modern house where he could entertain his friends and family, have family visit from other provinces, and have large parties.

The discussion with Alberto made me realise that many of the life goals of the youth is built on what they can see in the *cidade cimento* and its expansion. I suspect that apart from these examples of ‘modernity’ and ‘progress’, the only other architectural ambitions they are exposed to are those present in the *telenovelas*, which usually show ultra-wealthy Brazilian protagonists living in the lap of luxury. The houses built in Sommershiel II seem very much modelled on the ideals presented in the *novelas*, with large decorative elements made out of fake marble, very large indoor spaces, large balconies on every floor (they are almost never used), and luxurious-looking and massively

proportioned furniture (though in the Mozambican case these are more often than not cheaper replicas). Everything ends up oversized.

5.3 CASA MINHA'S VISION OF THE FUTURE

The vision that Casa Minha has of the future is one of a clean, green, community-rich, and well-designed neighbourhood. They envision a much more prosperous neighbourhood, where social classes cohabit, and where quality of life is greatly improved. In their own words, they “dream of making Polana Caniço the reference for a sustainable lifestyle, affordable, walkable, in the midst of a mixed neighbourhood, at human scale” (Casa Minha Lda., 2016; emphasis added), which can be summarised as the compact city. They expressly position themselves against standard developments in the southern African region, following the South African model of which Pretoria is a prime example: they do not want to see the city begin to close itself off and spread itself out in the form of lavish condominiums that push the poor out further all the time. They want an open and mixed neighbourhood, where you don't need to take the car to be able to ask your neighbour for some sugar. This is their ideal of the '*cidade humana*' (human city).

They aim at inclusive development, with non-displacement as a key issue. If one were to consider merely the built effects of the Casa Minha project, it would seem easy to say that they wish to essentially expand the *cidade cimento* into the suburbs, but there are some nuances in this vision brought in by their social ambitions.

The design principles that guide Casa Minha's work are the following: non-displacement, affordable quality, innovative financing, incremental architecture (*arquitectura evolutiva*), planned growth, and community engagement. In themselves, these principles could be considered the vision that Casa Minha has of the future for PCA. The innovative financing shows a new perception of how to bring development to poor communities, through a market-based solution. Non-displacement and planned growth allows them to fit in comfortably within the overarching formal planning strategy. Incremental architecture allows them to incorporate elements of the *casa evolutiva*, which is the main building model for households, into a professional build. It also takes into account that usually households buy to stay for life, but have evolving needs throughout their lives, and may not need a maximum amount of rooms to start with. This also takes into consideration that the starting costs of buying a house that exceeds a household's needs is unreasonable taking into account the economic situation of most households. The idea of community engagement stems from a desire to create a close-knit community, with the same level of interaction as currently takes place, compounded with a desire for dwellers to take control of and responsibility for the development of their *bairro*.

More recently, Casa Minha has begun developing what they call their vision of a 'sustainable lifestyle', which is a new way in which they plan on selling their concept to interested parties: “With the purpose of improving the perception of the project by future buyers and investors, Casa Minha developed the concept of the sustainable life style in the form of a brochure that will be shortly published” (Relatorio de actividades, Janeiro-Junho 2018, translation by the author). In Figure 3 we see a render that was produced in the context of this new vision. In the streets, we see mixed-race and mixed-income representatives, with a continuation of street vending activities, and the continued presence of large quantities of greenery. This is emblematic of Casa Minha's vision: they want to preserve what they perceive as good in the neighbourhood, whilst improving the built environment, which they consider sub-par.

Casa Minha envisions a cohesive, modern, cultural, mixed community living in high quality, compact houses. All houses would be considered '*casa amelioradas*' (improved housing, i.e. made using modern techniques), with nothing warranting the neighbourhood being called a 'slum'. They do not want to intervene in every single house in their area of intervention, considering some of these already '*amelioradas*', being inhabited by middle class dwellers.



Figure 3: Render produced by Casa Minha of the 'typical' street in a re-ordered quarter, with Casa Minha built houses dominating the architectural style.

They also envision a neighbourhood that has adequate urban spaces that have been planned in the better interest of the dwellers as a whole. This includes wider streets and more community spaces, in the form of parks or a community centre. A member of Casa Minha once phrased their hopes as the neighbourhood becoming '*o lado hipster da cidade*' (the hipster side of the city), implying a certain hope of the process of gentrification taking place, even though they are explicitly against the gentrification dynamic (at least as it is taking place in the rest of the city). Is it possible to have inclusive gentrification? Casa Minha would like to show that it is. They argue that the neighbourhood is already 'mixed', giving the example of an ex-National Tourism Director and a judge living there, alongside people employed by NGOs, and those living under the poverty line. Casa Minha's ambition is to bring everybody up – '*subir de nivel todo*' – so as to not increase inequality. They argue that this is what gives their project stability. I would argue that this is also a key selling point, and losing it would render their project significantly less appealing to outside observers as well as local dwellers.

OVERLAP BETWEEN CASA MINHA VISION AND FORMAL (GOVERNMENT) VISION

The imaginary that Casa Minha pursues is very similar to that of the formal view, as they have the same rootedness in Western notions of top-down planning. (Though they have a strong focus on community involvement, this is not to say that they have a *participative* planning approach.) The difference being of course that Casa Minha is a private enterprise doing what is normally considered the role of the state, and thus they herald new forms of neoliberal planning, where civil society and the market are intrinsically involved in the making of urban space. They see themselves as pioneers of

a new way of doing planning, where private actors may take urban matters into their own hands. By bridging the gap between the PPU and the *plano de pormenor*, they have put themselves in the position of *implementers* of the state vision, but not without having added their own input by designing the cadastral plans. Jenkins (personal conversation) argues that the *plano de pormenor* is the *de facto* planning tool in Maputo, and thus having a role in creating this cadastral plan is key if one wants to have an impact on planning in a certain area (limited usually to a number of *quarteirões*).

Like the government, they believe in the importance of abiding by regulations in order to create orderly spaces; this involves things like taking back public space that has been encroached upon by individual's plots. Regulating space and use of space is fundamental to bringing order; this desire to 'reduce chaos' was expressed in a workshop with Casa Minha employees. Interestingly, they considered the city centre to be riddled with chaos, and PCA to be contrastingly quiet, and they wanted to keep it that way.

Similarly to the government vision, Casa Minha holds a modernist ideal of the urban, with order, cleanliness and functional spaces as priorities for the organisation of public spaces. Unlike the government, however, they have a distinct focus on walkability and cities at a human scale (as opposed to a car-dominated urbanism). This walkability is not only grounded in contemporary Western urbanism principles, but also reflects the Mozambican reality in which majority of people still walk to their work place.

5.4 IMPLICATIONS OF VISIONS: POTENTIAL SITES OF CONFLICT FOR URBAN FORM & PRACTICES

In this last section, I will briefly go over the intersection between the actuality and potentiality of place, specifically looking at how the visions interact with each other and with the current state of the assemblage. This intersection indicates where conflicts may occur between different visions or entities that hold those visions, or where practices might run counter to what is envisioned for the future.

A majority of the dreams observed, both of the formal planners as of the dwellers, arise from what is considered as lacking in the current configuration of the assemblage; services, infrastructure, education, etc. The visual aesthetics in the visions are based on what is proximate – especially Sommershield II and the South African building model – or what is visually available on TV. The exception is the vision of Casa Minha, which emerges from their background as European architects and engineers, and thus follows a more European ideal of the compact city and the compact, well-designed home instead of the expansive mansion that follows a more South African model.

Although all of the vocalisations of utopias in the workshops and conversations with the dwellers seemed to point towards ideas of modernity and progress, there were a number of actions that contradicted this apparent homogeneity of points of view across dwellers. *Avó* did not want to tear down her wall in order to make way for a wider street, saying that if they tore down the wall, they might as well get rid of her too. She wanted to be able to keep her ducks in her yard, and was reticent against general change. In another female-headed household, the main reason cited to not participate in the Casa Minha project (which is the most 'obvious' way forward, though this can be contested),

was that they did not want to stop cooking with charcoal. This indicates heterogeneity of visions and positions of dwellers vis-à-vis the Casa Minha project and their own self-projections into the future.

WHO CAN BUILD AND DWELL?

Home-making (the ideal dwelling) dream is key in influencing the private space materiality. It also influences the future mobility of certain households as they seek to move to more sparsely populated neighbourhoods, e.g. in Marracuene, in order to build a bigger house. This is often coupled with a desire to move out of the family house and become independent: to start their own family. We see points of tension between dwellers' building practices – that involve longer time spans and relate directly to dwelling needs – and their home-making dreams – that are more idyllic and focus on status – and Casa Minha's ideal built environment – that involves a shorter time-span, and is not directly embedded in current dwelling practices.

Because Casa Minha takes away the element of self-build, they are taking away a key aspect of how people define progress in their individual lives. Home making is an important way in which familial development is indicated. Since the Casa Minha houses do not represent the middle class aesthetic represented by Sommershield II, they do not have the same aspirational quality that would make dwellers prefer them to a self-build in the urban peripheries. There is a certain discrepancy between the Casa Minha vision/ideal of the dwelling, and people's projections of the future. This is the case for both their realistic projections – where nothing much changes in their socioeconomic status, and thus their dwelling and relationship to their environment/the assemblage does not change radically – and their idealistic projections – where they see themselves ascending to a status beyond their current means and accessing the desired status class represented by the duplex developments in Sommershield II.

The Casa Minha model does not respond to the perceived dwelling needs of current residents in PCA, but rather focuses on the dwelling needs of a(n) (abstract) middle class, who at the moment cannot afford to buy their houses. We see here a conflict emerging around who can legitimately build, and a tension emerging around the importance of building as a dwelling practice that embeds dwellers in place. If home building is such an important part of an individual's life progression, then moving into a pre-made house takes away this possibility of personal growth. On top of this, by telling people they need to 'upgrade' their houses, they are not taking into account the symbolic value of the house (dwellers are aware that it would in fact be an upgrade, but there is no sense of 'ownership' for a house that they didn't work towards building themselves). Perhaps the consultation process is not sufficient in bringing in people's ideal of the home, or they feel that they do not have enough power in stating what their home should look like, and so don't engage with Casa Minha in the first place.

THE ISSUE OF MONEY AND CONFLICTS IN THE MATERIALISATION OF VISIONS

Casa Minha is facing a key issue in their project because the Mozambican middle class does not currently have easy access to credit, and cannot with their savings pay for the Casa Minha houses upfront. This is a problem that could lead to empty real estate, and Casa Minha going bankrupt. Casa Minha's response to this monetary difficulty is moving towards alternative models of financing that do not necessarily imply buying the house outright in the span of a year; they are investigating the possibility of renting out the built houses – something which also implies a change in dwelling in the assemblage – with a new added target group of expats of the lower income range (who are still very

well-paid compared to the average Mozambican).

A key element of Casa Minha and the government's vision is densification, by reducing the amount of ground space each family has. This goes counter to people's vision of 'progress', which is essentially getting *more* ground space (as well as more indoor space). The reduction of space in the vision of the compact city clash with the dwellers aspirations to increasing size of dwelling and furnishings as a sign of luxury and wealth.

Although both the government and Casa Minha have the vision of non-displacement, the requalification process still enacts a form of displacement. Although the population is not re-settled in space (e.g. outside of the neighbourhood), it is resettled in place (their dwelling place), and thus there are still significant changes necessary in dwelling practices for people to continue to feel at home in PCA. In the enactment of planning, there can emerge some conflicts in the materialisation of a common goal.

The bottom line is that Casa Minha has brought in a vision that is very much inspired by having lived in Europe, and that model of urbanisation and relations between neighbours. This vision can feel alienating for dwellers that don't feel like they 'belong' in that mode of dwelling, that 'culture' as they call it. In order for Casa Minha to implement their vision faithfully, it is absolutely crucial for dwellers to accept it, as otherwise the voluntary participation value would become an insurmountable limitation. Casa Minha's ambition is for all dwellers to remain in the neighbourhood, and to join up in the project if they are eligible, but they realistically also agree that some dwellers may move out of the neighbourhood. They hope that those who stay may then stay in good living conditions. But what of those who leave? It is likely that some of the decisive factors in an outward mobility of dwellers may be brought about by Casa Minha's involvement in the neighbourhood. Therefore, economic realities may come to clash with Casa Minha's social goals.

Some of the elements of the visions – such as cleanliness, or modernity – are incompatible with dominant (powerful) entities, particularly non-human, self-perpetuating entities such as sand or (to a lesser extent) waste. The visions are also difficult to implement if they are incompatible with dwelling practices, because the built environment cannot exist without people to dwell in it, and dwellers may refuse to remain in a space if their dwelling practices are too drastically changed or interfered with. It is a risk that if building projects continue to occur that do not take into account dwelling practices, PCA may become somewhat of a 'ghost city', such as what is currently emerging in the city centre of Maputo and in several South African and Chinese cities (conversation with architect, June 2018). Ghost cities are a quintessential example of the materialised incompatibility between building and dwelling; both need to be considered when constructing or planning new spaces.

5.5 SYNTHESIS

We have seen in this chapter that there is some overlap between various entities' visions of the future. Notably, the idea of modernity is a recurring one. The ways in which the visions are expressed, and therefore their potential future materialities, do differ somewhat, and can lead to the destabilisation of the assemblage in the future if they contradict each other. The visions of the government and dwellers are most 'conservative' in the sense that they are based heavily in the current assembling of the neighbourhood, and do not significantly imaginatively re-territorialise it. They focus on what is missing and what can be done to improve the quality of the life of dwellers. Casa Minha takes the imaginative process somewhat further by introducing a different aesthetic – a largely European aesthetic – and following an innovative method of implementation, by involving the dwellers as much as possible without compromising their own ideals. It is of course impossible to say with certainty how PCA may re-assemble in the future, but it seems that the most disruptive, or de-territorialising, vision could be that of Casa Minha.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter the exploration that took place over the course of this thesis is brought to a close. This involves a discussion section, where the research questions are answered and insights are considered in light of relevant literature, a reflection on methodology, and a conclusion that will bring a final synthesis of results to answer the main research question: how is Polana Caniço “A” (re)assembling.

Regarding the original research objectives, it is interesting to consider how these were more, or less, met. The first objective was to understand the (changing, evolving) nature of dwelling practices in the Polana Caniço “A” assemblage, which was met through the exploration of the first and second sub-research questions. Though due to the fieldwork period being only a snapshot in time, I could only guess at the things that are/were changing, based on background reading and people’s interpretations of the assembling process. The second was to gain insights on where and what change is taking place in the assemblage. This, I realised later, is actually a secondary, or differently formulated, objective to the first one, and was a result of my initial focus on transformative potential of practices. As such, it was not analytically useful in the end, but does show that my original focus changed. The third objective was to identify some of the visions of the future that are present in the assemblage. This was the most challenging objective, as it was most prone to misunderstandings. I also was not prepared enough to explain my understanding of it; a better operationalization may have pre-empted some of the methodological issues I encountered. Visions were identified to a certain extent, though obviously in such a framework as assemblage thinking one cannot assume that these visions are fixed, but rather that they are emerging and the product of a specific time/place configuration. The final objective was to use an innovative set of qualitative methodological tools (i.e. arts-based workshops, sensory ethnographic methods). This goal was met partially, as I did indeed carry out workshops, and these provided an essential learning experience. The use of sensory methods in the field could have been more systematically implemented. Perhaps a more systematic evaluation of tools used throughout the day would help to increase the conscious use of varied inputs.

6.1 STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE ASSEMBLAGE: HOW IS PCA (RE)ASSEMBLING?

In order to begin addressing how PCA is (re)assembling, I will first provide some answers to the sub-research questions that guided this research process. The answers to these questions also shed some insights on theoretical discussions on planning and relational place making.

- What are the diverse place making and dwelling practices in the Polana Caniço “A” assemblage?

Through the ethnographic process, it became apparent that domestic, economic, and provisioning practices were particularly crucial for the territorialisation of the assemblage. Their everyday labours, necessary for dwellers to dwell, result in the making of place. These everyday practices tend to stabilise the assembling of PCA, but ‘external’ planning entities will rather de-stabilise and then re-territorialise the assemblage through their one-off interventions in space. Home making is also an important dwelling practice – this seems obvious to say – but the practice of building is essential in this home making process. Notable here is the notion of the self-built house, and the more theoretical concept of the *casa evolutiva*. Both of these concepts refer back to a way in which people dwell, and they both show that the building process is not a single moment in time that forever fixes entities in a particular way. Instead, it is an evolving process that requires constant adaptation to dwellers’ needs.

The role of non-humans in stabilising the assemblage is also to be noted. Entities such as sand, water, and cement are a necessary part of dwelling practices in PCA, as dwelling practices almost inevitably put dwellers in contact with these non-humans. The non-humans present in the current configuration of the assemblage have a notable fluidity of movement; they cross man-made distinctions of public and private, and resist the ordering labours of dwellers, Casa Minha, and the 'formal nexus'. The blurring of public and private is also notable in dwelling practices, as there is a blurring of 'home space' and public space, where home space goes into public space and reduces the practical distinction between public and private.

- How do dwelling practices interact with formal planning in Maputo?

Dwelling practices interact with formal planning in a variety of ways: usually through collaboration or contestation. Confrontation is something that rarely takes place between these two types of practices, as this would imply too much of a deliberate challenging of either of these. The *chefe* acts as the main regulating power in the assembling process, as he stabilises the labours of everyday practices by keeping tabs on all the dwellers activities, economic status, who lives where, and other such dwelling-related information. However, because of the blurred boundaries for dwellers between public and private space, government authority – in the sense of determining uses of space – is reduced. This is particularly the case regarding large-scale interventions of the state that will produce a particular materiality that has a specific intended use – for example main streets – but will be used for a variety of other purposes – for example having a car repair activity. Formal planning is most clear in public space, where roads are the clearest way in which the government builds place. Formal planning attempts to produce a stable order, but is contested in small, everyday ways. Dwellers will contest formal planning through their everyday practices, as well as in moments of non-compliance, e.g. with re-ordering projects.

Casa Minha is novel in that it intervenes as a government-backed entity in private space, and actively tries to improve the living conditions of dwellers and the (built) quality of the neighbourhood. Casa Minha has positioned itself at the interface between dwellers and the state, and has become the main implementer of a formal planning vision in Polana Caniço "A". It is therefore to a certain extent acting as a state proxy, though with some community involvement in the development of public spaces and individual building projects, and generally assuming the authority of 'knowing best' what the *bairro* should look like. Through its role as an entity in the assemblage, Casa Minha has a lot of power on planning practices and framing in PCA. They are major agents for order making, fixing, and thus territorialising, the assemblage.

Regardless of Casa Minha's de-territorialisation of the assemblage, their long-term viability as a private enterprise will be a determining factor in their continued re-territorialisation of the assemblage. It may be that other, more powerful actors take interest in the neighbourhood, and thus choose to take matters into their own hands. For example, a compound in the South African style could be built, bulldozing all current homes and displacing the entire neighbourhood. This has happened before in PCA, in a part closer to the adjacent neighbourhood of Sommersfield II. This is the limitation of the assemblage perspective used only on a snapshot in time: it is difficult to see the continuous re-assembling of place.

- What are the various futures envisioned by entities in the assemblage?

There are certain ideals – or elements of the visions – that seemed universal: ‘order’ and ‘modernity’ were the most obvious of these. These both stand for ideas of progress and development towards luxury, functionality, and visible models of wealth. This seems like a standard development perspective, where development is perceived as linear: with Western models of wealth seen as the endgame. The desire to have access to goods, services, and infrastructure, desired by all ideal-types, is indicative both of this linear vision of development, but also of the material difficulty of improving everyday life in the assemblage. Though PCA has many ways of coping with formal ‘lacks’, dwellers still perceive that life would be ‘better’ if there was more order. Similarly, the ideal urban of Sommershield II is an omnipresent aesthetic amongst most dwellers (who want to stay) and the government. Only Casa Minha, of these entities, is looking to a different style of dwelling that is somewhat less... opulent. They would rather work towards a European-style neighbourhood to develop in PCA, with all its advantages.

Interestingly, the importance of home making came back up again in the dwellers’ visions, including again that of building themselves. Home making of the self-build sort contradicts directly with Casa Minha’s desired re-assembling of PCA. Thus, interestingly, though building does not ontologically precede dwelling – following Ingold and Heidegger – it is still a very necessary part of dwelling. For dwellers in PCA, a space is not as easily a home if they haven’t laboured for its creation, and much less if they do not own it, hence the distaste for renting. Stability is perceived as coming only from owning and/or building your own home.

The desire to return to the homeland, but also a return to the land that is characteristic of Avó’s ideal-type is interesting in that it indicates at the least a nostalgia for a time when provisioning practices were easier, and family life was more spatially condensed (not dispersed over the entire country). Life in an urban environment means relying on a market economy and cash (small money), which can be difficult if the formal economy is not large enough (amongst other reasons which an economist is probably way more savvy to talk about).

Although I tended to speak of visions in a coherent, homogenised manner, there is actually a lot of internal heterogeneity, especially within the dwellers, as there are differences between generations. Overarching ideals such as modernity, progress, and order are espoused, but daily practices often contradict these, and particular opinions also.

6.2 INSIGHTS AND RELATING BACK TO MAJOR SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIETAL DEBATES

I will briefly discuss here my main insights with regards to contemporary (and less contemporary) scientific and societal debates. Though planning tends to believe that it is the only one that can make the city, I would argue that deliberate dwelling – e.g. planning – is not the only way to make place. I would argue that habit, or repetition of dwelling or uses of space, is also key to how place is used and made in the everyday, and over time, how the assemblage is territorialised in a specific configuration. Planning has a more short-term temporal dimension of change; usually composed of one or a series of building interventions delimited to a certain implementation period.

My research process indicated to me the importance of considering dwelling practices alongside planning. This is directly relevant with regards to Ingold's (2000) seminal work on the building vs. dwelling perspective. A dwelling perspective is more based on practices and the everyday, and fits in better with research coming from an anthropological background, and thus also fits nicely with the methodological implications of assemblage theory (as discussed by Baker and McGuirk, 2017). However, the building perspective still gives some insights into the subset of dwelling practices that the state can engage in, even as a non-dweller. In combination, considering both building and dwelling means having more holistic insights into how place is made.

For planning theory this dual consideration is important, as understanding how place is made gives some indication of how to shape future place making. The question emerged in the Chapter 5 on who can build and dwell, which is an important question to consider in light of questions on the 'right to the city'. If the state, or parastatal actors such as Casa Minha, dominates building, then it may risk alienating dwellers from the spaces they inhabit, as they do not have the opportunity to literally make the spaces they would dwell in. The disconnect that is emerging between Casa Minha's building practices and dwellers' dwelling needs is indicative of the age-old difficulty of planning: how do you plan cities that actually work for people (and not just on paper). To be bold, you could even argue that this is indicative of a broader issue concerning the gap between theory and practice in urban planning.

This brings me to consider the importance of the two sides of the assemblage in the form of the actuality and potentiality of place. There is an obvious interdependence between these two, and considering them jointly once again means having a more holistic understanding of place making practices in the assemblage, and how the assemblage is continuously assembling through these practices, or labours of assembling. Interestingly, because assemblage thinking is so committed to looking at what is there without making abstract explanatory claims, it tends to lack this dimension of the 'future' forms of the assemblage. This is because exploring the future is necessarily partly speculative. However, considering how the future is contained in the present configuration, or *agencement*, of the assemblage, yields an interesting discussion on what makes the assemblage re-assemble.

A dwelling lens for future-oriented place making is important in relation to planning theory. This is slightly beyond the bounds of this research project, but considering the participative turn in planning, and contemporary debates on how to make planning more efficient, effective, and relevant to city dwellers, a practice-focused ethnographic approach may be key in understanding how planning operates in a broader dwelling context, and thus understand how it might best operate in said context. This might take the form of a practice-based planning that appreciates that changing the built environment goes hand in hand with how people dwell through practices. Hopefully – as this remains to be investigated – this would make a more human-based and dwelling-based planning process that would better respond to how people actually use spaces. The Home Space project – funded by the Danish Council for Independent Research, and under the management of Prof. Jorgen Eskemose Andersen, in collaboration with Prof. Paul Jenkins and other actors (see their website: homespace.dk) – is a good indication of the kind of research that could lead to this type of more dwelling-based planning. Planning actors need to have a better understanding of how people dwell in order to better plan for their future dwelling.

Planning has a direct impact on people's quality of life in the city, and relates back to the question of the 'right to the city'. Issues of exclusion and gentrification are important for both dwellers and

planners alike. Through planning, the state or other planning entities make place in ways that can be considered inclusive or exclusive. In making PCA ‘legible’ for intervention, the state, international aid actors, and researchers influence whether PCA is seen as ‘planned’ or ‘unplanned’ (i.e. informal). As it is now seen as an ‘unplanned’ area – even though it went through a re-ordering process previously that gave it its current grid structure – it is now open to re-ordering. In this process, ‘order-making’ and control are reinforced as key elements of what is considered formal planning. This is relevant to consider in light of how informality is dealt with by governments in the Global South. It strengthens that narrative that the only way to deal with informality in urban spaces is by regaining control over it (state control).

Although it seems that state control is discursively reinforced in the case study, it is interesting to consider the implications of Casa Minha – a private organisation – becoming planning implementers. Neoliberal planning strategies have become ever-present, particularly in the West, and considering how a private entity does planning is interesting. Particularly in a context where outsourcing planning to private entities is not part of the official state planning strategy, but rather a natural outcome of the flexible nature of the *plano de pormenor*.

Casa Minha’s role in ‘developing’ PCA by building better quality housing is indicative of the general shift towards an increased importance and presence of the private sector in planning. This is important to consider in a context of increased neoliberalisation of the state worldwide. This case brings insights about the potential impacts of such private sector involvement. Notably, there are not as many ‘negative’ effects that would make many scholars intuitively squeamish (myself included). The private sector, in a similar setup as Casa Minha, where they are directly involved in collaborating with dwellers to make new places, may be perceived as less domineering than an all-powerful state. However, there are constraints associated with the conditions imposed by the market: as a private company, there is an imperative to remain financially viable, even if this company has a ‘more important’ social mission. This means that private sector actors can be forced to make decisions that are not in line with the social mission, or with the dwelling needs of current (or even future) inhabitants.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Considering the outcomes of this research project, I would suggest that more research be done using sensory and intuitive approaches, in order to develop a robust methodology. This is especially important regarding the analytical stage of research, as this is often a ‘black box’ that each student has to blindly enter when first undertaking a research project. Similarly, I would recommend developing the use of arts-based methods in a non-European, non-university context, as these are highly generative of insights, and help the (ethnographic) research to better connect with their participants.

The use of the SUSPLACE handbook was highly instructive and challenging, and generated many insights in how different individuals and entities interact, even in a more formal setting such as that of a workshop. Adapting the methods to participants who are not as used to creative exercises of a specific type is important. It is also important to consider the level of education and critical thinking when using this kind of vocabulary; academics have developed a lot of jargon that seems obvious when discussing a research proposal, but becomes much less obvious when confronted to the realities of the field.

Further research should be undertaken on the role of visions of the future, but with a better understanding of how planners and dwellers conceptualise the future. Additionally, the interaction between a dwelling perspective, practices, and planning should be further investigated, as this could yield interesting information about how to do planning differently in a postcolonial context.

6.3 REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

GENERAL METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES

The use of an ethnographic approach with an assemblage theory lens were quite compatible, as assemblage theory brings a more spatial dimension to ethnographic research, as well as a focus on including the non-human in the research. Ethnography and assemblage theory complement each other, and counterbalance each other's blind spots somewhat. This is especially the case when considering the 'labours of assembling', which is a concept that benefits both approaches; it reminded me to think of the assemblage as something dynamic made through practices, rather than just existing in a void.

The use of sensory methods made observations livelier, and were particularly useful when re-visiting memos, as it made it easier to re-imagine myself in the particular situation or moment. On the other hand, because they are not part of the usual ethnographic practices, it was sometimes hard to remember to use them, as I was not classically trained in using them within the context of ethnographic work. I really had to take time to sit down and sketch, or write down observations related to sensory experiences. I always found these moments really fruitful in getting a true feel for the practices happening around me, and made me more aware of small details I otherwise wouldn't have noticed or bothered to write down, like smelling particular foods being cooked. Using sensory methods also helps to remember the non-human elements of the assemblage, as 'just' writing tends to focus on what humans are doing.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE ARTS-BASED WORKSHOPS

Part of the objectives of this research was to test the arts-based workshops developed by SUSPLACE in a non-European context. As such, conducting these workshops provided interesting insights into how to best shape the SUSPLACE format to another context. It must be noted that the purpose of these workshops is initially for transformative engagement. Although there was an element of this purpose in my rendition of the workshops, they were not primarily focused on this transformative engagement, but rather on visioning the (or a desirable) future.

The overall take-away message is that people need to be in the right mind-set for arts-based methods to work. This also means that they need to be used to think in abstract terms about the future, or creatively about the present. In my case, instructions needed to be extremely specific and repeated multiple times – or even changed to something more 'simple' or understandable – in order for the participants to not be confused about what was expected of them. Familiar activities – such as the 'collage' activity in this case – were easier to perform. It felt like if people were not used to 'being artistic', then having to perform artistically was both a source of insecurity and discomfort. They were not comfortable using the artistic methods: this was especially noticeable when we asked them to write a poem. I also had to check my assumptions about the individualism of the activities, as many were completed in pairs or trios even though instructions were to do it alone. This was not necessarily a problem, but did reveal my bias towards individual performance of tasks.

Another issue that came up was the timing of the workshop. The second workshop I organised did not initially go through because the participants – a group of men – were all dispersed drinking somewhere, as it was 2pm on a Saturday. The lesson here was to ‘know your audience’. It is important to know when participants might be best inclined to join in your activity, but I think this is the case in any organised group activity. In the case of the workers, I was lucky that they worked for Casa Minha and thus I could ask the quartermaster to simply organise a second meeting opportunity.

On the matter of timing, relying on people to arrive on time can be a lost cause; I have not found a way to fix punctuality. Things come up, traffic being the most significant of them, but I also had to remind myself that most of my participants did not have access to a time-piece (a watch, a phone, a clock), and so seemed to magically divine the time they had to arrive for a meeting (and so were usually quite a bit off). For those with whom I had direct contact as they lived in the street where I was based, it was easier to ensure punctuality due to direct conversations and visibility.

The issue of using a facilitator was something I should have considered more. It was a bit of a last minute decision before going into the field, as I had initially thought to manage the workshop myself. It is a risk having somebody else facilitate a workshop that you designed, as the facilitator may not be entirely clear on the objective of each activity, or the research outputs you’d like to have, or the complexity/nuance you’d like to glean, and this is not always something that can be conveyed. Time may help with mediating this issue.

REFLECTIONS ON THE USE OF ‘UTOPIAS’ AS CONCEPT AND METHODOLOGY

My assumption had been that I would find creative, out-of-the-box utopias that could look something like the science fiction landscapes I have been exposed to through various media. I was initially disappointed when I did not find these, and could not understand why people did not think more ‘utopically’, why they could not detach themselves from the present *modus operandi* and imagine completely different ways of being. I have still not entirely reconciled myself with this disappointment, but have come to appreciate the value of a practical utopia as a window into people’s realities.

I was really confronted with myself for this part of my research, as I hadn’t acknowledged the extent to which I was guided by my assumptions of what a utopia represents and what I was really looking for. I went into the field very excited about investigating urban utopias. However, it turned out to be the most challenging aspect of my fieldwork. I was honestly quite surprised at how difficult it was to talk about utopias with people. I quickly began having to use the word ‘visions’ and ‘dreams’ to try and get my basic question across. Utopias, it seems, can be misleading for those who know the word: I had a conversation with my mom about halfway through the fieldwork and we realised she thought I was looking at a completely different thing than what she thought, as she has a view of utopias as a negative, unrealistic, almost childish vision of the future. For those who were not familiar with the word (or guessed at its meaning), the essence of what I was looking for was also completely lost. It was especially difficult to steer the conversation to a neighbourhood-oriented discussion of future urban form; imagining the future of the household seemed much easier.

6.4 CONCLUSION

Polana Caniço “A” is in a constant state of re-assembling; this is the nature of assemblages, they are constantly in flux. However, there is also some stability that can be observed in the everyday assembling through dwelling practices. The repetition of the everyday – of provisioning, economic, building, and other practices – means that necessary labours are taking place to continue making the neighbourhood as it appeared to me. Occasionally, an entity will enter the assemblage, or change its material and expressive roles, and this will de- and then re-territorialise the assemblage. The state does this in big building or re-ordering projects such as those mandated by the *Plano Parcial de Urbanização*. Casa Minha does this by implementing a municipality-approved *plano de pormenor* which introduces new, European, ideals of the city. They also try to continue to re-territorialise the assemblage in the same way as before their intervention by including a policy of non-displacement and by consulting with dwellers and the *chefe de quarteirão*. Naturally, this is a void effort, as their mere introduction into the assemblage re-territorialises it. However, they may approximate some aspects of prior configurations. As a concluding remark, it is important to note that tensions exist between different entities and their practices and visions. These tensions will continue to exist as the assemblage continues to go through innumerable iterations of de- and re-territorialisation. What was interesting in this case was to investigate the current state of these tensions, and to speculate mildly about how they may change in the future. Finally, we can see a case in this thesis for why dwelling practices and dwellers should be included in the planning process: they are essential in making place.

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ANNEXES

STRUCTURE WORKSHOP: 14/07 SATURDAY (1), 19/07 THURSDAY (2 & 3)

Roles: Mavis as facilitator, Laetitia as observer/time-keeper

Number of participants: 6-10, women and youth from R. 3644 | 10(?) men organised by João (the construction head at Casa Minha) | Casa Minha office workers

Duration: 1-2 hours, **Time:** 10.00 and 14.00

Aim of the workshop: to identify a set of urban utopias (visions of the future) for Polana Caniço. If we find that these visions are not applicable to Polana Caniço itself, but rather individual visions of future 'histories' (e.g. ideal plans for the future, could be moving back to rural living), we should let it go in this direction and then see if broader visions may be drawn from it. The focus is on optimistic visions of the future (or desirable visions of the future), but if negative visions emerge as something that should *not* be aimed for, this should be noted as well.

Materials: white-board, markers, post-it notes, newspapers/magazines, scissors, glue, paper, *refrescos* and biscuits

Location: Casa Minha office

>> Ask them to take a seat with a set of post-its and a pen/marker

Convening: Warm-up question (10min)

1. Begin with introducing the purpose of the workshop (see: aim), and state why they have been selected (are people from the neighbourhood whom I've had a good first contact with)
2. Introduce the idea behind the warm-up question:
 - a. Want to get into a creative, intuitive mood
 - b. Introduce ourselves to each other in a different way
3. **Warm-up question: "What do you think of when I say the word 'sand'?"** >> instruct to say impressions to the group as they introduce themselves (can go in a circle), then we can either write it down on a post-it or write it directly on a whiteboard.

Observing: Storytelling (15min)

1. Ask them to write key words or doodle as they listen to the story (*on post-it notes*)
2. Tell the 'story' (*more of a prose poem*): see below
3. **Prompt questions** (share impressions verbally; can use a whiteboard to summarise) | *Can first talk amongst themselves (sub-groups), and then share impressions (if nobody talks up at first)*
 - a. What are their impressions after this story?
 - b. What did they think of?
 - c. Did they think it's a 'good' representation of their neighbourhood?
 - d. Would they have noticed something different if they had walked here for the first time?

Reflecting: Prose poem (10min)

1. "Writing a poem gives participants time to reflect creatively and non-linearly on a specific topic and to communicate their insights in the form of a verbal image."

2. Explain that this is a follow-up to the 'story': they now have to write their own
3. Ask the participants to write a quick poem as an 'ode to their *bairro*', on post-it notes OR paper (if they want more space)
4. Have them share their poems in their small subgroups, and then share their impressions from this sharing to the group
5. Write down summary/key words on whiteboard

>> Quick break for refrescos/cookies if anyone wants (they can start doing the collage with their snacks) <<

Acting: Collage and then predicting future headlines (30-40min)

Collage (15min): using magazines/newspapers or just drawing | *individual*

[A good counterpoint for the prose poem (if literacy is not high), with the added value of giving a visual/material dimension to the story. Allows people to think through visual metaphors.]

1. Place an abundance of material (images and/or 3D material) on the table in such a way that people can easily search through it;
2. Clearly outline the purpose of the collage, the principles of collage making, the topic or question that is being addressed, and the time available (sample script):
3. In this exercise, each person will create a collage that expresses your goals or visions for our case study in the form of abstract elements, feelings, and moods. It doesn't have to express a coherent or logical story, as the process is meant to draw from your intuitive understanding. Sense-making comes afterward while describing the meaning of the collage to others. Also, there will be time to make things more tangible and practical later in the workshop.
4. Think of the time limit as a spark for your creativity, rather than as a source of stress. As you are working, don't second guess yourself - use whatever images draw your attention. Allow yourself to be surprised by your creative work. You are also welcome to add your own drawings or doodles.
5. When time is up, in pairs, invite participants to take turns describing the story and meaning of their collage. Remind them that it is during this 'sense-making' process that insights come to light, so they will likely not know the full meaning of their creation before they reflect on it out loud;
6. 4. Next, participants discuss outcomes and reflections in the group. Prompting questions could include: "*What are some key differences or similarities between the visions? Were you surprised by the outcome in any way? What would you like to take from this exercise into the next phase of developing a concrete action plan?*";
7. (Optional) Insights and key points can be summarised on a flip chart.

Predicting future headlines (15min): This can ground the visioning process into something that people can imagine in everyday life | *in sub-groups*

1. Instruct them to imagine what they would read in *O País* or some other newspaper they read (or TV news) in 50 years time about the *bairro* >> focus is on what they would *like* to read about their *bairro*
2. Invite participants to narrate the different headlines and stories and discuss them all together.

Harvesting: Closing circle (10min)

1. Ask people to stand in a circle all together. Start by thanking everyone for their active participation and briefly explain the concept of the harvest (*to bring together what has been learnt during the workshop*)
2. Summarise the learning journey of the day and refer back to the original goals and objectives: *refer back to the whiteboards*
3. Invite people to share insights from their small group harvests. When time is limited, ask for one

representative per group;

4. Leave space to share any general impressions about the workshop, focusing on the positive aspects. A prompt could be: what would you like to see more of in future workshops? What is one positive thing you will share with your colleagues when you return to work?
5. As a checkout, have everyone in the circle say one word about how they are feeling.

WORKSHOP OUTPUTS

Children's activity 1: drawing the ideal house

The first children's activity was an opportunistic moment where CM had the Saturday session with no specific plan for activities to do, and so I asked if I could have them draw some houses. It turned out that a group of children had done this in the past – though a much larger group than the one I had – when another anthropologist was working with CM. Although the children tended to copy each other, and so it was hard to tell if the recurring elements were just because the others had done it too or because of some more intrinsic value of that element, it was interesting to see what dominated their representations of the ideal house. All of them included a *chapa* (zinc) roof, drawn in bright colours, and some key kitchen furniture, like a crockery cupboard (*crisaleira* in Portuguese, *vaisselier* in French), a table, and a fridge. **The 'ideal' presented itself in the interior of the house, not the exterior, and so the house itself did not matter, but rather what was inside.** *[Though this might also be a result of the age group, all around 10-14, and how they have learnt to draw houses.]* Notably, only two of them (out of four) added a bathroom with a flushing toilet and shower.

Children's activity 2: science fiction story telling

This second activity with the children (all girls) of PCA was another opportunity I took because I was feeling a little bit discouraged about the creative outputs of adults after the workshops. On an impulse, I took a packet of Dixit cards as I walked out the house, and it was one of the best decisions I could have impulsively made, as it meant that I had a visual tool to help with the storytelling, that was also a more 'creative' (out-of-the-box) stimulator. It worked really well in eliciting their intuitive storytelling capacity, as I asked them to pick a card and start telling a story based on the card.

I first read them a Mozambican traditional story about Nyeletti – an albino girl – that they picked from a series of books I had brought that were published by Rafo Diaz. We then began talking about what they wanted to be when they grew up – a singer, accountant, nurse, firefighter – and then moved on to superpowers – talking to animals, taking kids off the street, curing people, being able to get kids to school, flying – and I was impressed by how civic-oriented their dreams were. Their focus was largely on helping others, especially other children, and they didn't automatically think of 'stereotypical' superpowers, like I imagined from comic books.

Workshop 1: PCA dwellers (women and youth)

The key insight I had from the first workshop, which was later reinforced as a general impression, was that it was very difficult to discuss the future in an abstract way, or to discuss long-term planning beyond the vaguely outlined dreams discussed in the section below. It seemed that all discussion was founded on a very concrete conceptions of possibilities for the future, based on how people anticipated the future to *actually* be. The future seems to be a linear, predictable progression from the present, towards something that is already known and can be seen elsewhere. *[Is this another sign of what Alfonso called 'international development ruining people'?)*

In the first workshop, what emerged is that change begins with the quality of the houses. When stating that things are 'getting better' (*está a melhorar*), the change from *caniço* to *muros de blocos* (cement-brick walls) is the main indicator. This shift from *caniço* to *cemento* is a theme that comes up often in conversations, but also in literature. I found it most succinctly put when one participant said that PCA should become the new Sommershield II: Sommershield III. Indicating the passage from suburb,

backwards, rural, not properly part of the city, to becoming integrated in the 'privileged' class of Maputo dwellers. One thing associated with this transition was the ordering of public spaces, with a focus on roads and improved quality of roads. This is linked to a desired improvement in infrastructures overall.

Some words that were used to describe the ideal future PCA were: *historico* (historical), *bonito* (beautiful), *ampliado* (improved, bigger), *colorido* (colourful), and *futuro das crianças* (a future for the children). These more abstract terms diverge somewhat from the pre-packaged Sommershield II concept. The future for the children especially was more oriented towards what *happens* in the *bairro*, as opposed to just what *is* in the *bairro*. The participants came back often to creating an environment suitable for their children to become 'future doctors'. Having a school located closer by so that children would not have to walk so far, having study groups in the *bairro*, and being able to go continuously to school, were ways they saw for moving forward with this ambition.

Memo 18/07: The desire of the workshop participants to have access to supermarkets is perhaps pushed by a desire to have greater access to commodities - like the fridge, the tv - that symbolise an increase in quality of life/social status. But if they can't even buy the *carvão* necessary on a daily basis, how would they possibly be able to afford supermarket commodities? At the same time, I get it, eating the same thing every day gets very boring, and you want to diversify to keep things interesting: hence also the appeal for kids of *doces* and *bolachas*.

Workshop 2: Casa Minha

Much of the Casa Minha utopia becomes apparent in their positioning in their website, but the interesting thing that came out of the workshop was that there was a slight difference in positioning between the Mozambican members of Casa Minha and the European members. The European members have in mind a very 'European-style' of urbanism (if I can even say this) in mind when constructing their utopia, with a focus on mobility, green spaces, and well-designed spaces (both private and public). The Mozambican members once again held this idea of the 'Sommershield III' emerging in PCA. Their association with and perception of the neighbourhood is very much from a construction and professional perspective. It is not an emotional connection to the *bairro* as a living space. It is also not linked to practices and the particularity of the use of place in the *bairro*.

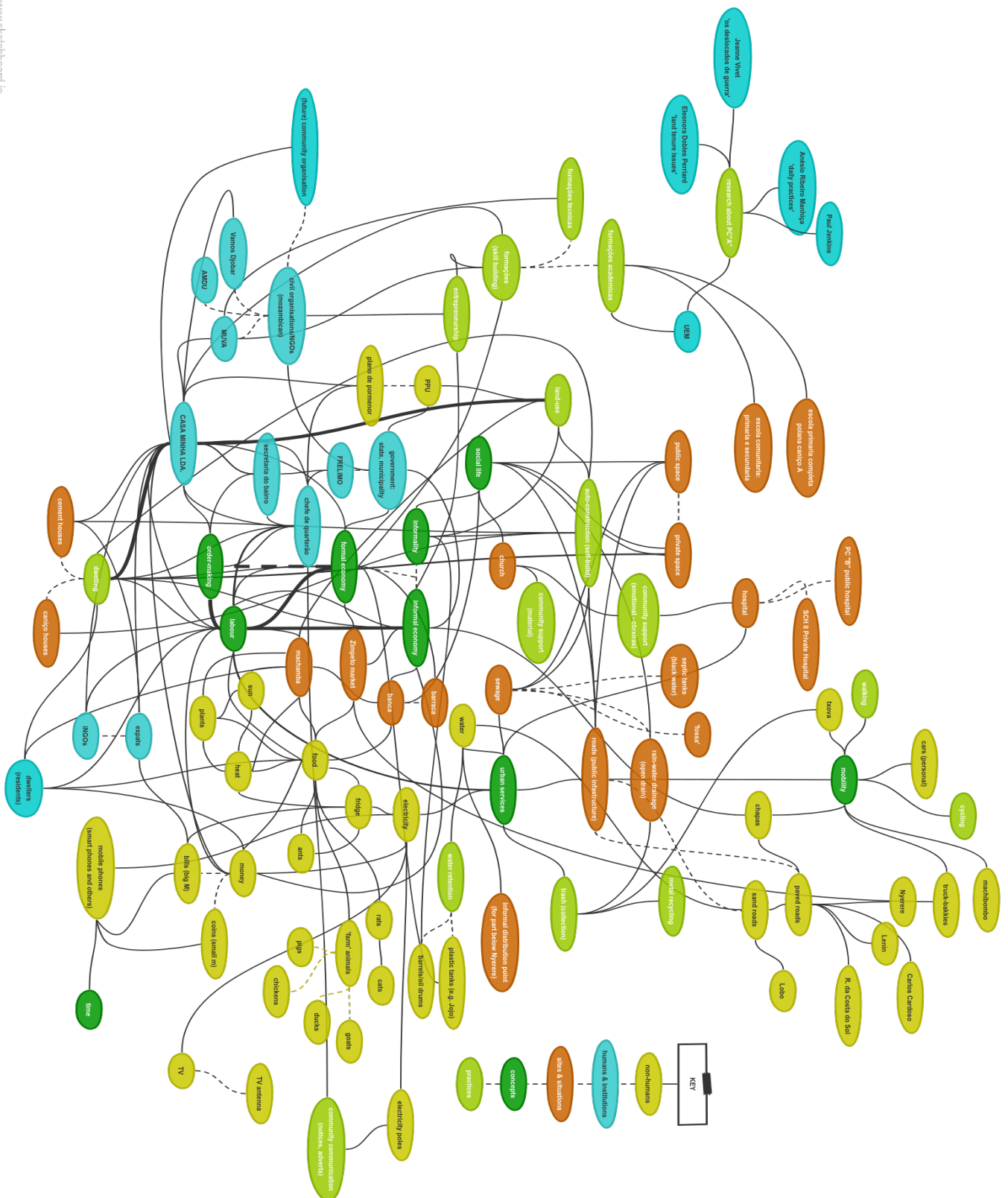
Workshop 3: PCA dwellers (men; also CM construction workers)

The discussion that emerged around the future in this workshop was very chaotic, and ended up devolving into heated one-sided monologues on the impossibility to do anything anyways. We ended up cutting the workshop short because we felt it was no longer going anywhere productive, and was getting remarkably uncomfortable.

The patriarchal responsibilities of home-making became apparent in this workshop, as there was much talk about how bad houses will make your worry all the time, and the need for a better future for oneself (as opposed to thinking about the *bairro*), and how the father is responsible to make change happen for his family.

MAPPING THE ASSEMBLAGE

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Mind map of the PCA assemblage, showing the complexity of connections between entities. Different categories of entities have been colour coded in order to aid the reading of the mind map. The purpose of this mind map is to help understand the disposition of entities in the assemblage.