MULTIPLE WAYS OF 'MAKING THE CITY'

AN EXPLORATION OF DIVERSE PRACTICES IN THE STREETSCAPES OF MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

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Abstract

Planning theory and practice are increasingly concerned with the future of cities in the Global South. However, it is necessary to tackle this concern by first “dislocating the centre” of planning (Roy, 2009b), in order to decolonise our research and provide insights into what makes the “just” city from a grounded perspective.

This thesis project provides an empirical case study of practices taking place in the streetscapes of Maputo, Mozambique. An interpretative, ethnographic, and experimental research design is used, combining a practice-based theoretical framework with narrative research, speculative fiction, and visceral methodologies.

This thesis finds that diverse invited and invented practices take place in the streetscapes of Maputo, demonstrating that there are many different ways to ‘be urban’, and that there are a multiplicity of futures contained in the present.

Prologue

The ritual of arrival

I step out of the airplane into Maputo International Airport, and it feels like I have stepped into familiarity. There are yellow and cheerful MCel advertisements in the corridor leading to migration and baggage pickup. I go through the motions of queuing, with the eternal confusion of which counter to choose from, and the slowness and evident boredom of the officers.

Once through, I try to sneak a peek at my mom who should be waiting on the other side of a panel of glass and some customs officers. My bag takes forever to land on the belt, and I worry that it's been lost along the way. It would be the first time in a long time, but definitely not unexpected.

Reunions are warm and profuse. We step out into the sun and immediately my feet are dying in my vegan Doc Martens. Once in our old white Pajero I start by stripping off layers of winter clothing and everything that covers my feet. I open the window as wide as it goes and settle in cross-legged on the seat.

Things have changed, but not that much. The way I sink into being back in Mozambique is always the same. I melt into the wall of heat and humidity and embrace the wind coming in through my window. I always hated being in cars in Europe, with their synthetic smell and closed environment. If I am moving through a place, I'd rather know what it smells and feels like.

1 Introduction

In order to contribute to “dislocating the centre” of planning theory (Roy, 2009b), and to contribute an empirical case to showcase the multiplicity of urbanisms possible (Roy, 2011), this thesis provides an interpretative case study research on the streetscape of Maputo.

The street is a challenging public space, as it is often torn between its roles as a mobility-scape and as a public space (von Schönfeld & Bertolini, 2017). This case study will show that these roles can co-exist in everyday life in the streetscape. It is the role of planners to encourage a multiplicity of practices in the streetscape. It is part of storying public space differently in order to encourage greater inclusion of bodies and practices in space, and thus enhance every dweller’s ‘right to the city’.

Maputo, my love

Maputo is an exciting, fast changing yet timeless, slow paced, unique, and endearing city. It is “a kaleidoscopic centre for cultural mestizoisation” and “the habitat of the Africa of tomorrow” (Carlos Serra, 2012: 192–193, cited in Bertelsen et al, 2014). My feeling is that people somehow always end up living longer in Maputo than they had originally intended: it is a magnetic place.

This is a bit of an ode to Maputo, a place I have considered home for over a decade. It is impossible to dissociate myself from my emotional attachment to this city, and so I have chosen to make this attachment explicit as much as possible. To not let it hold me back in my analysis of the processes that are constantly making and remaking this city.

In the “new urban century” (Nijkamp and Kourtit, 2013), population growth is accompanied by rapid rates of urbanisation, particularly in the Global South (World Urbanization Prospects, 2018). Informal settlements, and the dominance of these types of dwelling in African cities, have often been considered a failure in planning (Roy, 2009b). Taking these spaces seriously as modes of dwelling and of making the urban is necessary to challenge hegemonic notions of ‘good planning’ (often read as ‘Western’ planning), and to legitimise the ‘self-made city’ (see e.g. Porter et al, 2011).

A continuation of prior research

This thesis began as a follow up thesis on my first research conducted with the Rural Sociology chair group of Wageningen University, which looked at diverse placemaking and dwelling practices in Polana Caniço “A”, a neighbourhood of Maputo, Mozambique.

In my previous research, it became evident that dwellers want to have more public spaces and urban services (Boon, 2019). They focused particularly on services that improve individual and generational quality of life, such as hospitals, schools, and supermarkets. Alongside this, recreational spaces – safe and fun spaces, especially for children, such as football fields or playgrounds – were emphasised as desirable.

When thinking about the future, dwellers usually would refer to a neighbouring neighbourhood (Sommerschield II, administratively a part of Polana Caniço) as a linear model of growth and improvement, and had difficulty in thinking about different ways in which the future could emerge from the present.

Additionally, in my research I found that the streetscape is a site of contested practices and uses, and a locus for the contestation of government authority and assertion of other modes of dwelling. Other sites of conflict result from growing dynamics of gentrification and exclusion of the poor from the areas surrounding the city centre. The interests of the private sector – including private developers from foreign countries – are those most catered for in current developments. This has meant the encroachment of luxury housing and their amenities into *caniço* (reed) neighbourhoods: for example, the private hospital in Sommerschield II, whose construction required the destruction of an entire informal settlement.

As this first thesis had a greater focus on private spaces, tied to the interest in what Paul Jenkins and his colleagues call ‘homespace’ (see e.g. Sollien, Andersen & Jenkins, 2010; Andersen, Jenkins & Nielsen, 2015a & 2015b), I wanted to balance this perspective with a greater focus on public spaces. This was particularly the case because I observed that public spaces in Maputo seem to be qualitatively lacking in variety, and are mostly limited to streets. Nevertheless, these streetscapes play a critical role in the everyday life of urban dwellers, and are essential as spaces of political interactions between bodies.

The loss and lack of public spaces in Maputo

In Maputo, there is a dire need for mobility infrastructure. The old colonial city's infrastructure is becoming obsolete due to the exponential growth of the city and the changes in its economic activities. The response to this need has been the renovation of main roads – notably the Avenida Julius Nyerere and the Avenida da Marginal – and the construction of the Circular, which serve as the main axes for getting in and out of the city.

In the dense neighbourhoods of Polana Caniço "A" and Triunfo, these roads and the building of new condominiums and other luxury housing is eating away whatever open space remained. In terms of urban form, the streetscape is typologically dominant as type of public and open space. Yet, the streetscape functions in diverse ways, not just as a mobility-scape. It is a key site of everyday social, economic, and political life.

Government planning has not yet found a way to incentivise or make a profit from creating public spaces, and thus these have become sorely lacking. Public and social life is thus reduced to sidewalks and to unpaved roads that are being (re)claimed by dwellers.

How can we (re)imagine public spaces in a context where there are few to none, in order to showcase and augment their multifunctionality? As planning is future-oriented, I would like to maintain this anticipatory focus and consider how public spaces could be re-imagined for the future. Observing how public spaces are in the present is part of this objective. My assumption is that a multiplicity of futures are contained in the present, following Deleuze's philosophy of time (Williams, 2011).

This question comes from a practical observation when doing my fieldwork with Casa Minha[1]. Although Casa Minha wanted to create public spaces, they were at a loss for how to clear space for these considering the density of occupation in their area of intervention. The only option seemed to be to hope that a dweller would want to leave and free up a plot for public use. This, however, would also require certain funding to acquire that space, and thus another problem arises: who bears the costs of creating and maintaining public spaces? The risk is that the only 'public' spaces that will remain once urbanisation is 'done' in Maputo will actually be private malls, exclusive and

[1] Casa Minha Lda is a small private company working to develop alternative solutions to the problem of urban expansion in Maputo: their proposition is to sustainably densify the residential neighbourhood of Polana Caniço A while maintaining the current social fabric and community. https://www.casaminha.co/

regulated by the aesthetics of an imagined middle class.

The ‘loss’ or lack of public spaces in Maputo is compounded by a spatial inequality in the distribution of public spaces. Planned green spaces, such as parks, are mainly restricted to the *cidade cimento* (cement city: old city centre), and are mostly a legacy of colonial planning. Little provisions are being made in current plans, such as the *Plano Parcial de Urbanização*, for the suburban and peri-urban zones of Maputo for publicly owned and managed spaces.

It seems to be that commercial zones, such as malls based on the South African model, are deemed sufficient for providing the affordances public spaces are thought to generate. This is related to a general issue with the provision of public services by the government: basic needs are sometimes only partially addressed due to a lack of funding, and possibly of political will (Andersen et al, 2015). This can be considered in the broader concern with the disenfranchisement of the poor and poor spatial planning (Watson, 2009).

The majority of Maputo dwellers are the more-or-less recent rural migrants that have come to the city since the mid-20th century in search of work and better opportunities for access to goods and services. Many of them also emigrated as a result of the civil war, and became the invisible *deslocados da guerra*, building new lives in the capital (Vivet, 2015). There is a notable tension between the different imaginaries of the urban and related feelings of belonging of migrants to urban areas. There is a classic story of a lady who was relocated to an apartment in the city centre just after the war, and who grew corn in her bathtub. This breach of what it meant to be ‘urban’ meant that she was not allowed to remain in the apartment (Vivet, 2015).

In my previous research, dwellers who lived in Polana Caniço “A” often referred to themselves as being ‘different’ from the more ‘urban’ middle class dwellers who were seen as more appropriate dwellers for the new typologies of housing that were being built. These same dwellers predominantly seemed to want to move (back) to rural spaces: often their homelands or the peripheries of Maputo: they felt their mode of dwelling was not legitimate in so-called ‘modern’ urban spaces.

Problem statement

In the context of diminishing quality and quantity of public spaces, and the predominance of streetscapes in Maputo, diverse practices are taking place in

close proximity to one another. This occasionally causes conflicts between practices and the bodies that engage in these practices. The outcomes of these conflicts can impact on the quality of life and ‘right to the city’ of dwellers associated with certain practices.

Cities like Maputo can serve as good examples of different ways of ‘being urban’, of different urbanisms that are possible in our new urban age. However, for this to happen, the processes of urbanisation and dwelling practices need to be taken seriously as ways of making (and possibly of planning) the city.

Research questions

Main research question: In what ways do practices associated with the streetscapes of Maputo enact different urbanities or ways of being urban?

Sub-research questions:

What practices are associated with the streetscapes of Maputo?

How do these practices interact with one another?

How does the interplay of practices relate to processes of inclusion and exclusion in the streetscapes of Maputo?

Scientific objective

The main objective of the research project is:

> To help dislocate the centre of planning theory by contributing an empirical case that demonstrates different ways of being urban, which can thus inform different planning practices in the future.

Associated with this objective, a number of research claims (or intuitions) are important to note, as they guide many of my assumptions, and need to be contrasted to the empirical material later on. The first intuition is that typologies of space are fluid in nature, and that container terms such as public and private spaces should not be taken for granted as having clear borders and containing specific sets of practices. The second is that mundane and

everyday practices are political acts: they have significance in power relations between entities and are meaningful in placemaking. The last intuition or claim is that speculative fiction can be used as a way to open up 'spaces of possibility' both in the type of research undertaken (in terms, for example, of methodologies), and for the kinds of presents and futures that are deemed possible and/or plausible, and which guide planning practice.

Relevance of the research

I position myself firstly with regards to my chair group's research interests, namely the theme of urban public spaces and processes of place making. The blossoming of informal settlements in the Global South is often linked to these settlements being de-legitimised as ways to "make the city", because they are not done through the state (Lombard, 2015). This gives the state power then to reclaim these spaces and put in new materialities, for example through speculative developments that might fit better with the vision of the state of the 'ideal urban'. These are often linked to global narratives about the city that are dominating our imaginaries, and to neoliberal logics of capital accumulation (Heer, 2015; Brenner & Theodore, 2005; Roy, 2011). The illegitimacy of informal settlements often translates to the illegitimacy of citizens that dwell in these spaces (Roy, 2005).

On a societal level, the research is related to the Sustainable Development Goals 10 and 11, which are concerned with reducing inequality and increasing sustainable cities and communities. The exclusion of unwanted bodies from public space takes place everywhere, including in Europe through the increasing implementation of anti-homeless measures, or the increasing amount of red tape around using public space for non-mandated purposes, implying a tight control of the state on dwellers' practices. In the Global South, we see an increasing disparity and polarisation between the rich and poor that is not improved by the spatial dynamics of cities (Lemanski, 2007), particularly as cities restructure their economies to compete in the world economy (Sassen, 2018). These growing inequalities are a fact worldwide, and are most flagrant in economic measures of inequality, with the richest 1% owning 44% of the world's wealth in 2019 (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2019; World Inequality Lab, 2018).

Thinking about how to re-imagine public spaces into more inclusive and desirable spaces that correspond with embodied practices is relevant for building up the resilience of cities and communities. This is also relevant for

considering how to ‘do’ inclusive planning and urban design, and relates to academic debates on the ‘just’ city (see e.g. Marcuse, 2009; Fainstein, 2009; Harvey, 2003; and Soja, 2009).

This project has relevance for feminist struggles over gendered uses of public spaces and women’s right to the city, as it considers the embodied experience of place. Visceral geography and visceral planning are embedded in feminist theories of the body and discussions of performativity, and consider gendered embodiment in public spaces: this contributes to a visceral understanding of how to improve equal access and right to these spaces (Beebeejaun, 2017; Sweet & Escalante, 2015). This is related to the Sustainable Development Goal (#5) on gender equality.

Finally, considering the role of the more-than-human in practices and thus foregrounding our relationship to our environment is crucial in the context of our current climate crisis, and the oncoming *éffondrement* of civilisation as we know it: see the work of Pablo Servigne (e.g. 2016; Servigne, Stevens & Chapelle, 2018) and other *collapsologues*. In the age of the Anthropocene, it is essential for us to understand how we interact with more-than-human entities, so as to determine how we may build better relationships with them, ones that promote holistic resilience at a system level.

Outline of the thesis

In Chapter 2, the research design will be presented, including the theoretical framework, methodological framework and methods used, concluding with a case presentation of the city of Maputo and the three sites studied.

In Chapter 3, the construction of the streetscape is investigated. Construction will be considered as a diverse set of practices involving a variety of bodies, but all contributing to the production of the more permanent material elements of the streetscape. The chapter answers questions such as: what creates the streetscape, what non-human elements are present, and what is the materiality of the street?

In Chapter 4, walking practices are highlighted. Walking the streets of Maputo, as (auto)ethnographic practice and embodied experience gives an insight into mobility practices taking place in the streetscapes.

In Chapter 5, the focus turns towards practices of ‘immobility’ that can be contrasted to mobility practices: these include socialising, making a living, and playing. These practices demonstrate the tension between the streetscape as mobility-scape and as public space.

Chapter 6 will engage directly with speculative fiction as a method for opening up spaces of possibility for more hopeful, inclusive urban futures. The insights gathered from the previous chapters will be distilled into ‘what if’ questions which inspire descriptive vignettes.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents the conclusion and discussion of this thesis. The chapter concludes with some recommendations for planning practitioners, and some lines for further theoretical explorations.

2 Research design

The research design of this thesis tackles how to observe practices, their interactions, and the result of their interactions in the streetscape. The theoretical framework is based on practice theory, and uses speculative fiction as a focusing element for the storytelling practices I will undertake as researcher/narrator. The distinction between invited and invented is then introduced as a conceptual framework for understanding practices.

The methodological framework is based on an interpretative case study approach. It is iterative and experimental, making use of a narrative-based approach to research, and incorporating visceral and visual methodologies (to look at bodies) and speculative fiction (combining auto-ethnography and other storytelling modes).

Finally, the case study will be presented: first, a brief history of Maputo, then, a discussion of its streetscapes and important political processes, and concluding with an introduction to the specific sites observed.

Theoretical framework

Practice theory

In order to look at the problem of the streetscape as a public space, I have decided to anchor myself in practice theory. De Certeau (1984) argues that everyday practices have immense potential for the subversion of institutions – their representations and their rituals – as they become a form of ‘creative resistance’ enacted by ordinary people.

Practices are the ‘art of doing’, or actions (in the plural). They are repeated, routinized types of behaviour (Reckwitz, 2002). They are the ways in which “bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood” (Reckwitz, 2002: 250). They are mundane.

Practices are more complex than simply ‘a practice’ (read: an action). Reckwitz argues that they “consist of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (2002: 249).

Practices imply bodies. The routinized activities are bodily: they involve using and moving bodies. “When we learn a practice, we learn to *be* bodies in a certain way” (Reckwitz, 2002: 251, emphasis added). According to practice theory, practices are the site of the social: they are the smallest unit of measurement of the social. By looking at the ‘body-ballet of practices’ (Seamon, 1980), we observe the social.

I borrow Behagel, Arts & Turnhout’s outline of the characteristics of a practice-based approach, in order to provide an overview of the implications of taking this approach. (I have removed the references to policy implementation, but the overview remains relevant.)

(1) “The basic unit of analysis is practice. Analytical focus is neither placed on the social system nor on individual agency, but rather on the entwinement of agency and structure in practice (Schatzki et al., 2001).
(2) Social structures such as rules and institutions are produced and reproduced in practice (Bourdieu, 1990; Giddens, 1984).
(3) Social practices include both how people relate to other people and to things, artefacts, and other forms of life in their environment (Latour, 2009).
(4) Knowledge and discourse are ‘performative’: rather than merely representing reality, they are also constitutive of reality (Callon, 1998) as they are aspects of practice themselves.
(5) Practical knowledge is crucial for understanding the workings and endurance of practices (Adler & Pouliot, 2011). Knowledge and action are intertwined, as aptly captured by phrases such as ‘meaning in action’, ‘thinking on your feet’, or ‘practical reasoning’ (Yanow & Tsoukas, 2009).
(6) Stability of social practices, in terms of internal logics, patterns, and practical knowledge, is historically informed and not based on universal necessity. Consequently, social practices are always open to change and ‘contingency’ is an important aspect of practice (Behagel, 2012; Schatzki, 2001; Wagenaar, 2011).
(7) Practice-based research operates from a ‘flat ontology’ (Collinge, 2006), where order does not precede practice.” (2019: 482)

In practice theory, discourse is reframed as discursive practices. Thus, storying the world can be seen as a practice that involves the movement of bodies. Additionally, practice theory implies that subject-subject and subject-object relationships have equal value (Reckwitz, 2002). Said another way, this means that the more-than-human is equally important to consider in the assemblage that composes a practice. I would go further to say that all entities

are subjects in the practice assemblage, as they all have agency in assembling practices. The ethical consequences of a practice theory approach are that ethics are not just a matter of relations between subjects, but also of relations to things and to oneself (Reckwitz, 2002).

Finally, “practice theory encourages us to regard the ethical problem as the question of creating and taking care of social routines, not as a question of the just, but of the ‘good’ life as it is expressed in certain body/understanding/things complexes” (*ibid*: 259). This joins the plea of assemblage theory and poststructuralist theories more generally to consider all entities and relations between entities (and thus our relationship to our environment) as an ethical, social, and political question (see e.g. Latour, 2009; Massey, 2004; Whatmore, 2006; Amin, 2010). Practice theory, thus, is highly relevant for planning theory and practice due to their shared concern for the ‘good’ life.

Speculative fiction as invitation for a narrative-based approach

Carving out spaces for alternative futures

My thesis takes inspiration from the value I see in works of speculative fiction: they contribute to the ‘reservoir of futures’ of place (Jan Schwarz, used by Merrie, 2016), and help to reclaim stories about the present and future of places. Speculative fiction can contribute to expanding the ‘spaces of possibility’ (DeLanda, 2006).

Speculative fiction allows a thinker to carve out imaginaries in a fictive space that is often intimately linked to an empirical and lived reality. It creates space for framing things otherwise.

Ivor Hartmann, in the introduction to his anthology of AfroSF, writes: “SciFi is the only genre that enables African writers to envision a future from our African perspective” (2012). This is a key concern in a postcolonial context where much of the narratives of the city have been dominated by European ideals of the desirable city, and where the legacy of injustice and racial inequalities remains embedded in colonial urbanism. Thus, using speculative fiction, and grounding it in the empirical research done on the streetscapes of Maputo, further contributes to the overall objective of this thesis, which is to ‘dislocate the centre’ of planning; and in this case not just planning, but urban imaginaries in and of the South.

The performative power of stories

As dwellers and planners, we naturally turn to stories to make sense of the spaces we inhabit. This, according to Sandercock, translates the "unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city" into something legible, and these narratives in turn "become constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, [and] the ways we then might act" (2003: 12).

As reflexive elements of an ever-changing urban assemblage (Dittmer, 2014), the stories we tell about the city matter: "we become our stories" (Sandercock, 2003: 16). This is not limited to how we dwell, but in fact "stories are central to planning practice: to the knowledge it draws on from the social sciences and humanities; to the knowledge it produces about the city; and to ways of acting in the city. Planning is *performed* through story, in a myriad of ways" (*ibid*: 12).

Invited and invented spaces in the city: a conceptual framework

> *"Insurgent planning is transgressive in time, place, and action*
> *Insurgent planning is counter-hegemonic*
> *Insurgent planning is imaginative*
> *Above all, insurgent planning holds stubbornly to its ideal of justice."*
> (Miraftab, 2009: 46)

In order to understand the interaction of bodies and practices in and with the streetscape, I have borrowed Miraftab's distinction between invited and invented spaces (2009, see also Roy, 2009b). This emergent distinction between spaces of citizen participation (Miraftab's original use) is a productive way to assess the agency of bodies in asserting their 'right to the city'.

Miraftab's work is anchored in the intellectual tradition of insurgent planning: a branch of radical planning that was first clarified by Grabow and Heskin in their 1973 article "Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning". Grabow and Heskin's argument was that planning was (and arguably, still is) based on elitist, centralizing, and change-resistant tendencies. They argue for a radical planning that is a "synthesis of rational action and spontaneity: evolutionary social experimentation within the context of an ecological ethic" (*ibid*: 112), where the planner becomes a nonprofessional professional, "no longer one with a property right entitled "planning," but rather an educator and at the same time a student of the ecological ethic as revealed in the consciousness of the

people" (*ibid*: 112). Their argument remains valid to this day, and has been implemented in new developments in collaborative planning approaches and theory (Healey, 2003; Harris, 2002; Allmendinger, 2002).

However, insurgent planning continues to push the original critique on which radical planning was based, arguing especially from the position of the Global South, saying that planning theory remains to this day in need of a 'decolonisation' of its core (Roy, 2009b). The storying of informality in planning theory, which tends to demonise and delegitimize bottom-up dwelling practices and the self-made city, is rooted in an ideal of the Western city and Western planning practice (Roy, 2009b; Porter et al, 2011). Insurgent planning argues for a more inclusive and collaborative planning theory and practice. Insurgent planning seeks to destabilise the status quo, to 'defamiliarise planning' (Roy, 2009a), and looks for the practices that disrupt the power relations between oppressor/oppressed, state/citizen, etc, and by highlighting consciousness of the past and imagination of an alternative future. This will be a productive link to speculative fiction later on.

I will not observe purposeful or intentional planning actions in the case of this thesis, but rather the everyday or mundane actions that then challenge the hegemonic vision or story of the street. These are insurgent practices, but it remains to be seen whether these are insurgent planning practices. I am interested in the quiet disobedience of the mundane.

Miraftab looks at collective practices that challenge the limits of spaces of action legitimised by the state: the "invented spaces that come into being through the counter-politics of the poor" (Roy, 2009b: 10). Miraftab characterises the fluidity of practices as follows: "through the entanglement of inclusion and resistance they move across the invited and the invented spaces of citizenship" (Miraftab, 2009: 35). I will argue for collective practices not as purposeful actions undertaken by a collective, but rather as the agglomeration in time and space of everyday practices enacted by bodies in the streetscape.

The right to the city

The politics of how bodies interact and assemble in the city is linked to the concept of the 'right to the city', a concept first proposed by Lefebvre (1996), and later developed by Harvey in his article by the same name:

> "The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is,

> moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (Harvey, 2008).

In practice theory terms, the right to the city is thus the right to perform certain practices, particularly those that (re)shape or (re)make the city. Looking at which practices are legitimised (invited) or delegitimised but still taking place (invented) thus allows me to delve into what the right to the city means in terms of everyday practices and everyday life. This conceptualisation sees placemaking as a "complex terrain of contestation and complicity, of protest and co-optation, of the familiarized and the defamiliarized" (Roy, 2009a: 10).

The relationship between invited and invented spaces is one that exemplifies emergent relations between citizens and the state, which are often parallel to relations between informality and formality. However, the dissonances between invited/invented and formality/informality also highlight power relations, and the presence of politics in placemaking/planning: "the 'informality of the powerful' is often whitened while other forms of informality remain indefinitely gray or are blackened" (Yiftachel, cited in Roy, 2009a: 11).

Observing the fluidity of practices also demonstrates that planning is a "contested field of interacting activities by multiple actors' . . . rather than 'a prerogative of professionals who act in isolation from other spheres of action'" (Roy, 2009a: 10). The interaction between users of space and planners of space, or between dwellers/citizens/private sector and the state, is what I am interested in here.

Methodology

"What if we had to write our academic pieces as if they were poems, as if every word counted, how would we write differently? How much would we write at all?"
(Law, 2004: 12)

The methodology used is iterative, based on the narrative analysis of practices that are documented in visual and textual form. There are broadly speaking two modalities of research: one outward-looking, based on visual methods,

and the other inward-looking, based on auto-ethnography. I have drawn from John Law's book *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (2004) to develop a method that is (hopefully) quiet and generous.

It is definitely a method that is self-aware, as I have spent a significant amount of time attempting to challenge myself to not default to interviews and coding as a classic combination for qualitative analysis. This in order to challenge what might become 'automatic', to reflect on the ways in which my methods and positionality may risk 'accompanying imperialisms', and "to live more in and through slow method, or vulnerable method, or quiet method. Multiple method. Modest method. Uncertain method. Diverse method" (Law, 2004: 11).

The visceral turn: implications for methodology

The focus on bodies within practice theory can also be linked to the visceral turn in planning theory and human geography. This turn originated in the 90s, drawing from feminist geographies. The visceral is defined as "the sensations, moods, and ways of being that emerge from our sensory engagement with the material and discursive environments in which we live" (Longhurst et al, 2009: 334). The visceral is grounded in the personal, but can be a point of contact between the Self and Other through empathy. By bringing observing and experiencing together, it is possible to observe the present condition of the street.

Visceral planning specifically is concerned with the embodied experience of the city (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy (2010); Longhurst et al (2008); Chadwick (2017); Sweet & Escalante (2015)). This is crucial for future planning practice, as this embodied experience strongly mediates urban dwellers' quality of life.

Though the body has always been a key focus of feminist scholars such as Judith Butler, "geographers bring a unique spatial contribution to bodies, arguing that they are places where discourse and power relations are simultaneously mapped, embodied, and resisted, and where identities are performed and constructed" (Bonner-Thompson & Hopkins, 2017). This spatial focus is distinct from the original feminist traditions that concentrated on discursive performativity of bodies, and did not emphasise the spatial contingency of performativity. The spatial focus is what makes visceral geography relevant for planners who wish to explicitly consider bodies in space, and is parallel to the concern of practice theories for the body as the

site of the social.

Within visceral geography, three goals stand out: “first, visceral geographies advance understandings of the agency of physical matter, both within and between bodies. Second, visceral geographies move beyond static notions of the individual body and toward more contextualized and interactive versions of the self and other. And third, visceral geographies encourage a scepticism of boundaries by insisting on the imagining and practicing of our (political) lives in, through, and beyond dualistic tensions” (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2010: abstract). This implies a necessary deconstruction of the invited/invented duality when it is confronted with the empirical reality observed.

My embodied experience of being in the field made me sensitive to the role that this experience has in shaping the way I construct meaning about places. The sensation of walking on sand roads – feeling closeness to nature, being slowed down, and dirtying your shoes – is an embodied experience that characterises my fieldwork and my meaningful construction of Maputo as a place.

Ash (2017) reflects that “human bodies are a medium that can be used to bring background or previously undetected non-human objects and forces to the forefront and so enable them to be studied and analysed”. In the example of walking on sand, the sand is shown to have agency in mediating my body’s experience of place, and the practice of walking. The presence of more-than-humans (see Whatmore, 2006) will be actively foregrounded in my analysis of practices occurring in the streetscape.

Understanding my own embodied relationship to place gives me insights into broader political and power structures. (An assumption here is that the social is contained in the personal and vice versa (see Law, 2004).) Using an auto-ethnographic approach allows me to consciously reflect on the unease vs. comfort felt in spaces, and the reasons for this embodied experience of broader structures.

In summary, the visceral turn has the methodological implication of using embodied and sensory methods, with a sensitivity to the more-than-human entities that are embedded in practices.

Practicing the art of telling stories: a narrative-based approach

Using speculative fiction as an entry point for research has led me to a curiosity for ‘imaginative inquiry’ (Gough, 2008), which implies the use of thought or narrative experiments, and rhizosemiotic play. The purpose of a thought experiment, claims Gough (2008), “is not to predict the future (…) but to describe reality, the present world. Science fiction is not predictive; it is descriptive” (340).

Developing a fully-fledged thought experiment (through fiction) was beyond the scope of this research, however I felt it was valuable to include some experimental storytelling as a way of rounding off this research process. This has led to the inclusion of a narrative-based methodological approach, incorporating auto-ethnography to make visible the narrator/researcher.

The descriptive positioning of Gough’s imaginative inquiry is key in my narrative style throughout the thesis, but is especially relevant in the last chapter (Chapter 6), where elements found in the field are explored following the ethos of speculative fiction: to pose a ‘what if’ question and explore its logical consequences in an alternative universe (through vignettes in my case, rather than a fully-fledged story). Exploring these alternatives provides food for thought for reflection, and thus serves to make more concrete recommendations for planning theory and practice in Chapter 7.

Sandercock (2003) argues that planners need to learn how to tell stories “skilfully enough to capture the imagination of a broader and more political audience than our colleagues alone” (20) because this allows us to have a greater impact on place making in the city. According to Sandercock, “there are two notions of story at work here. One is functional/instrumental: bringing the findings of social research to life through weaving them into a good story. The other is more profound: storytelling, in the fullest sense, is not merely recounting events, but endowing them with meaning by commentary, interpretation and dramatic structure” (2003: 20).

As a future planner, then, it is necessary for me to learn how to tell effective and engaging stories if I want to develop my capacity to impact place making. Storying public space by writing a thesis, and using storytelling explicitly as an entry-point into the field thus becomes a political act on the part of the researcher/narrator.

The sensitivity to speculative fiction has made a narrative approach very suitable for this research process. This has led me, through many windy roads,

to incorporate visual and auto-ethnographic methods in my research design. I have based myself on Kim's (2015) book entitled *Understanding Narrative Inquiry*, focusing especially on chapters 4 and 6 ("Narrative Research Genres" and "Narrative Data Analysis and Interpretation" respectively).

I will tinker with narration in order to counterpoise various narrative voices, embodied experiences, and reflexive levels. This is an experiment to play around with academic writing conventions but also with making visible the different roles that the researcher plays at different phases in the research process.

Auto-ethnography is both a method and the resulting text; it is a genre of writing and research that takes the personal as political, and as a gateway for understanding the human experience: "it incorporates elements of one's own life experience when writing about others" (Scott-Hoy 2002: 276), and is a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context (Reed-Danahay, 1997).

Methods used in the field

The collage of methods I used throughout my fieldwork followed a qualitative and anthropological orientation. I focused particularly on using visual anthropology and sensory ethnography (developed thoroughly by Sarah Pink), but included embodied methodologies for a more reflexive and auto-ethnographic orientation. These different methodological traditions have some overlaps, so I will present below the specific methods used without explicitly attaching them to these traditions. I have, however, referenced some of the papers that helped me most in making use of them.

- Visual 'note-taking', creation of visual artefacts in the field (taking pictures on walks around sites of interest) (Dowling et al, 2018; Banks, 2002)
- Participation in various community arts-based activities (Pink et al, 2010; Degarrod, 2013)
- Walking as research and sensing practice, and as a *flâneur* (Wunderlich, 2008; Pink, 2008; Amin & Thrift, 2017)
- Auto-ethnographic note-taking, focused on embodied experiences of public spaces (Caudwell, 2011; Kim, 2015)

- Informal conversations with members of Casa Minha about the future of public spaces and community engagement in questions of the future in Polana Caniço A
- Recording of soundscapes (sparingly) and audio-memos (Duffy & Waitt, 2011)

With these methods I had data in the forms of photographs and short videos, written and typed notes, and audio-files. These I processed holistically and iteratively, coming back to different sources periodically to complement the various analytical storylines I was developing (see next section).

Analytical phase

The analytical phase of my research broadly followed a narrative approach, basing myself quite heavily on Kim's (2015) very useful manual. The first phase involved the intuitive analysis of field artefacts (sounds recordings/memos, written memos, pictures and videos), including an open and intuitive coding of data. Further burrowing into the visual materials followed this: through auto photo-elicitation and by looking for patterns of re-occurring bodies and practices in the visual data.

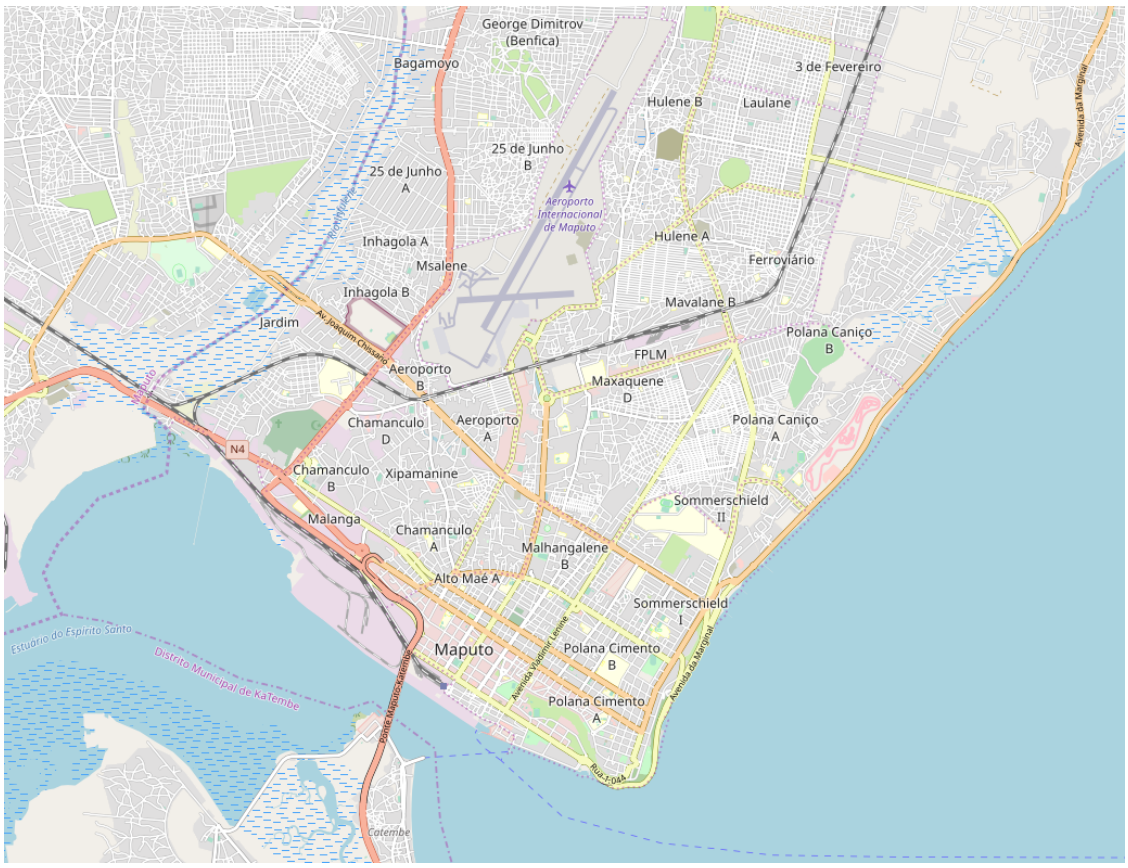
Later, the writing of interim texts served as a writing practice for structuring thoughts and developing coherent arguments. This last phase followed Connelly & Clandinin's suggestion to do narrative analysis by broadening, burrowing, and (re)storying (1990). The interim texts were written, re-written, re-re-written, scrapped, written once again, before eventually becoming the finished thesis. This achieved the narrative smoothing necessary to arrive at a coherent red thread and overarching argument.

Finally, it was necessary to consider how to integrate the auto-ethnographic into the writing of the final thesis texts. From Kim (2015), two broad approaches can be taken:

1) weave commentary, analysis, and discussion through the auto-ethnography
2) alternate vignettes with discussion, commentary, and analysis

As the auto-ethnographic was not the only methodology mobilised in this research, I chose for the latter of the two options, which allowed me to play around with different narrative voices, and different ways of integrating my data

into my discussion of the field. Playing with narrative voices also allowed me to follow Kim (2015) and Law's (2004) suggestion to mobilise the expressive, transactional, and poetic functions of writing.



A map of the centre and main suburbs of Maputo. The orange road running along the East is the Marginal, with Triunfo just above Polana Caniço "B", the racing track in pink, and the marshes behind Triunfo in blue lines. (Map courtesy of Openstreetmap.org)

Introduction to the case study: Maputo as a postcolonial, multi-faceted urban space

It is first important to understand Maputo as a whole: as a city emerging from a wide range of historical processes, with a particular postcolonial legacy. The specific spaces invited by the dominant powerful bodies are thus outlined, as well as the counter-spaces (i.e. invented spaces) that have emerged in response to these.

Maputo: A colonial history and postcolonial present

"Although Maputo is no longer Lourenço Marques, it is still struggling with its colonial legacy: it remains socially and spatially fractured, as new forms of class-based differentiation settle in place of old 'geographies of exclusion'."
(Bertelsen et al, 2014: 2757)

A brief history of Maputo

Maputo, called Lourenço Marques before independence, started off as a small, unimportant trading post in malaria-ridden marshlands. In 1898, it became the capital city of the Portuguese East-African colony called Mozambique. Prior to WWII, and due to the gold rush in Witwatersrand in South Africa and the subsequent boom in mining activities[2], Lourenço Marques grew as an important port connecting the South African inland with Europe. After WWII, Portugal experienced significant industrial growth, and therefore needed much more raw materials from its colonies, which further stimulated the urban growth of Lourenço Marques. This growth was accompanied with a general laissez-faire attitude towards migration into urban areas, as (cheap) labour was welcomed, in stark contrast with previous restrictions. In the 1960s, the Portuguese government began stimulating foreign investments in Mozambique, generating even more urban and population growth.

In 1975, following a long-strung armed struggle, Mozambique obtained its independence from Portugal, and the Mozambican Liberation Front (Frelimo) became the ruling party of a socialist, one-party state. Fearing for their futures, the Portuguese settlers left in a mass exodus, leaving behind a massive amount of real estate that was quickly nationalized. Thereafter, "Frelimo's radical politics and its transformation of structures of governance of the *bairros* profoundly changed the city's social and spatial structure, as well as the relationship residents had to the city now renamed Maputo: by mid-1976 most of the *cimento* residents were black" (Bertelsen et al, 2014: p. 2757). This followed the wish of Samora Machel, the founding father of the fledgling state, that the "people [would] be able to live in their own city and not in the city's backyard' (Machel, 1976, cited in Morton, 2013: 241). Prior to independence,

[2] This mining-based relationship between Mozambique and South Africa remains relevant to this day, as the majority of Mozambican men were employed as migrant mining workers, known as "Jhonnies" (after Johannesburg), creating diasporic relations with rural communities in Mozambique who entered the cash economy through the in-flow of remittances.

indigenous Mozambicans were only allowed to live outside the planned city's walls.

Almost immediately, the newly independent nation entered into a bloody 20-year civil war opposing Frelimo and Renamo (Mozambican National Resistance: funded by the apartheid governments of South Africa and Zimbabwe, as well as other Western interests who did not want another country to become socialist in the context of the Cold War). During the civil war, many families moved to informal settlements in the suburbs of Maputo due to their relative safety, and have been living there ever since (for more on the *deslocados de guerra*, see Jeanne Vivet's fascinating doctoral thesis, published as a book in 2015). Many of these informal settlements mushroomed up in spaces that had been previously kept empty by urban planners, as they were reserved for future green and leisure spaces, or were vulnerable to flooding or landslides (Vicente et al, 2006). This has left the suburbs relatively densely built up, with little open spaces other than the road infrastructure.

The proto-socialist government led by Frelimo had a definite focus on rural development. *Operação Produção* (Operation Production) in the 80s was a policy emblematic of the focus on rural development, and was accompanied by a certain demonization of urban life and what was seen as a 'parasitic' urban population. These (unemployed or self-employed) urban dwellers were targeted for (forced) relocation to the northern, under-developed territories. Interestingly, however, as of 2009, 50% of urban dwellers in Maputo continue to rely on agriculture within or outside the boundaries of Maputo as a main source of income or subsistence (World Bank, 2009, cited in Shannon, 2019), challenging the assumption of the government that agricultural practices have to take place in rural or remote parts of the country. *(Can the socialist dream be realised through urban agriculture?)*

Following the 1992 General Peace Agreement, Mozambique became a multi-party state and was subjected to a series of Structural Adjustment Plans (from 1987 already) in order to enter the global capitalist economy (Shannon, 2019). Frelimo, however, has remained in power and continues to dominate the political sphere. In recent years, foreign direct investments from international organisations and foreign governments have had an impact on macro-economic growth, but have not entailed a significant improvement in employment or quality of life for the majority of the population. The 'development' of Mozambique has not led to a generalised increase in welfare, but is rather a success story for the (international) elites alone (Shannon, 2019). It is currently considered a "donor darling", with over 50% of the state

budget consisting of development aid (Buur et al, 2011). This has resulted in a culture of elite patronage, and made Mozambique into a site of geopolitical competition between international powers (i.e. China vs. the West).

In summary, the initial socialist post-colonial state, the long-drawn civil war, and the current neoliberal economy, have had a significant impact on the urban form and spatial patterns of Maputo, creating new geographies of inclusion and exclusion, and generating new dynamics of invited and invented spaces as these trends interact with one another.

Current relationship between urban dwellers and the government

The current relationship between urban dwellers and the state (i.e. Frelimo) is one characterised by a tension between formal and informal. The state is constantly trying to formalize or at least control what takes place in the urban sphere, but in order to make life liveable, urban dwellers find themselves almost obliged to side-step and avoid interactions with the state as much as possible. Alongside this state avoidance, there is an unspoken fear of the state linked to political oppression (Ginisty, 2012). Injustice is not spoken, as this is seen as political dissidence: it is the unsayable (*l'indicible*). Silence, Ginisty argues, becomes a social product.

When dwellers do speak up for their rights, it sometimes takes the form of violent protests such as those that took place in 2008 and 2010, where demonstrators blocked key infrastructural nodes into/out of the city to protest rising prices of bread and fuel. Importantly, these protests took place in the streets, momentarily changing these spaces into ones containing political practices of contestation.

The general approach of urban dwellers in Maputo is a 'do it yourself' attitude, extending out of the private sphere into a management of public space, at least insofar as it is spatially/socially linked to the 'homespace'. Dwellers adopt a pragmatic approach to providing for their housing and living needs, "engaging with local structures in the day-to-day process of what could be called 'development control'", in a dynamic that is "largely dissociated from formal land-use planning processes" (Andersen et al, 2015: p. 347). There is little faith in the capacity of the government to adequately deal with urban problems. This lack of faith is not just characteristic of urban dwellers'

perception, but extends to the private and development aid spheres, and is most manifest on the matter of DUATS[3] (Cabral & Norfolk, 2016).

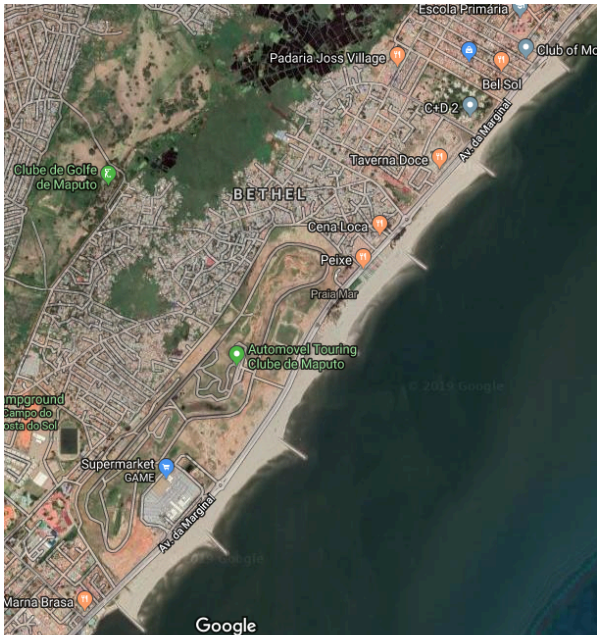
In the postcolonial era, urbanisation has effectively taken place through bottom-up governance practices, characterised by generalised informality, though these practices are socially legitimate and majority practices, becoming an 'alternative formality' (Anderson et al, 2015: p. 424). Informality is the dominant mode of being in Maputo (and Mozambique more generally): 95% of the national population is employed in the informal sector, and 75% of urban dwellers live in unplanned areas (UN Habitat, 2014; World Bank, 2009, cited in Shannon, 2019). This mode of urbanism has been occasionally discussed as 'rogue urbanism' (Pieterse and Simone, 2013).

Aerial view of a part of Polana Caniço "A", looking down towards the Marginal and Maputo bay. The Cova 2000 can be seen (the large, empty depression), as well as the Avenida Julius Nyerere cutting across the picture. Beyond the Nyerere, many condominiums, the international schools, informal settlements, and the racing track. Some cranes show the construction of shopping malls and the new American embassy (rightmost cranes). (Photo courtesy of Steven Le Vourch', 2017)

[3] *Direito do Uso e Aprovietamento da Terra* (literally: Right to Use and Take Advantage of Land), a legal structure giving rights of access and occupation of land, but not ownership: all land in Mozambique is formally owned by the state.

Aerial view of a part of Triunfo, showing the three main typologies present in this neighbourhood: marshland (exploited for agricultural purposes), informal settlements (growing organically), and the Triunfo novo (square blocks, large houses, and a condominium with individual pools). (Photo courtesy of Google, 2019)

The field



Aerial view of the Avenida da Marginal, with the racing track, the marsh, and part of Triunfo shown. (Photo courtesy of Google, 2019)

In Maputo, I explored three different sites: Polana Caniço “A”, the Marginal, and Triunfo. I chose these as they represent quite distinct spatialities and urban typologies. I use these names as stand-ins for quite specific loci, which correspond to my research-based mobility (walking) in Maputo. It is a transect of sorts between my house and the office of Casa Minha (where I previously did fieldwork). A transect which gives me some insight into the changing relations between my body and the materialities/spatialities it interacts with. I have walked this route so often that my experience of it has become cyclical; a repetition of rhythms that make the embodied experience of place into something mundane.

Polana Caniço A

PCA is an older suburb within *cidade caniço*, it had both pre-war and war settlements, and later evolved as the *cimento* expanded its urban form into what is now called 'Sommerschield II'. It is densely built up, leaving very little open space. The post-independence period saw a lot of unregulated infill of spaces that had been left open for recreational or ecological purposes (e.g. flood zones and football fields), and over the years dwellers have expanded the boundaries of their *talhões* (plots) into the streets, making them narrower than the minimum required in urban plans for tertiary roads. This has created an intimate setting in which cars are not the dominant user, but pedestrians. Kids play freely on the street, and women have a wide range of informal (and often temporary) economic activities in improvised *bancas* (stalls) or in a room attached to the house giving onto the street. An overhead view of the neighbourhood shows that it is very green, with many old trees dominating above the 1-floor houses. These trees were planted for their fruit or nuts, and for the shade that they bring onto the outdoor spaces of homes: the true centres of domestic life. It is a neighbourhood where everybody knows each other's name and problems.

PCA is a neighbourhood that was novel to me when I went back to Maputo for my fieldwork. It was a 'real' neighbourhood, with Mozambicans living and working there, whereas my world was this detached expat world, floating above the nitty grittiness of urban life in Maputo. I felt out of place, and yet, as a researcher, I could claim some legitimacy in my presence in the streets. I became recognised, recognisable. My tools identified me as somebody who belonged: my notebook and pen, and later my camera. The idiosyncrasies of my work set me apart from the 'other' whites that may walk the streets. I would sit in the dirt, or on the stoops of lojas or Casa Minha's office. People would ask me what I was doing, curious at this white girl sitting cross-legged in the sand. The children affectionately called me 'Tia Laetitia', always mispronouncing my name (I had the 'misfortune' to be preceded by a girl who was called Ilya, which meant we both became known as 'Tia Lilia', as our names were too uncommon). The feeling of being recognised and welcomed is one of the things that makes PCA familiar.

In PCA you see the clashes of urbanities emerging from different visions of the future and processes of urban change. Anésio Ribeiro Manhiça has written a fascinating thesis (2016) about the transition to, and tensions with, what is currently called Sommerschield II: a neighbourhood that symbolises the expansion of luxury housing, the march of modernity into the suburbs of Maputo, and the expulsion of the urban poor to make way for all of this. Yet,

Sommerschield II does not have an administrative existence. It is named and defined essentially through its emerging urban form and the mode of dwelling that accompanies it. The advance of speculative development and largely unregulated construction projects threatens the legitimacy of current dwellers of PCA, and result in feelings of insecurity and not belonging in urban spaces. Many dwellers prefer to leave before they are forced to by entities more powerful than them: developers or the government. When Casa Minha first came into the neighbourhood, the general response seemed to be that people wanted to sell their houses to this new entrepreneur amongst many others, and voluntarily exile themselves to the peri-urban peripheries of Maputo, rather than wait until they were forced to move, as has happened to so many of them before.

Marginal

The Avenida Marginal is composed of three key elements: the Marginal itself, i.e. the road and its sidewalks, the beach on one side of it, and real estate developments on the other. As a key symbolic space in Maputo, but also as an important mobility infrastructure, it has become the site of interesting and sometimes conflicting developments. Important elements of the Marginal include: its malls, the old racing track, new luxury housing and hotels, and old green spaces (home to artisanal markets and informal food spots).

The Marginal for me feels like a necessary space; a movement oriented, transitory kind of purgatory until I reach one of my sanctuaries, the Maritimo (a sailing club with a seafood/Italian restaurant) or home. But it is also a pleasant space, where people come to exercise, walk their dogs, meet friends and drink, or to have some coal-roasted chicken.

So many cars are stuck in traffic there in the morning and evening, so many people wait at the roundabouts to catch a chapa *to and from work. And yet, regardless of this high focus on mobility, it is not only a space for mobility, or a non-place as Augé (1992) would term it. Thinking of Edensor's (2003) and Merriman's (2004) papers on driving on a highway in the UK, the Marginal as a space that you go through to get into town, does acquire many meanings.*

For us, in high school, it was the beauty of the rising sun coming up over the bay in winter, or going down when we came home from swimming training. It was observing how quiet the water was in the morning, and how tormented it became in the afternoon as the wind picked up. This open view of a vast

expanse of water gave us a feeling of freedom, even if we were stuck in a car. It was nature at our fingertips. And yet, we would rarely go to the beach itself. Seeing it from afar seemed to be enough, or perhaps the embodied experience of the beach – with its tiny little crabs making me cringe away, the pieces of beer bottles littered around and the plastic being washed ashore – took away from the imagination of what this beach meant for us.

The first time we arrived in Maputo, after hours of driving, the sea seemed like an empty pit of darkness, welcoming us into the moonless night. 12 year-old me could not comprehend how the ocean could be so dark, and it felt as if I had gone blind. The sea has been a bit of a mystical entity for me ever since.

Triunfo

Triunfo is the neighbourhood I grew up in. It emerged in the past 20 years once land was reclaimed from the brackish waters that characterised this low point of the city. Some houses have been in construction since then, never getting the funds necessary to be finished. When I grew up there, it always felt like the far end of Maputo, and friends would always complain at having to go all the way out there. Now it is a comparatively close suburb, as Maputo keeps edging out.

The Triunfo *velho* (old Triunfo) was built in a first round of 'colonisation' of this space by middle to upper income Mozambicans when terrains there were cheap. The houses are on average 2 floors in height, with space dedicated to gardens, and the width of streets respected (enough to park cars on both sides and still drive almost two cars side by side).

Triunfo *novo* (new Triunfo) is a bit grander in scale, with houses on average 3 floors in height, and built much more recently. Big 4x4 cars can be seen parked in front of the houses that are all guarded by sleepy men. The streetscape is very similar to Triunfo *velho*. The biggest difference is in the height of the walls and the increased consistency with which they are topped with barbed wire or electric fencing.

3 The construction of the streetscape

In order to discuss the production of the streetscape, I will begin by discussing the materiality of the streetscape as it is produced through construction practices. This chapter is predominantly based on the visual methods used, complemented by other field artefacts.

This chapter looks at construction practices in the three sites I explored, noting differences in ways to construct the street, the practices that are invited, and the bodies that are engaged in construction.

Observing construction practices and the resulting materiality of the streetscape shows the many ways in which the streetscape is made and remade. This demonstrates that the enactment of planning as placemaking is not just a matter of the state, though it is often overseen at least in part by the state. At the same time, the production or construction of the streetscape is where the state's hand is most visible.

We will see in this chapter the role of non-human elements in construction practices and in the materiality of the street, focusing on: concrete, sand, and trees.

The storied and material duality of Maputo: concrete and reeds

The most common way to discuss Maputo – both in academia and in everyday life – is to refer to the duality of *cidade cimento* and *cidade caniço*. Two sides of one city. It is a self-reinforcing discourse of the city, repeated throughout the literature on Maputo. Many authors are now attempting to move beyond this duality, in favour for example of a distinction between centre, suburb and periphery. However, it remains a useful distinction to initiate readers to the history of Maputo and the spatial inequalities that remain in the urban fabric of this fast-growing city.

The dichotomy of concrete and reeds emerged during the colonial period, as the concrete city was the planned city, inaccessible to indigenous dwellers, and delimited by a periphery road beyond which it was not allowed to build in lasting materials, as this space was reserved for future expansion of the 'city proper'. Lourenço Marques evolved over time into a "dual, fractured spatial structure in which *cimento* represented cleanness and order and *caniço* its antithesis" (Bertelsen et al, 2014*:* p. 2756). Though the spatial fractures may

not be as spatially distinct as they used to be, the symbolic value of concrete vs. reeds as construction materials continues to endure in the urban form of the city.

Ginisty (2012) argues that this way of reading space as duality, based on a distinction between centre and periphery, is no longer applicable to the Maputo context. She argues that it has become only one way to see the city, not the only one. The dichotomy rests on 'conceived space', rather than 'lived space' (see Lefebvre (1974) for the distinction between *conçu, perçu* and *vécu*). Now, it is much more a question of how 'different residents experience different cities' (Penvenne, 1995: 33).

Bertelsen et al (2014) argue that the discursive dynamics between *caniço* and *cimento* tend to capture the highly fluid imaginaries of the urban poor and historically and planning-bound distinctions developed in the Maputo context. According to Bertelsen et al, this illustrates Mbembe's "analysis of postcolonial (urban) order as characterised by a distinct convivial relationship between subjects and the administrative and bureaucratic powers (Mbembe, 2001)". However, they counter Mbembe's claim that this renders both the urban poor and the state mutually 'zombified' (read: powerless), but claim rather that dwellers' engagement with these dualistic terms actually opens up the potentiality of urban imaginaries and urban space, and that this engagement is thus inherently political (2014: p. 2754).

The emerging constellations in the discursive dynamics of Maputo may "take the shape of describing Maputo as a trichotomy of urban, suburban and periurban zones largely centred around spatial organisation, housing, employment opportunities, security and violence (see also Bertelsen, 2009)" (Bertelsen et al, 2014: 2766), emerging from the emergent relation between 'representations of space' (constellations of power, knowledge and spatiality) and people's own 'spaces of representation' (counter spaces of spatial meanings and understandings that emerge from local social life) (Lefebvre, 1974).

Regardless of whatever dichotomies or trichotomies may exist in discourses about Maputo, there remain spatially unifying elements that are well recognised by all those who dwell or engage with these spaces:

> "Of course, policy makers, municipal politicians and development workers are well aware that Maputo is undergoing rapid spatial transformation, and they are also continuously reminded that its spaces are intimately connected. Recent powerful examples of such interconnections have included the floods of 2000, which affected most of Maputo; two explosions (which, of course,

> transgress all boundaries) in the Malhazine army depot in 1987 and 2007; and the urban riots in 2008, 2010 and 2012, which involved spontaneous, popular disruption of traffic, large-scale looting and several deaths. The riots, particularly, also demonstrated the city administration's fragile control of many *bairros* and neighbourhoods." (Bertelsen et al, 2014: p. 2759)

Thus, whatever terms are used to describe Maputo, they run the risk of over-signification, and thus become destabilized or subverted by evolving mundane practices, urban realities, and the intervening agencies of non-humans and spatially unifying occurrences. This subversion of 'officialise discourse' by mundane practices becomes a form of 'political intervention beyond conventional channels' (Bertelsen et al, 2014).

Interestingly, the duality of concrete and reeds foregrounds the importance of the non-human as entities that characterise building and dwelling practices. We will look into this further in the upcoming sections, and note that sand has taken the symbolic place of reeds as an indicator of supposed 'underdevelopment', but also acts as a challenger of the primacy of concrete. The lasting distinction between concrete and reeds shows the lasting effects of past planning practices on current realities, and thus the legacy of Portuguese colonialism in everyday life.

Practice of note: construction

Construction practices (understood as a bundle of practices that are similar or interrelated) produce the materiality of the street, and thus produce invited spaces. They also have a hand in giving room for invented spaces, or for the invention of spaces if the initiators of the construction projects are other than the state.

It is possible to interpret the production of invited spaces as construction practices initiated by the state, and the production of invented spaces as construction practices initiated by other actors/bodies.

DIY building practices can be seen as a contestation of invited uses of space as determined by the state in formal urbanistic plans, if those DIY practices do not comply with state regulations. The formalization of streets by local inhabitants is a way of contesting the supremacy of the state on the production of space.

By literally making or producing the urban, construction has the most visible and direct impact on the form of the streetscape. Construction is one of the main formal employment sectors in Mozambique (Ulandssekretariatet, 2014), and thus involves many bodies and particular practices. Large-scale infrastructural projects (rebuilding the Nyerere or the Marginal) are often mandated or contracted by the state, but undertaken by foreign governments (the Chinese) or enterprises (Portuguese or Brazilian). Small-scale construction of the streetscape is usually undertaken by local residents (privately or collaboratively), and occasionally by developers in parallel to the construction of a new condominium or other luxury housing.

Construction workers are the most visible bodies involved in the production of the streetscape. Dressed in blue overalls, they make visible state and private sector building projects. These bodies are not just involved in construction practices when in the street: they also engage in diverse sets of practices that are parallel to their main activity, notably resting under the shade of trees, sitting in the dry grass or on poles meant to stop cars from parking randomly, and eating in local *barracas* (more permanently installed stalls).

In order for construction workers to arrive in the streetscape, a number of other bodies have to actively set up the context for the construction practices. In Triunfo, several groupings of dwellers decided that they were tired of having sand roads, and wanted to improve their quality of life by paving the roads in front of their houses.

This revamping of Triunfo roads has resulted in a patchwork network of roads that are in various stages of paved/unpaved, with different techniques used, and different contractors contracted. These roads make visible the alliances that exist (often temporarily) between dwellers, and the different approaches to what the street is, and for whom it is.

Some dwellers remain ‘purists’ who prefer the aesthetic or the affordances of sand roads and resist this urge to ‘modernise’ or ‘develop’. Some of them have reclaimed parts of the road itself in order to create small gardens, such as is the case on the northern border of the Kayalethu housing complex, where the concrete pillar-wall is lined with gardens that have been planted by the neighbours across the street, with a clear extension of the boundary lines of these houses. However, the tendency remains towards a homogenisation of building materials, converging in concrete, as a clear sign of access to economic resources.

Apart from construction workers, once the streetscape is produced it needs to be maintained by other bodies. This requires a significant amount of labour in the form of sweeping and trash maintenance practices. The Marginal, especially, as it is next to the beach, is often overwhelmed with sand blowing in, and needs to be regularly cleared of small sand dunes and of party trash.

The imperative of formalization

It can be felt in many spaces and at many levels, this urge to modernise or formalize (they materially often mean the same thing) urban public spaces/the streetscape. This means assigning specific uses to spaces, and matching the materiality of space to these uses. It also means state/government/municipality control over these spaces and their uses.

It is interesting to note that the Portuguese word used for all projects of this type is *melhoramento*, which literally means improvement (alternatively: *requalificação*, which means re-ordering (i.e. bringing order to what is perceived as unruly, unregulated, and therefore negative, spaces)).

Practices that belong in the formal include standard mobility practices: walking, cycling in assigned spaces, and driving a car. Transportation via *chapa* would ideally become regularized, with the *chapas* using the assigned bus stops instead of stopping wherever they have been used to stop in past years (usually just before or after roundabouts and at major intersections where people go in/out of neighbourhoods). Other practices are those assigned by the design of space, i.e. by the invited space. On the Marginal this includes sporting and partying, which are both activities based on a certain income level (though partying is quite accessible to all socio-economic classes, depending on the specificity of practice, much more so at least than sporting). These take place on the wide sidewalks and parking lots of the Marginal (partying from car-boots, running or power-walking, using the rusty gym equipment), and on the beach beyond it (partying with friends and beers, kite-surfing, playing football and beach volleyball). It does not necessarily include the informal street economy, though this is a tolerated set of practices, and is parallel to these sporting or partying practices.

In sum, the urge to formalize results in a necessity to assign a list of uses to space, in order to control what takes place in space. This is automatically exclusive, as not all practices can be accounted for that *could* take place in space.

For the streetscape, we see that formalization mostly means assigning this space for fast mobility, focusing on cars, *chapas* (minibuses), and *machibombos* (buses). There is little to no street furniture placed conscientiously in the streetscape in order to facilitate other mobilities (e.g. comfort for walking, apart from large sidewalks, or adequate cycling lanes, or space for *txovas*) or other activities (e.g. benches to sit on, shade to sit under). These materialities have to be invented or alternately produced, and we will see how so in the chapter on practices of immobility.

Interestingly, bodies such as cars that are intended to move fast and are most invited in the streetscape still encounter moments of immobility, of pause, as they often get stuck in traffic during rush hour, or will go slow on the beach side of the Marginal on Sunday afternoons to enjoy the view, or will stop in the emergency lane and set up camp for a weekend party. Even bodies invited to engage in certain practices may choose to do something unexpected, and thus invented.

Spotlight non-human: concrete as maker of modernity

Concrete is the main tool of the state to produce place and assign functions (create specific invited spaces). Concrete is also used by dwellers to improve their quality of life in the street. The construction of streets by dwellers is a challenge to the hegemony of the state in the production of public space. Concrete is used and produced by many bodies: bodies paid to put down concrete (construction workers: paid by richer bodies or by state bodies), bodies who decide to use concrete to improve their everyday life (to stop sweeping, to ease the access of their cars to their houses) or increase the permanency of their dwelling. Laying down concrete becomes a way of appropriating space: of claiming some form of ownership or agency over that space.

Modern building materials have taken on symbolic value in the imaginary of the urban. Concrete, metal, and their various material expressions, come to dominate the urban landscape. The more of these infrastructures there are, the happier people seem to be with the growth of Maputo. This means building roads, formalising housing, and building national symbols.

The symbolic development of Maputo as a site for growth, development, progress, whatever the word chosen to denote linear development following a European capitalist model, is guided by and manifested in large-scale

infrastructural developments such as the *circular* which – as it name indicates – circles around the city, and the bridge connecting the main city with Katembe across the river's mouth (both of which were commissioned by the state-owned company Maputo Sul, but built and financed by foreign (state) investors).

Concrete symbolically distinguishes the *cidade cimento* from the *cidade caniço* both discursively (literally named after concrete), and in terms of form and status. Concrete is more expensive as a building material than other *ad hoc* materials, and is an investment in the road infrastructure that goes beyond letting the sand be (or packing it once in a while). It is a symbol of development, modernisation, and general improvement of life conditions, both for dwellers and for the state.

Oftentimes, infrastructures put into public spaces for a particular purpose will acquire new uses through time. We see thus that electricity poles will serve as spaces of communication or public noticeboards for announcements (from government bodies or others) or advertisements. Similarly, concrete brick walls are often adorned 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). *Valas*, the concrete drains placed on the sides of main roads in order to drain excess water, become simultaneously public bins, a playground for children as they run up and down the sides, and a seating space for everyday *batepapo* (gossip).

A trend can be noted on the Marginal and other road infrastructures around the suburbs towards a supposed 'cleanliness' or 'sanitation' of space through the imposition of concrete on what was previously sand. Sand is thus contrasted to concrete and considered dirty, backwards, un-modern, whereas concrete shows progress, modernity, higher quality of life, etc.

The new paved streets make walking more comfortable, as they require less bodily energy to walk on a hard surface in an unaware manner than to walk on soft sand where you have to actively and consciously pick your way through the easiest micro-routes. Your feet naturally sink into the sand banks, and automatically you will walk in the tread marks of cars, as this is where the sand is most packed down.

Construction workers building a new drainage system connecting the upper heights of the city (Polana Caniço) with the Marginal. They began to recognise me, as I passed by them almost every day on my walk up and down my sites, and would ask for their picture to be taken.

10am – A newly cemented street in Triunfo, void of activity except for a young girl enjoying the smoothness of the asphalt on her tiny bike. School holidays or absent teachers give children a lot of freedom to enjoy the street. Oscar's bar is painted over with one of the competing beer brands: this one is owned by Heineken, and plays on the Mozambican slang "txilar" ("to chill").

Sand as challenger of the dominance of man

Sand is an ever-present element of living in Mozambique. Everything is sand. Sand is slow moving, slowing down movement, moving with the rhythms of winds and tides and shuffling feet.

Sand does what it wants, taken by the wind and water. It is playful, and invites play. On the beach or on the sandy roads, children play games of soccer or the typical elastics game, they build sand castles or draw their names in big letters.

Sand is a partner of other natural elements, and manifests their presence: notably, the wind and water (sea/rain) and the moon (waves and large tidal moments at full moon where the sea overflows onto the Marginal).

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 concrete 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 Nyerere 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, 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. As such, construction uses sand, covers sand, but is also challenged by sand, as sand will cover up concrete roads if they are not maintained regularly.

On the beach, people from all walks of life can be found. The sand is the great equalizer of this space. It is open to a wide diversity of uses, and therefore allows or encourages a wide variety of bodies to be present. The beach also has a tendency to overstep the boundaries that the streetscape attempts to impose on it: it regularly goes onto the sidewalk, creating small dunes that runners have to sidestep and which have to be swept away, only to come back at the next gust of wind. The beach is the ultimate democratic public space of Maputo: it refuses no one.

A view of the Marginal, with the beach overstepping its boundaries and edging onto the street. Little sand dunes form and gather at the intersection between street and sidewalk, blocking the water drains. One man became a famous sight by regularly sweeping away at these dunes, and drivers would briefly stop to give him a tip when they saw him.

The beach is a diverse space: it houses old fishing boats, religious ceremonies (from a sect of Christianity that mixed with pagan rituals related to the sea), multitudes of crabs and seaweed, and litter washing in from all corners of the world.

Attempting to control the sand is somewhat futile, as it always comes back; you can never get rid of it completely, it will always be part of the assemblage of the city, and influence practices in the streetscape.

> *Formalised places attempt to be sterile; the sand is their biggest enemy, concrete the weapon to combat it, and cleaners the foot soldiers in the war. (Memo 6/05)*

Sand reminds me that the natural state of public spaces is messy, and maintaining it in a purely concrete, supposedly 'modern' state requires great amounts of labour. Reducing the complexity of entities comprising public space is something that needs to be actively worked towards: the natural state of the streetscape is diverse.

Trees: the implantation of urban greenery as an alternate use of the street

In contrast to sand, which appears as universal in the streetscapes analysed, trees are more spatially distinct. They have different histories and roles to play in the street in the three sites I investigated. In Triunfo, the growing presence of urban greenery shows the power of wealthy(ier) dwellers of Maputo in assigning function to public space, by creating leisure or purely aesthetic spaces that are visually appealing. In Polana Caniço and along the Marginal, trees have been present for a longer period of time, and are anchored in social life.

In Polana Caniço particularly, trees indicate a parallel to traditional rural life, where social, economic, and political life takes place under ancient and immense trees, due to the shade they provide. They are also part of the commons, as their fruits and shade are shared, even if the tree is anchored in private space. The intersections of roads that are shaded by trees become key economic spaces, as they provide comfort for informal practices.

The presence of significantly more open spaces in Triunfo has meant the emergence little by little of gardens that are privately managed, but located in public space. These gardens respond to a concern with the misuse of open spaces (e.g. for dumping trash) and desire to enhance the aesthetic of communal spaces and spaces for play for young children.

Some informal beach vendors having a chat and waiting for customers in the shade of pine trees along the Marginal. Women will spend the whole day sitting in this space in order to make some money from the drinks they sell out of their cooler boxes.

A group of children waiting for something interesting to happen, sitting on the edge of a sidewalk in Polana Caniço on a sunny Sunday morning. The bar behind them has finally shut down its music, and is being cleaned in preparation for the revelries of the night to come. A bucket of fried foods can be seen sitting atop a banca. *2M is the national beer brand.*

One such garden, a square that was formed over the past ten years in front of our house, is a subject of hot debate, as it is rhythmically invaded by school children that go to the neighbourhood school next door. Another, created on the border space with the marshlands, is making use of what is perceived as empty/unused space, which is possibly a misconception, as much of the marshland is actually used for agricultural practices.

Trees are an important element of the Marginal, as an aesthetic element contributing to this beach vibe that the esplanade is meant to take on, but also as a functional element providing shade and therefore a certain level of comfort for remaining for more extended periods of time in place. Many of the trees that used to be along the Marginal have suffered and been cut down in its most recent rebuilding. Trees are thus in conflict with cement when it is imposed through construction practices.

Trees are a unifying element between socioeconomic classes. Everybody can agree that more trees improve the quality of life in the street and the neighbourhood. The presence of trees in the streetscape is a key linking point to practices of immobility, due to the affordance of shade that they provide.

The enclosure of public spaces through construction

There is a rising tension between the urban poor and their uses of space and right to dwell close to the city centre, and the rise of speculative developments (“urban fantasies”, see Collie, 2011) as (international) elites decide to invest in commercial spaces and luxury apartments and condominiums.

The trend of elite capture of space extends itself in two ways into public spaces: through the privatisation of public spaces on the one hand, and through the commercialization of public spaces on the other.

In Triunfo, we see the enclosure of public space as the production of space by (wealthy) dwellers. By creating garden spaces in the street, dwellers are making claims to the ‘public’, by establishing their capacity or power to make changes to these spaces. This results, to a varying degree, in an exclusion of other potential users of these open spaces, in what resembles very much a process of privatisation.

Similarly, the paving of the road network, because individuals undertake this process, means that a sense of ownership and responsibility for this newly

created infrastructure emerges among these ‘private’ entities. The infrastructure does not naturally integrate the public sphere, but rather becomes a strange public-private object from which bodies can be (or feel) excluded.

On the Marginal, we see the enclosure of public space by private entities, such as mall developers, but also speculative developments of the luxury housing type, and alcoholic beverages companies through aggressive marketing and company-sponsored beach bars.

The fragmentation of the green space that is part of the old racing track is another demonstration of the privatisation of what was in effect a public space. This green space, because it had no function for the track users except as a buffer against accidents, was openly used as an agricultural space and a point of connection for pedestrians between the upper *caniço* areas and the Marginal and the beach beyond it. Now that the roadside is being sold off to developers, access to these spaces and *through* these spaces is being slowly cut off through the very physical process of putting up walls. If this process follows its natural course, the roadside will be filled with the effects of speculative developments, with no consideration for other functions or users of that space, and with no spatial planning consideration of how to go through this built up area. The only solution will be to go around, limiting the access of pedestrians (i.e. the urban poor) to the beach.

The use of the parking lots for elite parties, funded and organised by national or multinational drinks companies, is also significant in indicating the progressive commercialisation and enclosure of public spaces. This is usually most notable in the visual space of the streetscape, as it gets more and more crowded with moving screens and noticeboards lighted with aggressive neons and impossible to ignore. Every single light post on the Marginal between Maritimo and Marés (another mall) has a poster space on it.

The occasional privatisation of the public parking lots – for large events such as parties – along the Marginal also results in exclusions of certain groups of urban dwellers from what was designed as an open-access space, and was functionally one of the most democratic spaces in Maputo. It is the creation of elite enclaves, even if temporary in nature.

The temporary enclosure of one of the parking lots lining the Marginal, for a private event sponsored by Savanna (a South African cider company). These exclusive, temporary clubs have capitalised on the Mozambican tradition of beach-side partying, but turned it into an increasingly high end affair.

The Marginal on a weekend: it is quiet, and cyclists can be seen going on and coming from long rides out of town. Beer advertisements for 2M can be seen on every light post, capitalising on this new infrastructure as a commercial space.

Similarly, the beach now has a private bar sponsored by Caipirinha that is fenced off in order to create a sort of exclusivity for its customers, and perhaps a feeling of safety for their children.

The message of this commercialised space seems to be: buy more beer, it will make you happy! In the context of the Marginal, with its extensive weekend party-going crowd and role as a social and leisure space in Maputo, this marketing strategy makes complete sense. *(But when you consider the extensive drinking problem that is emerging in Maputo, this seems to be against the public interest.)*

Synthesis

The hand of the state is most visible in the production/construction of the streetscape, particularly through large scale infrastructural projects. However, construction practices involve diverse bodies and ranges of practices, depending on the context within which they take place: they are a bundle of practices that make up (parts of) the materiality of the streetscape. This provides a partial answer to what practices take place in the streetscape (sub-RQ 1). We have also briefly begun to look at how these construction practices interact with other practices such as eating or sweeping, giving a preliminary answer to sub-research question 2.

Observing the production of the streetscape is a way of seeing who feels like they have a right to the street and to making the city: the wealthy feel more entitled in Triunfo, but similar practices of appropriation can be seen in the maintenance of small strips in PCA. On the Marginal, by contrast, there are (little to) no dwellers, and so little appropriation of the street through construction takes place, however commercial and private interests are visibly present. Both state and dwellers build, reproducing similar aspirations and dreams of modernity. This gives some insights into the processes of inclusion and exclusion taking place (sub-RQ3).

The streetscapes of Maputo are increasingly produced as a space for flow, movement, mobility: for going through the street rather than dwelling in the street for extended periods of time. There is little street furniture put in place to stay in place (no toilets, no benches, no water). In contrast, and we will develop this later, the basis of public space seems to be contained in shade and an opportunity to dwell (rest, sit, play).

The use of concrete is aspirational, but also pragmatic. It is not just linked to dreams of modernity: it also lasts much longer than most other cheap building materials. Concrete and sand are visually dominant as elements of the streetscape, and interact in both conflicting and conspiring ways.

As a preliminary comment on the materiality of invited vs. invented spaces, I would argue that the invited is more permanent, characterised by concrete and homogeneity of non-humans and the imperative of formalisation manifesting as single-use or specific-use spaces. The invented is more contingent in nature, it is mobile, fluid, responding to its environment, and characterised by the presence and use of ‘natural’ elements such as sand and trees.

4 Walking the streets of Maputo

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight 'slow' mobility practices, focusing on walking. This takes for granted that 'fast' mobilities are globally invited, and that although walking and other slow practices are invited in their generality, they may not be invited in their specificity. Mobility practices are mediated by the materiality of place, where some find themselves more 'invited' in their interaction with and through the streetscape. Invented practices will take advantage of the potential of the streetscape, using the hidden/unintended affordances of these same streets.

Walking can be interpreted as one type of invited mobility (due to large sidewalks, as it is an important mode of mobility for the majority of dwellers), but it can come in opposition to other mobilities (especially cars). The materiality of the street can thus invite practices to varying degrees, and may favour some more than others, implying different 'levels of invitedness', and corresponding degrees of inventedness in the specificity of practices. Focusing on walking as a practice gives an insight into a visceral interpretation of the invited/invented duality as a duality between comfort and discomfort.

As walking is an embodied practice, it is best observed through visceral and sensory methods, hence the focus on the visceral in this chapter. Auto-ethnography also served as a structuring focus to write this chapter. Walking as a research practice is enlightening as it forces you to really *be* in place, and being in place is a fundamental part of knowing place and creating a grounded sense of place. Rodaway highlights that "the reciprocal and body-bound exchange with the environment is essential for the emergence of a sense of belonging" (1994: 54). Wunderlich also emphasises the ways in which walking allows us to know place:

> "As a 'lifeworld' (Seamon, 1980, p. 149) practice, walking is an unconscious way of moving through urban space, enabling us to sense our bodies and the features of the environment. With one foot-after-the other, we flow continuously and rhythmically while traversing urban place. Walking is an experience we are not conscious of, ignoring its potential as an aesthetic, creative or simply insightful practice. It is while walking that we sensorially and reflectively interact with the urban environment, firming up our relationship with urban places. Walking practices and 'senses of (or for) place' are fundamentally related, the former affecting the latter and vice versa. Furthermore, walking and 'walkscapes' are rhythmical. While 'walking' in the city, we perform in space-time, becoming immersed in temporal continuums of social everyday life activities fused with spatial and natural rhythmical events" (Wunderlich, 2008: 125-126).

Slow mobility: walking and *txovas*

Of the many slow mobilities taking place in the streetscape – walking to school, cycling for leisure, pushing *txovas*, taking wedding pictures, taking a Sunday stroll, and so on – these can mostly be placed in the broad category of walking practices. Walking as practice is bound to many other practices. Walking is a diverse mobility that can have different rhythms depending on purpose, time of day, and the interaction of bodies with the materiality of the streetscape. I will briefly touch on *txovas* as a non-human associated with a specific mode of walking that is linked to economic practices.

For children, walking means playing: moving through spaces at their own rhythm, inefficiently, with many pauses to interact with their environment: playing with a tree or a broken tile, walking on the ridge of the balustrade, making jokes with a friend. Children move impulsively. Street kids especially, use the street as if they owned all of it: they cross the road anywhere, including in the middle of roundabouts, with no fear of cars, probably from having done it so many times before. They change sidewalks depending on the opportunities they see for asking money from other walkers, or according to their whims and play. School children move in a more linear manner, from their homes to school and back, but pausing and playing along the way.

For tourists or Sunday walkers on the Marginal, walking is relaxed, slow, in groups or pairs, the arrangement changing over the course of the walk. They are concentrated around certain areas: the Baixa (downtown), the fish market, the Marginal between Maritimo and the fish market. They are looking at the sea, enjoying the wind, ignoring the cars going past, maybe buying a coconut along the way, or some cotton candy in an inflated plastic bag.

Similar to tourists or Sunday walkers are the wedding parties that come to the beach for the symbolic wedding photo shoot. They are joyful, slow, long processions of cars and people in suits and colourful cloth stuffed in them that then migrate to the beach-side sidewalk. They stop at the wave-breakers for the hour-long photo shoot. Children in oversized suits play in the rocks that make up the sides of the wave-breakers; the adults are walking at a talkative pace.

There are also commuters: they are purposeful, getting from A to B in an efficient manner. These are more present in Polana Caniço and Triunfo than on the Marginal (those on the Marginal are usually transiting to *chapas* or *machibombos*). I am part of this crowd occasionally, though I am often torn between the imperative to move – tied to feeling the need to be purposeful in

my movement in order to feel legitimate in the street (and to not fall in the 'tourist' category) –, and needing to capture moments and things I see (research-based mobility). The different roles I play in the street require different mobilities and interactions with my environment. I find it difficult to let the researcher role take over and to become natural, to lose the self-consciousness that I have in the street (linked to my whiteness and foreignness).

> "If I walk in the streets in the same way as 'locals', will I be perceived to be more like them? Moving fast, purposefully, disregarding zebra crossings because the cars don't respect them anyways… we always used to say with my sisters that we were crossing 'Mozambican style' when we'd jaywalk" (memo: 12/07/2019)

Walking is what creates the rhythmicity for my sense of place: my experience of the streetscape is rhythmic and circular. So much so that it turns into a monotony of movement, and walking fades back into my subconscious. My feet are walking but my head is elsewhere. I become unaware of my bodily presence in the street, and almost forget I am walking, until my body reacts to its environment in a jarring way. Otherwise, it takes conscious effort to bring myself back to my visceral experience of the street. This embodied knowledge of the street bridges the gap between my body and other bodies in the street.

Txovas disrupting assigned spaces for bodies and practices

When talking about the nuances of practices that are invited or invented, and the resulting bodies or non-humans that are thus included/excluded, an example can be given with rubber tires. In their role as part of cars, and thus part of fast mobilities, they are perfectly invited by the smoothness of the road that is planned for them. But the smoothness of roads also invites other tires: those on *txovas* (hand-pushed, two wheeled carts), which use the roadside or emergency lane. This part of the streetscape is not explicitly intended for them, in fact they technically disrupt the car flow, as cars have to overtake them, and so this use of *txovas* can be seen as a creative and invented use of the streetscape.

Young men, sometimes in pairs, using their bodily energies, push around the txovas, laden with trash, coconuts, or other goods. Once they are stationary, the *txovas* return the favour by providing shade for them to rest under. (Wheelbarrows do not have this same advantage of providing a resting space, though they are also used to ferry around goods.)

A txova *laden with fresh coconuts, bearing a washed out parasol. Coconuts vendors will expertly open one up at your request, using sharp machetes, and topping it off with a straw. Coconuts end up littering the sides of the Marginal, and collecting in piles at the bottom of the stairs leading down to the beach.*

Children labouring hard to push a txova *uphill towards Polana Caniço. Luxury housing can be seen behind tall walls topped off with electric fencing. A car is parked on the sidewalk, blocking their passage.*

When those pushing the carts feel too out-of-place on the road itself, they will make use of the sidewalk, which is just large enough for them to roll on, but not large enough for them *and* pedestrians, thus forcing pedestrians to sidestep them by going onto the road (as the pedestrians are more mobile than the *txovas*). The presence of *txovas*, and the practices they mediate (e.g. bringing coconuts down to the Marginal for selling purposes, but also the walking they shape), thus disrupts the expected use of the different parts of the streetscape, and force bodies to shuffle around (re-assemble) in order to accommodate them.

A question to myself: could it be that planners anticipated the need for txovas *to move around on the roads, and thus planned the sidewalk to be just wide enough for them to use it? I have no good answer to this… A blindspot?*

Streetscape experienced as discomfort

I find that my relationship to the streets of Maputo varies with the time of day and where I am going. I am rarely excited to walk anywhere except to yoga, because that seems like a manageable distance, and is within my 'turf', or comfort (home) zone. I see walking as a chore rather than as a pleasurable activity. I walk to commute, to do research, not to enjoy the physicality of walking. I link this affective relationship to the street with three things: heat, blisters, and men, due to the ways in which they bring about bodily discomfort.

Relating to the overarching conceptual framework of this thesis – invited and invented spaces – the notion of 'feeling' or affective and embodied relationships to place, relate to the practices or bodies that are invited in space. Intuitively, this means that comfort in place can be indicative of either an invited practice/body, or an appropriation of space through practices to generate increased comfort (invented practice).

Heat and shade: the basis of dis/comfort

Heat is the unavoidable context of Maputo. Being a sub-tropical, seaside capital, it enjoys sunny, 25+ weather a majority of the time, with a pleasant breeze coming in from the bay. As a holiday destination it's perfect. As a dweller, it can get quite uncomfortable. The Marginal used to be lined with pine trees planted decades ago by the colonial government. Overtime, the sand in

which their roots rested was washed away by the tide, and they eventually fell into the sea. The rest were cut down when they rebuilt the Marginal (it too was being undermined by the waves, and was falling in blocks onto the beach below). Only three patches of these shade-giving trees remain. Nowadays they serve as spaces of concentration of pauses, because they are a welcome rest from the relentless sun.

This is the counter-point to heat: shade. It is an essential element connecting my moments of comfort. It is the remedy to the ills of public space. I exaggerate, but all experiences of space are toned down when there is shade to reduce the basic experience of heat. I am much less annoyed – with men and with the time I spend walking – when I have been sitting in the shade and haven't been experiencing a generalised feeling of heat stress. Entering spaces of shade always feels like a balm on the soul. My movements are essentially movements between spaces of shade, where the moments of mobility are ones of heat and sun. Being able to reduce these moments of heat and sun are thus a luxury…

> "Being able to just enjoy the heat rather than also suffer from it must be a luxury, linked to forms of mobility. Walking or taking a *chapa* (or biking to commute) are hot affairs. Taking a personal car, with the option of AC, is a luxury of coolness and fresh air. Fresh air, and generally access to wind coming from the sea, also seems to be a luxury" (memo: 6/05/2019)

Blisters: bodily energies and their effects

Blisters are a factor of time and wetness. Sweat and coming out of the pool influence the latter, time is unchanged. It always takes me an hour to get home from PCA. Sometimes I would do a stop at the Maritimo to cool myself down and get some movement in before moving through the discomfort of the Marginal. My Birkenstocks (*what a hipster I am*) bring out a coin-sized blister on the sole of my foot. I walk awkwardly to try and reduce rubbing. I cannot wait to get home to be able to walk barefoot on the cool tiles.

Blisters are also a symbol of the bodily energy put into walking as a form of mobility. It is the moment where I feel 'closest' to the embodied experience of the average Maputo dweller, as I realise the sudden proximity between our bodily comforts and discomforts. Almost all 'Laurentinos' (*can I use this to signify Maputo dwellers? It feels very politically incorrect considering it refers to Maputo's colonial name: Lourenço Marques*) walk to their places of work or walk *to work*, i.e. work in mobile street vending activities. They probably feel

this discomfort – the heat, the weariness – and have gotten used to it. I often think of the coconut vendor taking a nap underneath his *txova* in the middle of the day. Probably the heat and weariness got to him, and as it was not a selling moment in the day, he succumbed to his body's demands, finding a microcosm of comfort.

Walking is thus a shared mobility, bringing me closer to my subject (bodies), giving me a feel for their experience of place thanks to this shared experience.

Men: awareness, wariness, weariness

Men are a constant source of anxiety. Or at least awareness. Awareness of how my skirt might fly up with a gust of wind, giving them a peak of (thankfully only) my spandex which I put on for exactly this purpose; I am wary because I still do not want to give them the satisfaction of *thinking* they might see more. Awareness of my gender, my being, my skin colour. A self-awareness that I dislike immensely. A wariness of a potential micro-encounter, anticipating what they might say, how I might react. Hoping that it is only a micro- and not a macro-encounter. Once, a man who struck up a conversation with me almost followed me home because he was so intent on sticking to me, trying to get my number or a general possibility of future interaction. Fear in my heart, sinking to my accelerating feet.

Interactions with men tend to make me angry. The first one in the street I can brush off, the second also, but by the sixth or seventh I am starting to snap back at them, an unwise decision for my own safety. I once asked a man why he thought he could call me "baby" when he didn't even know me, and he got very angry with me, shaking his fists at me and calling me names as I walked past praying that he wouldn't come after me.

A brief interaction, yet one that has stuck with me and makes my body tense up every time I walk past that bus stop just before Baía mall now, hoping that he won't be there selling fish again. How aggravated I am feeling depends on how many men I have met like this, and how hot and dehydrated I am feeling. It gets progressively worse as I walk on.

Understanding other bodies on a visceral level: empathizing with bodily needs and discomfort

'Visceral empathy' is a way of discussing the ways in which the conscious embodied experience of place can help to bridge what is otherwise felt as a strong duality between the Self and the Other (particularly due to my own self-consciousness as a white expatriate woman in Mozambique). The shared embodied experience of place, and the realisation that the visceral is (to a certain extent) universal, allows me to relate my personal experience of public spaces in Maputo with other bodies' experience. Two cases come to mind when thinking of visceral empathy: experiencing thirst and needing to pee.

One of my most striking memories of walking on the Marginal are when I saw a lady peeing behind a bus stop, absolutely not hidden by the see-through structure, and suddenly being struck with the realisation that there are no public toilets in the three sites I studied. Yet people work on the streets throughout the day, and it is nearly impossible to get through the day without needing to go to the bathroom. Much easier for men than for women to deal with this (which may explain why much less women have mobile informal jobs), and men peeing on walls is actually enough of a problem that is combatted by writing "*é proibido fazer xixi*" ("it is forbidden to pee") on walls, sometimes accompanied by a threat of a fine of 50MTN.

Thirst is another example, as I feel it very intensely when I am walking home and have already finished my water. Then I think about buying coconuts, or smoothies, or all sorts of things, but I resist, because I do not want to generate plastic waste, and I think: "oh, it's less than an hour and then I can drink all I want". But I feel so sorry for the coconut vendors, sitting in the sun all day with no water in sight, though I guess they can drink a coconut at least.

In her Master's thesis research, Philippa Collin (2016) tried explicitly to put herself in situations where she would feel out of place in order to understand from an embodied perspective the effects of exclusion. She reflected that if you are always the dominant culture or the desired/intended user of spaces then you would never understand what it feels like for a space to not make you feel welcome, either due to the non-human elements, or the human (micro-) encounter. It is strange to realise for me that although I am numerically a minority in Maputo, it is possible for me to feel included in a majority of the spaces I engage with. Is this because I avoided spaces where I had no reason to be (this seems like an obvious answer), or because almost all spaces are somehow codified to include me (unlikely, but still interesting to consider my position then in the 'dominating' culture)?

Feet seeking comfort: the intuitive navigation of the street

Feet seek out comfort when walking in the street. Naturally they will go where the sand is most packed, least deep, so that they may spend less energy stabilising the body and moving it forward. On the beach this means walking along the edge of the waterline, where the sand has hardened as it dried. On sand roads this means walking in car tracks, or in the centre of the road, as this is where most through-traffic goes, and therefore where the sand is most densely packed. The edges are the worst, as that is where the sand is thrown. On formalised roads (cemented), feet seek out the smoothest part with the least cracks. This is usually not the sidewalk, but that depends on the age of the road (older means more broken up), and whether there is a sidewalk in the first place.

In the residential roads of Sommerschield II, I found myself walking almost in the middle of the road because the traffic was almost non-existent, and the sidewalk was littered with obstacles: cracks, plants, parked cars. It was easiest to avoid it altogether. On the Marginal, I would not dare to walk on the road itself because of the cars speeding past, and the sidewalk gives ample comfortable walking space.

Feet seeking comfort can be generalised to the body seeking comfort intuitively in how it wanders and walks in the street. People want to buy a car as soon as their finances allow it, so that they can avoid the daily, embodied struggles of travelling by *chapa*, and the slowness of walking. In the *chapa*, bodies are sweaty, hot, cramped, smelly, sitting out of windows and in every nook and cranny possible. You wait for a long time for them to come and you are never guaranteed that there will be enough space for you. In cars, there is air-conditioning, windows with a fresh breeze coming in, individual seats (and usually only one person in the car), and you control where and when you move. It is individualised comfort at its finest.

Synthesis

In this chapter I gave a tentative answer to how I feel in the streets of Maputo, by focusing on walking practices from an auto-ethnographic perspective (sub-RQ 1). The overwhelming feeling is discomfort, related to heat stress, the bodily energies spent in walking, and the presence of other human bodies, specifically men and the micro-encounters experienced when walking past them. Shade is a counter-point of discomfort, and thus becomes essential in

generating the potential of the street as a public space, or as a space for diverse practices.

When I dig deeper than my discomfort, I find that the act of walking is a way of increasing my sense of place, my feeling of belonging to place, and thus begins a process of bridging the gap of ‘othering’ that occurs between myself and ‘real Mozambicans’. It thus gives me a visceral or embodied insight into the processes of inclusion and exclusion from spaces that I would not otherwise have been aware of (sub-RQ 3). There is a somewhat inverse relationship between places where I feel included/excluded versus where the ‘urban poor’ (for lack of a better word) feel included/excluded.

The relationship of comfort or discomfort in space can be discussed in terms of bodily comfort related to basic bodily needs: thermal comfort, needing food or water, or simply needing to go to the bathroom (sub-RQ 2). Acknowledging this shared embodied experience leads to a visceral understanding of the potential Other that ends up bridging the gap between Self and Other.

I would like to suggest that the street is so uncomfortable to walk in because it was not designed for pedestrians to dwell in. Walking and its associated practices are only a side effect of the proposed design: the Marginal and other main axes roads on which I commuted were made with cars in mind. It is essential to consider walking practices when thinking about how the street becomes a public space. Rendell describes this beautifully:

> “Through the act of walking new connections are made and re-made, physically and conceptually over time and through space. Public concerns and private fantasies, past events and future imaginings, are brought into the here and now, into a relationship that is both sequential and simultaneous. Walking is a way of at once discovering and transforming the city. (Rendell, 2006, p. 153)”

5 Practices that require a moment of pause

The practices that bring bodies in certain places, and become ways of being-in-place, can become political claims of the right to the city. The creative act of making or 'inventing' places is also a political act. In this chapter, we will look at more 'slow' practices that are not mobility practices: practices that require a moment of pause or immobility.

Although the streetscape's primary function is mobility (fast and slow), many other practices take place in this space, with alternative rhythms and spatialities. These could be called 'slow' practices, or 'unintended' practices, depending on what facet of these practices we are observing. They serve what could be termed 'secondary' functions of space. This does not mean that they are less important to the streetscape, but rather that they come in uninvited, unintended, unplanned for. They are the 'invented' practices: those that match or remake the materiality of the streetscape and make unabashed use of the streetscape for everyday life.

One bundle of practices that is worth commenting on is those that contribute to 'making a living' (alternatively: economic practices). In conjunction with these practices we often also find micro-encounters between bodies: strangers, friends, neighbours, acquaintances, pause to exchange a moment of sociability.

Shade as an invitation for pause

As we saw in the previous chapters, shade is the invitation for pause, and therefore mediates most practices that require a moment of immobility, of slowness. Shade allows for street vending, socialising, and play.

In Polana Caniço, street vendors will set up shop in the shade of trees, with more temporary *bancas*, or create shade for themselves using tarps held up by sticks or setting up *barracas* of corrugated metal. Socialisation takes place in the shade of the awnings of *lojas* attached to private houses, at the various *bancas* in the shade of trees, or in the street in a spot of shade where a raised surface provides seating space. Children play a bit everywhere in the street, but will prefer congregating where the shade of fruit trees covers the soft sand.

On the Marginal, street vending, socialising, and play are also mediated by shade. Those who remain for extended periods of time on the Marginal (as

opposed to just passing through it) will remain in the shade. The three points of pine trees are nodes for everyday practices. The coconut vendors create their own shade with umbrellas or will stay as much as possible in the shade of their carts.

In Triunfo, street vending and play are more dominant practices in the streetscape. Socialising is not so present as the dwellers who live there are not so present in the streets during the day. The exception is the socialising that takes place alongside eating/economic exchanges at *bancas* and *barracas*. Play is key for school children on their way to and from the neighbourhood school. Their mobility is interrupted by moments of play, invited by the presence of shade or infrastructures that can be interacted with.

When shade is not present, but bodies still need to be in certain places e.g. for economic reasons, then shade is often created: the umbrellas of the coconut vendors, plastic sheeting tied between wooden poles of the food vendors, the open boot of a car for those selling hot meals…

Though mobility does not require shade, people still prefer being in cars – to be protected from the hot sun, and ideally with air-conditioning – rather than walking, as it becomes quite hot out if you are walking for a long time. I used to burn my feet walking up and down the Marginal.

‘Making a living’ and everyday life in the street

Making a living in the city can be a difficult task: the formal employment sector of Maputo is not currently able to absorb all the labour force living within its limits (Ulandssekretariatet, 2014), and thus the informal sector and entrepreneurship are key ways of making a living. The street is a key site for these alternative economic activities.

The streetscape is planned for mobility practices, and thus brings bodies into movement in the same space. This movement of bodies, and their concentration in the street, is an affordance that is exploited by alternative economic practices. Selling food is one of the classic entrepreneurial activities people will engage in when in need of additional income. The specificity of this practice as it takes place in the streetscape of Maputo is interesting to delve into.

Vóvó sitting underneath her makeshift tarp (set up by her grandchildren every morning), peeling some potatoes in preparation for her lunch, which she will cook on a home-made barbeque, lit with burning plastic and coal. She sells coconuts and the best roasted cashews of Maputo.

The cashew and peanut ladies, stationed for the day as usual next to the petrol station. When you stop next to them, they all run up to you in the hopes that you will choose to buy from them and not their colleague. The Maritimo (blue roof) can be seen in the background.

Because economic practices bring bodies into the street, many other practices or other ‘movements’ are also brought into the streetscape (like peeing, sleeping, walking, etc.). But economic practices also come into the streetscape because of other practices, like walking or driving or shopping (Baía mall and coconut vendors) or partying (chicken roasters). There is thus a circular encouragement of practices that are intersecting in the street and thus reinforcing one another or creating opportunities for one another. This concentration of practices in space often is located at “knots” in the streetscape. These knots are where infrastructures intersect (road intersections, *chapa* stops), or where there is a density of other elements like trees, outdoor sports equipment (on the Marginal), or petrol stations. These knots are key sites of intersecting practices, activities, and bodily movements.

The sidewalks are used for informal economic activities: they are re-invented with temporary *bancas* and more permanent *barracas*, a mat on the floor, or a see-through plastic bucket. At the roundabouts on the Marginal that connect to the interior of the city, you can find agglomerations of vendors: for example at the roundabout that is the turnoff of my house (specialised in snack foods for workers: targeted at the working class), or at the petrol station next to Maritimo (specialised in cashews and peanuts: targeted at richer people). Public infrastructures such as schools also generate potential for economic activities around food, for example in front of the school next to my house in Triunfo.

The roundabouts as “knots” are interesting as they often involve a transition between walking and taking *chapas* to go to (or come from) work or school. The moment of pause that is involved in this transition (waiting time for the *chapa* or chatting with friends when getting off) provides an opportunity to engage in other practices such as buying and eating.

The street is not explicitly made for selling goods and food, but it lends itself to this practice quite well. The government (micro-)manages these economic practices through regulation practices undertaken by the *chefe de quarteirão* within residential neighbourhoods such as Polana Caniço.

The Marginal has two sites explicitly for food selling: the first is a parking lot where food trucks have set up camp permanently, and the second is the new fish market (inaugurated in 2015), but the latter is fenced off from the street and thus is arguably distinct from it. An informal food point on the Marginal is in the area called Costa do Sol, across the street from the Marès shopping mall. This area is well established, and was an important site for weekend leisure well before the Marginal was redone (to improve access to the Costa do Sol area). There you can find possibly the best roast chicken I have ever tasted,

roasted over charcoal fires in tiny portable barbecues and tended by women who spend hours crouching on cooler boxes filled with beers.

Surprising uses of the streetscape: the (re)invention of space

In my research-based mobility, I would occasionally use the streetscape in ways that people found surprising. For example, when I sat on a slightly elevated part of the ground next to a church, people would pass me by and ask me what I was doing, if I was doing work or research for the church, they would ask to see what I was drawing, and generally my presence there was confusing. I had not realised when sitting that I was right against the wall of the church, I had only been looking for a point to dwell in and there had been no other suitable location, as the street lacks a lot of street furniture. There were more times where I sat in spaces that raised questions. Or walked in spaces where people wondered what I was doing there. I became a well-known sight and source of amusement for the men building the sidewalk between the Portuguese school and Av. Julius Nyerere: even when I would walk past without a camera they would ask me if I wanted them to pose for a photo. *I would often change sidewalks to avoid too much interaction with them, letting my discomfort get the better of my freedom of movement and overpowering my researcher role.*

Other surprising uses of the streetscape include: using drains as spaces for socialising (as benches) or for play (running up and down them, jumping across), jaywalking, using sidewalks as exhibition spaces for goods, the road used as a car workshop or as a public living room or party space (sitting in parked cars: car as a mobile living room). Using the *valas* as seating spaces is unintended but becoming mundane. There were many times where the *bate-papo* settled into the *valas* when the sun was soft and the wind was chilly and the body desired being somewhere warmer.

The various exercise stations that were set up in spots of shade along the Marginal are also ‘misused’ in the sense that none of the actual sporty people along the Marginal make use of them, but rather it is the children who come out of class that use it as an improvised jungle gym, or the bored vendors who sometimes start doing pull-ups for the sake of diversion. These stations are used, but not by the intended users or with the intended intention.

Similarly, the indents alongside the Marginal that were built with the intention of incentivising the *chapas* to stop at assigned spots have rarely been used by

them, but rather serve as parking spaces for the *txovas* from which coconuts are sold. The indents provide space for cars going past to make a pit stop for a freshly cut coconut. The entry-lanes going in and out of the Baía mall also serve this purpose, with the added advantage that cars coming in and out of the parking lot of the mall are going slower, and therefore have more time to decide to stop for a coconut.

Chapas do not stop at the allocated bus stops that were built into the new Marginal and Nyerere, but rather stick to those that were developed over time through necessity (i.e. where did people need to stop to go to work/home). A public transport map published in 2016 makes it seem like the network is holistically managed by the government, but it has emerged largely in an organic way.

The open space in front of my house invites unexpected users and uses. House guards taking naps in plastic chairs; a depository space for building materials for the new road; a playground for the school children at the end of their shift. The children invade the space with bell-tuned regularity: playing in the sand pit, using the paving blocks to build houses, pulling off every flower that is in reach on the bushes, throwing rocks into the *amendoeiras* to get the fruit down, climbing the trees in contests, breaking off branches to use as toys in their games.

The middle elevated band that houses the streetlights on the Marginal is used as a transition space by pedestrians as they attempt to cross: a safety zone of sorts, a place of rest before movement. All because cars do not respect zebra crossings in the least, and so you'd end up stuck for half an hour if you were to wait for the one car that is going to give you priority to cross (stereotypically a European expat who still has faith in established codes of conduct, or somebody who takes pity on your plight). You have to become an intrepid adventurer of the road space, braving the flow of cars, calculating how much time you have to avoid going splat on the road.

"Walking like a Mozambican" again is the point at which I feel I have passed my period of acclimatisation when I come home, because it always takes me a while to forget the rules of Europe and re-learn the habits of Mozambique. That in order to have a space in the streetscape you have to actively take it, and you cannot count on anybody's courtesy. The unspoken rules of behaviour and movement of bodies are completely different.

School children playing on the square in front of my house: a haven of greenery, and a much better playground it seems than the one in the school. The sand pit is often used for impromptu football games, and the trees are climbed in order to reach the 'amendoeira' fruit. The swing was taken off when it became so overused that it was dangerous.

A street child crossing the street. He and his friends are a common sight on my walks up and down the Marginal, and make use of the street as their playground. The shadow of the tall apartment block is approaching, and will shade this side of the street in the late afternoon.

Micro-encounters in the streetscape: Social mixity and social encounters

Micro-encounters with strangers in the streetscape are essential for building feelings of comfort and belonging in place, and for encouraging social mixity (Collin, 2016). The catch is that the micro-encounters need to be positive, a smile, a hello, a brief exchange while buying a piece of fried dough… The reverse side of micro-encounters is the harassment so often linked to the street for women (myself included), which reduces the desire to be in the streetscape, particularly when this turns into fear (of harassment, assault, robbery) at night. Sometimes feeling invisible in the street is more important than feeling recognised/at home.

For me, feeling ‘at home’ or comfortable in PCA came with buying food there, having small interactions daily with the ladies selling food (like with Vóvó or the church lady I interviewed, both of which I greeted every time I passed them).

There may be few designed/intended spaces of encounter in the streetscape, but this does not mean that no encounters take place. In old, tight-knit residential spaces such as in Polana Caniço, a lot of social interaction takes place in the street, under the shade of an awning, a tarp, or a tree, where women work selling small things to eat. These encounters are encouraged by the presence of shade, and mundane practices such as eating (the act itself, but also the need to buy food for cooking). In Polana Caniço, neighbours know one another and interact in small ways on a daily basis and in the streetscape.

In Triunfo, by contrast, there is much less of this mundane micro-interaction between residents, as less mundane practices take place in the street. Due to higher income levels, buying of food takes place in supermarkets rather than on the street, requiring less walking and thus less exposure to potential sociality. Those who do buy food on the street are rather those who work in the households as guards, maids, or gardeners (*empregadas/os*), but do not live in Triunfo itself. They buy food from people who also do not live in (that part of) Triunfo itself.

Thus a strange occurrence takes place: those who socialise most in the public spaces of Triunfo are not those who live there, but rather those who work there. They are also most visible in the streetscape, as they are the ones who are walking or staying for extended periods of time in the street. The residents of Triunfo generally take their car and quickly move to other spaces in the city, or remain behind the walls of their houses when they are home. These walls are high and meant to be impenetrable and daunting to potential trespassers,

and thus do not encourage the blurring of boundaries between public and private spaces that might take place in other neighbourhoods such as PCA.

Spaces like the beach or the Marginal are important, because people from all walks of life can go there to engage in different practices (sporting, selling, swimming, partying, praying, …). The Marginal is very inclusive in practice, even though it is becoming an elite space in its private spaces, as all of Maputo meets there (though all of Maputo does not necessarily interact there). There is socio-spatial proximity on the Marginal and the beach space. It is a crucial democratic space and serves as a pressure valve for the city.

Synthesis

The emergence of a public space in the streetscape is linked to the presence of shade as a mediator of slow practices, economic practices, and other practices that require a moment of pause or immobility. These practices encourage micro-encounters and co-presence in the streetscape, which is a fundamental part of encouraging social mixity. We now have a more or less complete idea of the diverse practices associated with the streetscapes of Maputo (sub-RQ 1).

Practices that co-exist in the street constantly shape one another's presence. The more takes place in the street, the more practices are invited and invented on a daily basis. The everyday struggles of making a living are an essential way in which bodies come into place, and make use of space in both invited and invented ways. Economic and mobility practices, amongst others, tend to be concentrated at "knots" in the streetscape, or associated with other public infrastructures such as schools. This answers the second question on the interaction between practices (sub-RQ 2).

The surprising and unintended uses of space are the invented practices that re-invent space: they make creative use of the materiality of the streetscape and its potentiality in order to live everyday life. When these surprising, unintended, or out-of-the-ordinary uses become rhythmic and repeated, they become mundane: an implicit part of everyday life. Becoming mundane means they are implicitly included into the everyday-ness of the streetscape, even if they are formally excluded, which gives us a preliminary answer to the last sub-research question (sub-RQ 3).

6 The multiplicity of futures contained in the present

"Storytelling in all its forms exists in our world for one major reason amongst others – it provides a way to make sense of the world around us"
(von Stackelberg & McDowell, 2015: 28)

I will aim here to bring together the conclusions from the previous chapters, and to explore some storylines that can be seen emerging from them. Speculative fiction serves as my narrative guide for this exploration, as I will start with a 'what if' question that serves to critically look at my conclusions. These 'what if' questions are used to build vignettes showing the multiplicity of futures contained in the present.

The exercise undertaken in this chapter is close in nature to the building of scenarios that takes place in futures studies, design fiction, and scenario planning (see e.g. Miles, 1993; Myers & Kitsuse, 2000; Hoch, 2016). I have chosen to take a more freely storied route, rather than anchoring myself in the scenario building tradition, because of the narrative potential of speculative fiction (von Stackelberg & McDowell, 2015). Developing stories based on my conclusions helps me to better understand the ramifications of these, and allows me to build more coherence into my thesis.

Of the four literary categories proposed by Levin (2010, cited in von Stackelberg & McDowell, 2015) to understand future-oriented science fiction – cautionary tales, literalised metaphors, explorations of new science and technology, and thought experiments – my stories fall under the latter, as they "examine the potential impacts of some current or anticipated event, technology, or trend" (von Stackelberg & McDowell, 2015: 30). They may occasionally verge towards the cautionary tale as well, as I have expressly left in my normative standpoint, and the stories may verge on the dystopian (depending on the reader's own normative standpoint).

I will maintain the narrative voice of the auto-ethnographer for these vignettes, as it has become the most natural way for me to delve authentically into the embodied experiences of the streetscape. Thanks are due to the collective *Ateliers de l'Antémonde*[4], whose work has inspired me and to whom I am

[4] The *Ateliers de l'Antémonde* are a group of people engaged in feminist and anticapitalistic activism who decided to challenge themselves to think creatively, enthusiastically, and critically about imaginaries of the future. They have written a

indebted for understanding how to re-position myself with regards to alternative futures in story. Their narrative workshop is another reason why I have decided to continue these stories in the first-person, as they showed me that it was much easier to imagine alternative futures if you could imagine what you would be doing in them, and how you would feel in them.

These fictions are clearly normative, based on my own sensibilities and what I implicitly believe could be 'better' futures/presents. But they are also informed by my analysis of the streetscapes of Maputo, and thus are not normative-from-nowhere: they are grounded in experience and in place. These are not futures that *will* happen, but futures that *could* happen: some seemingly more plausibly than others.

I will follow the order of the previous content chapters – chapter 3-5 – and explore them one by one, but will draw some connections between them as the text develops. A three-fold distinction emerges from these stories: between the fully controlled, the completely uncontrolled, and the space of possibility for diverse practices that takes place in between.

The construction of the streetscape

We saw in Chapter 3 that the desires of the state become visible in the production and construction of the streetscape, but that construction practices more broadly considered involve diverse bodies and ranges of practices, depending on the context within which they take place. Looking at who is producing the streetscape is a way of seeing who feels like they have a right to the street and to making the city.

Construction consists of a bundle of practices that make up the materiality of the streetscape. A diversity of bodies are involved in these practices, and these bodies also engage in other practices while in the streetscape. The streetscape of Maputo is increasingly produced as a space for flow, movement, and mobility. In contrast, the basis of public space seems to be contained in shade and an opportunity to dwell (rest, sit, play).

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book, *Bâtir aussi* (2019), where they explore an alternative timeline, that of the *Haraka*, where the Arab uprisings led to worldwide revolutions that challenged the capitalist and nationalist order. Through science fiction short stories, they explore the practical, ideological, and affective results of this alternative timeline. Their storytelling workshops explore this alternative timeline further through collaborative storytelling and narrative explorations: building stories together.

The use of concrete in construction practices is aspirational, but also pragmatic. Concrete and sand are visually dominant as elements of the streetscape, and interact in both conflicting and conspiring ways. They represent the tension between formality and informality, order and chaos, single-use versus multiplicity, and invited versus invented. They also demonstrate the importance of the non-human in the creation of public spaces.

Through and in construction practices, the invited appears more permanent, and is characterised by the homogeneity of non-humans (symbolised by concrete) and the imperative of formalisation manifesting as single-use or specific-use spaces. Formalisation is a common imaginary of most bodies doing construction: it results in concrete being a dominant materiality. However, just as sand challenges concrete, formality is challenged by informality in the interplay of invited and invented practices.

The invented is more fluid in nature: it is mobile, responding to its environment, and characterised by the presence and use of ‘natural’ elements such as sand and trees. However, the repetition of the invented in everyday life, in the mundane, gives it a form of permanence and power over the production of the streetscape.

Many things can be taken from these conclusions, but it seems that the tension between sand/trees and concrete is most visible, and works well as a metaphor for the tension between informality and formality, and diverse practices and the mobility-scape.

This leads me to the following *what if* question:

> *What if Maputo was covered in concrete?* What would happen in the streetscape, how would people dwell?

Somewhere in the near future…

I drive past the slew of malls lining the Marginal. Glass and steel and concrete have completely covered the old racing track. No sign of a maize stalk poking out of the ground. The coconut vendors are still there, hiding from the sun under their washed out multi-coloured parasols, but their coconuts now come from 2000km away. There isn’t a coconut palm to be found within the Maputo

agglomeration anymore, except for that one plastic one that adorns the entrance of the Chinese hotel.

I haven't walked the streets of Maputo in years. The more arid they've become the less enticing it's been to brave the sun. The comfort of the car called out to me, and I've lost touch with the every-man's reality.

It is a superficial comfort, though, this comfort provided by my cage of steel. The AC is blasting, but I can feel the heat of the sun pressing down on the roof, and the humidity of the coming storm penetrates through the cracks in the doors. It will be another rainy night. By morning it will be impossible to drive through the lower parts of town; the water washes straight down from the concrete heights of the inner city neighbourhoods, but cannot seem to make its way all the way down to the sea.

The inner city's streets have become unliveable. Concrete is everywhere, continuously put down by those building modernity. The city's spires chase one another into the sky, but down below the concrete jungle is an inferno.

Those who could afford the relocation moved out to the peripheries, chasing romanticised notions of the countryside and of owning a bit of land with some space for their kids to play football outside. A bit of grass, some trees, and if the second floor is finished and there's money left then a pool and a barbecue to host parties and visiting relatives.

Those who couldn't afford it got bought out anyways, making room for some more lavish duplexes that have stayed empty since, because who wanted to buy them anyways… They ended up hours away, with a one bedroom house that they'll never be able to plaster up and paint because the pennies they were given for their land couldn't stretch that far.

Maputo has become a concrete city, a city for elites. At night, the streets are empty, the city becomes a ghost town. The poor retreat to the peripheries, the rich to their walled condominiums. Nature has been forced to retreat. It is controlled, hyper managed, tamed to the point of domestication or extinction. It is present only functionally, aesthetically. Or it is not present at all.

What can we gather from this?

In this story, the streetscape is still produced largely for fast mobilities, encouraged by the overwhelming presence of concrete. The urban poor and their street-based practices are exiled to the peripheries of the city in a process of elite-capture of the centre. Walking has become increasingly uncomfortable as nature is reduced to bare aesthetics, leaving no space for shade to emerge. We see this trend emerging in Chapter 4, as heat stress and the relationship to shade are highlighted as a tension between discomfort and comfort. Concrete reduces the potential for invented practices, as it homogenises the streetscape to the point where the affordances provided by its materiality are also homogenised, reducing the 'spaces of possibility'.

What we can also draw from this story is one extreme of potential futures, where the streetscape is fully controlled, perhaps through processes of formalisation. This strengthens the current role of the streetscape as a space for mobility at the expense of other practices that may construct the streetscape as a public space. However, as invented practices are the other side of the coin of invited practices, they would certainly emerge within this possible future. What kinds of invented practices would take place in a concrete-dominated world?

Walking the streets of Maputo

Chapter 4 showed us that when the embodied experience of the streetscapes of Maputo is considered, it is found that they predominantly produce discomfort, linked to heat stress, bodily energies, and (undesired) micro-encounters. Supporting the conclusions of Chapter 3, shade is understood as essential for comfort if dwelling in the street, and it generates potential for other practices.

The practice-based focus of Chapter 4 was on walking, as it is a way to increase sense of place, belonging to place, and bridging the gap between Self and Other. Visceral empathy becomes a way of knowing the Other, through practices and embodied experience of place. Additionally, the embodied experience of streetscapes gives an indication of what is invited/invented based on comfort/discomfort, showing that cars remain the most invited body/practice combination, and that (fast) mobility remains the most invited bundle of practices.

The tension between fast mobility and slow mobility practices led me to ask the following *what if* question:

What if there were no more personal cars in Maputo?

In a future that is conditioned by the climate crisis and the end of the fossil fuel era…

Maputo is overrun with bicycles. And *txovas*. And wheelbarrows. And other human-powered things on wheels. It seems like utter chaos, but the swarm of activity has some auto-organisation to it. As in a swarm, individual bodies find the best path from A to B. As a stranger to these streets, the first impression is a feeling of being completely overwhelmed. After a couple of hours of walking, this feeling subsides and is left by a strange collective energy that carries you forward.

Amongst all this human activity, there are a couple of remnants of the fossil fuel era: public transport buses that are running on the rationed remains of the national gas reserves (when they found them in the 2010s they thought they would last forever… how wrong they were). The buses themselves are a decaying mess, chugging along on their last legs. The government is hoping to save up enough to put in new infrastructures for a rapid transit line, but in the meantime people have re-organised their activities around decentralised centres that are within walking distance. People do week-long trips to *machambas*, using donkeys to bring back food.

The roads that aren't on main transit lines have been reclaimed by grass and sand dunes. The children find this wonderful, as the whole streetscape becomes their playground. They dig hideouts in the sides of the dunes, and use the grass-covered streets as football pitches. Mothers do not fear to send them to school, as they no longer have to be afraid of a car catching them mid-flight.

Many of the streets connecting to the main transit lines are still being used for local-oriented economic activities. I can still find fried dough in various forms being sold out of big plastic buckets. Everyday trips have become much shorter, and so I've come to know my neighbours much better. I have my favourites based on the type of snack I'm looking for, like the lady two blocks

down who sells *badjias* and then points you in the direction of a little girl selling white bread across the street. Small rituals emerge, I know now every stone and tree that I cross on my way to the community centre, and greet them silently.

What can we gather from this?

The disappearance of cars and thus the freeing up of space in the streetscape means that slow practices and nature are allowed to bloom and take up more space than before: they become more globally invited. This promotes more intensity of encounters and practices in the streetscape, but also reduces the distances bodies travel for everyday life, changing the spatial dynamics of the city, and re-organising social and economic life.

What we also see in this vignette is the midway point between the fully controlled and completely uncontrolled extremes of the stories I have developed: it explores what happens in between these two extremes. What practices take place when the streetscape is not dominated by one (concrete) or the other (nature) non-human? Arguably, this is a more likely vignette than the two extremes, particularly as it takes a very specific, practice-based change into account for the ‘what if’ question.

Practices of immobility

As we saw in the other two chapters, shade is an invitation for pause, and the presence of shade is necessary for the emergence of public space, as it produces spaces that accommodate a diversity of (slow) practices. In Chapter 5, we saw that ‘making a living’ is part of everyday life. It is part of the ‘informal’ but also the everyday/mundane, and generates a lot of parallel practices (eating, socializing). These slow practices stimulate one another’s presence; they tend to be concentrated at “knots” in the streetscape. They also promote micro-encounters in the streetscape, which are essential for social mixity and are part of the streetscape becoming an inclusive space, open to all kinds of people and practices.

We observed that although the materiality of a place might be intended for a specific uses/practices, it can often be misused, re-invented, or creatively re-used by other bodies for other practices. Everyday life constantly makes creative use/re-use of space; the rhythmical repetition of these uses makes them mundane, and thus an implicit part of everyday life.

As shade is observed to be an essential part of the sociability of the streetscape, and trees seem to be the main providers of this shade, I was curious to explore the implications of the following question:

> *What if plants suddenly began to grow beyond our control?* (and redefined our relationship to nature)

The wild city

I follow the track that weaves through the grasses taller than me. (A new one emerges through the daily traipsing of traveling feet, only to be grown over overnight.) It leads me to a mango tree, tall as a skyscraper, whose branches spread out in a dense canopy. Saplings have been weaved into a staircase that brings me up into the bough of the tree, where a platform has been created. It is small, but buzzing with activity.

It is a self-organised economic hub: claimed and maintained by dwellers that live close by and use it to trade the food they have gathered or grown (most have become specialists), or the rarer products that come from further away. They have been brought by bicycle or wheelbarrow or *txova*, depending on how far they needed to travel.

I buy some roasted cashews from *Avó* and nibble on them as I chat with her and another one of her customers. We talk about the coming rainy season and the modifications they need to make to their tree houses in preparation. “At least we don’t have to worry about our houses washing away anymore”, says the friendly neighbour, “I much prefer only having to fix up the roof now and then!”

Avó mentions that another one of the buildings from the concrete age has collapsed under pressure from the vines covering it. The old city has slowly been succumbing under the weight of nature. It reminds me of when they

imploded the Four Seasons hotel back in the day: the whole of Maputo had gathered on terraces overlooking the downtown to watch the spectacle. Now collapsing buildings have become the norm.

I look out onto the bush interspersed with thickets of trees. You can still see the main axes of the Nyerere and Marginal, covered only in grass, as nature has taken longer to reclaim them. I can see a small group of children playing a game of catch with a mango pit, running nimbly through the grass.

I climb back down and disappear into the grasses, passing carcasses of cars that have been stripped down for parts and used to plant maize that grows bigger than my face. Wild nature is not all fun and games, but at least it provides us with bountiful food.

What can we gather from this?

In this story, we find that micro-encounters take a more positive light than in Chapter 4: knots of practices generate casual sociability. The change of relationship to nature radically re-organises mobility practices, as human bodies no longer have control over their environment, but rather are forced to contend with non-human agencies. Nature thus invites a different set of practices, but humans still invent spaces for everyday life: exchanging goods, socialising, playing. These slow practices become more prominent in the new public spaces.

This story explores the other extreme in the three-fold distinction previously discussed: the completely uncontrolled streetscape, where nature shows the loss of control of humans over the materiality or production of the streetscape. Instead, they have to navigate around a streetscape that is determined by a non-human that is not at their service. Even though the human entities lose some intentionality in the production of the streetscape, it is still possible for practices – especially slow practices oriented around everyday life – to take place, and for a convivial space to emerge.

Considerations based on storied futures

The purpose of these stories was to explore the re-arrangement of practices and bodies in the streetscape into new invited/invented configurations, as a result of specific *what if* questions. The stories are meant to be evocative rather than exhaustive: to give a taste of the embodied experience of the streetscape in these futures.

Interestingly, these stories tend to converge in certain ways. My normative inclination seems to be towards a greener, more inclusive and climate-conscious city, with decentralised economic hubs and mobility practices that no longer rely on fossil fuels. A more climate-conscious planning practice, with a focus on greenery, would produce more social spaces, and vice versa. This is likely tied to my developing interest in de-growth theories and planning to survive and live well through the climate crisis.

A future without cars is here explored as one that creates space for other mobilities, and other slow practices that are already taking place in the streetscape, but that can be enhanced and encouraged. The future without cars converges with the one dominated by (wild) nature in the anticipation of sociable public spaces, but with smaller radii of action of bodies linked to slower mobilities. There is more freedom and chaos in these two stories, whereas concrete seems to ‘flatten’ the realm of possibilities. But this may be due to my non-desire to explore the hopeful possibilities linked to a concrete future.

Linking the planning of alternative futures to the climate crisis and to dealing with future *éffondrement*, can lead to more inclusive cities. “Climate justice is social justice” is the slogan of many sections of the climate movement. The fate of informal settlements, the informal economy, and the urban poor, is crucial to consider when thinking about what the future may look like. For this, their current place in the city’s streetscape is an essential point of consideration.

7 Discussion and conclusion

This final chapter is meant to wrap up the results and points of interest that emerged throughout this research project. I will first discuss the results in relation to my research questions, research claims (intuitions), and theoretical framework, and then I will reflect on the methodological limitations of my experimental approach. Finally, I will provide some recommendations for practitioners (in Maputo and more generally), and suggestions for further research.

The invited and invented streetscapes of Maputo

This first section will serve to discuss the main conclusions that emerge from this text. What we will note is that the invited and invented practices and streetscapes that can be found in Maputo are two sides of the same coin of everyday life, with practices co-existing in conflict and conviviality.

The sub-research questions presented below will be discussed in turn. These questions served to guide the explorations of practices undertaken in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, and overlapped in these chapters.

> What practices take place in the streetscapes of Maputo?

In answering the secondary research questions, we found that a diverse set of practices take place in the streetscape. Not just mobility practices, but also economic, social, and play practices are notable members of everyday life and the body-ballet of practices taking place in the street. Everyday life takes place in the street: it is not a space limited to pure movement taking place in between everyday life. Even invited mobility practices such as taking a *chapa* and walking invite parallel, invented practices such as socialising, eating, selling, and buying.

Visual methods were particularly important in identifying preliminary categories or bundles of practices taking place in the streetscape, but also in highlighting ‘surprising’ uses of the street that were indicative of invented practices and the specificity of practices. Participant observation in the three sites was also essential in observing and engaging in some of these street practices, and the auto-ethnographic was useful in order to make sense of them from an embodied standpoint, to engage with the visceral.

How do these practices interact with one another?

Practices interact with one another largely by shaping the specificity of each other's manifestations. They coagulate or congregate at "knots" in infrastructures, with slow practices bringing together economic and social practices alongside the needs of bodily functions. Slow and fast practices interact in less-than-convivial ways, and will tend not to share space in the streetscape, but will still co-exist in the streetscape. Occasionally, disruptions of intended uses of space will bring them to interact, as when *txovas* use the car-oriented asphalt. The unintended sometimes becomes mundane through repetition, and eventually becomes legitimate, though it may remain officially informal.

Visceral methods were essential in delving further into the interaction between these practices, accompanied by further visual methods and analysis, informal conversations and ethnographic reflections. The auto-ethnographic was particularly important in making sense of walking and the embodied experience of the streetscape.

How does this relate to processes of inclusion and exclusion in the streetscapes of Maputo?

In terms of the interplay of practices and how they relate to processes of inclusion and exclusion in the streetscapes of Maputo, we can note that invited practices such as fast mobility are those that are most invited, and thus most obviously included, in the streetscape. Thus, the bodies that carry out those mobility practices are most included in the vision of what the streetscape is intended for, and concrete contributes to the construction of this vision of the streetscape. Invented practices challenge what the streetscape is initially intended for, through everyday practices and the bodies that carry them out. Sand also challenges the invited by bringing in an element of chaos (uncontrolled space), and trees invite different practices into space. These invented practices make claims of the 'right to the city' (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1996) by remaking the streetscape in mundane ways.

Informality is characterised largely by invented practices: taking advantage of the affordances and materialities of the invited streetscape. The invited streetscape is largely what is considered 'formalised', when it is mandated and carried out by bodies of the state. However, construction practices that make the streetscape can also be invented, when they are undertaken by non-mandated, 'independent' bodies rather than the state (usually dwellers in everyday life).

The tension between invited and invented uses of the streetscape is emblematic of the distinction discussed previously between the street as a space for mobility, and as a public space (von Schönfeld and Bertolini, 2017). It is part of the pressure of formality and formalisation of the streetscape to assign the single use of streets to mobility practices, focused on fast mobility practices.

It is in answering this final sub-question that the narrative approach became particularly relevant. Based on the visceral, visual, and sensory methods used throughout, it was then possible to explore the storied interactions between practices, embodied experiences of place, and more abstract concepts such as inclusion and exclusion, invited and invented, and sense of place. Storying and re-storying the findings, and confronting them again with the empirical material, served to draw out a coherent story of place. The use of speculative fiction in the last chapter served to critically approach this narrative and iterative process.

Through the discussion of the sub-questions, we can now give a tentative answer to the main research question:

> In what ways do practices associated with the streetscapes of Maputo enact different urbanities or ways of being urban?

Throughout the chapters, we saw that practices interact with the streetscape in invited and invented ways. Some are invited by the materiality of the streetscape, but also remake this materiality through invented practices that make claims to the street. Invited practices are only ever invited in their globality, not always in their diverse specificity.

The invented practices and invention of the streetscape show that there is no one way to be urban: though the invited materialities may be geared towards fast mobility practices, many other practices can take place within this invitedness, diversifying the uses and bodies initially expected or intended to be found in the streetscape. The tension between invited and invented can also be discussed in terms of the tension between formality and informality, or single use streetscapes versus diverse and multiple invented streetscapes.

Reflecting on research claims and the main objective

The main objective of this thesis was to help dislocate the centre of planning theory by contributing an empirical case that demonstrates different ways of being urban, which can thus inform different planning practices in the future. I have provided an empirical case that demonstrates, through the tension between invited and invented practices/bodies/materialities/streetscapes, that the urban streetscape is made up in a multiplicity of ways, and that there is no one way to 'be urban'.

Alongside this main objective, I had formulated a number of research claims or intuitions that guided my process and served as critical companions that were to be contrasted to the empirical reality uncovered throughout the research.

The first intuition was that typologies of space are fluid in nature.

Initially, this intuition emerged when I was reflecting on the tension between public and private spaces during my first thesis project (mentioned in the introduction), as I had found that dwelling practices did not respect the 'ownership' boundaries between public (state-owned) and private (individually-owned), and simply took place wherever was most convenient. In the end, I did not cover the borders between public and private as extensively as I anticipated in this thesis. However, the enclosure of public space by malls and bars and other private developments that provide similar functions to public spaces (socialising, partying, eating, selling), but in much more exclusive and regulated ways, is significant. Is a mall truly the only future of public spaces for Maputo?

Typologies of space can be reflected on regarding the different urbanities that are emergent in the streetscape of Maputo. Typologies of invited and invented, though presented as dual, are actually co-constitutive and co-present. A space that is identified explicitly as a parking lot, for example, can take up other functions, such as becoming a space for food trucks or wheelbarrow-shops, a party space for informal leisure out of the boot of a car, or a temporary enclosure for an exclusive party organised by big drinks companies.

The second intuition was that mundane and everyday practices are political acts.

Making claims to the city can take place through the mundane repetition of everyday life. It does not always need to be one-time overtly political acts that only serve to promote the right to the city of certain groups. Living everyday life

can be sufficient in some ways for this. However, once bodies with power decide that a mundane practice needs to be erased or removed from a space, the everydayness of practices cannot resist. This is when shows of force such as the 2008 and 2010 riots are necessary to make political claims to the city. Both everyday or dispersed resistance (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2018) and putting bodies on the street in extra-ordinary moments (Sutton, 2007) are necessary forms of embodied political action. By continuing to live everyday life without concern for what is 'allowed' but rather focused on what needs to be done to live life, dwellers enact their right to the city.

The reverse of this is that mundane and everyday practices of construction (of the streetscape, e.g. in the renovation of the Marginal and Nyerere), undertaken by bodies mandated by the state, *also* make political claims to who and what is invited/included in the streetscape. The rebuilding of the Nyerere evicted many roadside dwellers that were admittedly on a dangerous hillside subject to erosion and floods, but it also eliminated many crossover points that pedestrians were previously using, limiting interactions between people who were once neighbours, and making the way to school for many children more dangerous than it used to be. When the Marginal was rebuilt they removed many of the trees that had survived over the years: the place of nature was more contained, and re-evaluated.

The third intuition was that speculative fiction could be used as a way to open up 'spaces of possibility'.

The 'spaces of possibility' that were opened up related to methods and methodological practice, to (re)imagining futures, and for rethinking planning practice. The use of speculative fiction in this research project proved highly valuable as a way to bring in a critical perspective by posing 'what if' questions, and to explore these 'what if' questions through short vignettes. These vignettes open up the spaces of possibility contained in the present, and challenge the reader to think about what *they* think is desirable.

It also forces the narrator to think through the working logic of an alternative future, and thus seriously consider its possibility as a future. Speculative fiction allows for the consideration of practical consequences of certain lines of thought, through its function as a thought experiment. It brings to light the normative inclinations of the narrator/planner, and gives a chance to reflect on what is deemed desirable for the future of the city. The use of a narrative approach in combination with speculative fiction also allowed me to experiment with the different ways in which a thesis could be written, and alternative ways of dealing with the analysis of data.

Reflecting on use of theory and conclusions

The purpose of this section is to reflect on the limitations of the invited/invented distinction as a conceptual framework, but also to contrast some of the conclusions and insights already presented with relevant literature.

Transferring invited/invented from a citizenship framework to a practice-based approach

There are of course limits to using the duality of invited/invented as a framework for understanding the creation of public spaces in the streetscape. It assumes that there is an actor that invites, and an actor that invents, usually the state versus the dwellers, and that the inviter is more legitimate (or recognised as more legitimate) than the dwellers. However, this is often more nuanced, and the bodies engaging in certain practices will alternate between being the inviters and the inventers. A practice approach to the distinction between invited/invented makes different use of Miraftab's (2009) original concept. It is not a painless shift in context, as it is difficult to use the terms consistently when referring alternatingly to practices, bodies, materialities, and streetscapes that can all be discussed as invited/invented (and are often both at the same time).

Considering invented practices also gives an insight into what De Certeau (1984) would term the "creative resistance" associated with practices. The interplay between invited and invented also serves to productively look at the interaction between bodies and uses of spaces in the "body-ballet of practices" (Seamon, 1980): as a way to understand the choreography that makes place, in line with the work of Jane Jacobs.

The interplay between invited and invented and their co-constitutive nature is consistent with a practice-based approach, where according to Behagel, Arts & Turnhout (2019) "practices are always open to change" and "contingency is key". Considering invited and invented in terms of practices allowed for a description of how these practices interacted with other bodies, but also with things, artefacts, and other forms of life. This gives a more holistic view of the things that make up the assemblage of the streetscape (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; DeLanda, 2006), and shows the thrown-togetherness of things in place (Massey, 1995).

We saw that practices that co-exist in the street constantly shape one

another's presence. The idea of "knots" was already presented, where there is a density of practices associated with a cluster of diverse materialities. In my discussion of knots I mentioned for example the roundabouts on the Marginal, and how the intersection of infrastructures seemed to be the reason for this clustering. However, another way to discuss this spatial peculiarity or specificity would be to talk about productive border spaces, drawing from insights in permaculture design thinking.

Notwithstanding the limitations of using invited/invented as a conceptual framework, it has proved particularly valuable as a way of reflecting on the practices taking place in the streetscapes of Maputo, and has clearly contributed to an understanding of the performative power of presenting *a* story of Maputo (Sandercock, 2003). It is productive to have a particular way of interpreting the world, but I am aware that my narrative may now become constitutive of a particular reality; perhaps one where planners and dwellers work together towards more inclusive futures, and where life on the street is not neglected (following Leo Hollis' (2013) call for planners to consider "the thing taking place in between buildings").

The dissonance and resonance between formal/informal and invited/invented

The emerging distinction between formal and informal or invited and invented is one that progressively disenfranchises the urban poor, and reduces their legitimacy in urban spaces. Whatever is named informal is something labelled for replacement by something formal. The invented spaces, which are essentially informal spaces, are thus fundamentally rejected by the 'powers that be' or urban planning bodies.

However, the invited can also be produced by non-state actors, and invented practices can be seen as legitimate by the state or those in power. The Chinese are building most of the roads and state infrastructures, and private developers and rich individuals are building new neighbourhoods and complexes, and paving the roads to ease access to these spaces (sometimes without the appropriate permits or compliance to planning directives). Yiftachel reflects on this as the 'informality of the powerful' (in Roy, 2009a). Dissonances in the alignment of invited/invented and formality/informality can be indicative of the role of power in determining the legitimacy of practices. Invited spaces can also be produced through construction practices that are themselves invented: invented practices may create invited spaces.

Making room for public spaces

The tension between streets as mobility-scape and as public space has been amply discussed throughout this thesis, relating to the challenges of planning the streetscape identified by von Schönfeld and Bertolini (2017). What was interesting to note here is that in the creative uses of the street and through invented practices taking place in the streetscape, bodies and non-human entities make room for themselves in space. In this way, bodies engaging in invented practices or the creation of invented spaces are also engaging in making room for public spaces, and thus create convivial spaces (Shaftoe, 2012):

I like this concept of 'making room' for public space. It brings to mind an image of people shoving their way into places, elbowing around to create openings in order to breathe. The verb 'making' is also quite a powerful one, as it is quite inherently creative but also hands-on. It implies corporeality. How does one make corporeal space? It feels like often, the overly designed and thought through spaces are the ones that fail – big empty squares, empty of people.

I have always had this intuitive idea that the 'real' Mozambican is not welcome in the imaginary of the urban Maputo. That the urban poor is not part of the imaginary of the bright future of Maputo; that their habitus, their mode of dwelling, is something that will eventually come to pass in the city's path of progress. This has been supported partly in finding that the urban poor enact most invented practices taking place in the streetscape. The middle and upper classes of Maputo restrict themselves mostly to their cars when in the street, except when enjoying a Sunday stroll along the Marginal or access to an exclusive (and temporary) party space.

An element that could have warranted further elaboration is the growing enclosure of open spaces in Maputo, consistent with a neoliberal market approach that favours private developers and rich investors and foreign capital. This trend is linked to more global discussions of elite capture of cities and the proliferation of neoliberalism as model for the city. Brenner, Marcus & Mayer (2009) discuss this more extensively than I could here in their paper "City for profit rather than for people". Interestingly, however, Parnell & Robinson (2012) argue that we should not limit ourselves to these hegemonic critiques of neoliberalism, but should seriously consider post-neoliberal understandings of the city.

My personal observation, however, is that if we do not find – in Maputo and elsewhere – solutions for the funding and valorisation of open and/or public

spaces (they may become public through their appropriation by dwellers), we risk losing all space for public and everyday life outside of commercial and private-public spaces such as malls. This solution needs to come from outside a neoliberal logic, as it may otherwise risk co-optation by market and profit-oriented logics, which has been shown to increase socio-spatial inequalities (Brenner, Marcuse & Mayer, 2009).

Methodological reflections

Using an experimental and iterative methodology is far from being comfortable. It leads to a lot of existential crises and self-doubts. However, it is a process that is very valuable as a learning experience, and provides a lot of flexibility for adapting to the field and the evolving circumstances of research. The challenges of an iterative methodology mean that you have to be willing to let go of certain ambitions, as they prove unrealistic, but also to develop new, workable ambitions as time goes on.

Walking as practice and research method was used as part of a variety of methods, inspired especially by the *flâneur* method. It would have been insightful to also include more interactive walking methods, such as guided walking tours with inhabitants. Engaging more explicitly with the Other's haptic experience of place would have brought me closer to Wunderlich (2008) and Doughty's (2011; 2013) work. Being a *flâneur* has been consistently difficult for me in Maputo, as I tend to feel self-conscious in the streetscape, which takes away from the intuitive knowledge of place that the *flâneur* promotes. However, this discomfort is what inspired Chapter 4 at its inception, and so even the limitations of methods can prove interesting when used as points of entry for reflections on being in place.

The use of visual methods, and the analysis of the subsequent visual materials, was challenging, as I had little experience with these methods (beyond short introductions in a Rural Sociology course that used the SUSPLACE arts-based methodology booklet (Pearson et al, 2018), and a short course organised by Stichting Otherwise on visual and sensory methods). Interestingly, once I became used to this type of data, it felt largely like a different form of note taking: a more intuitively-based and sensory-focused one that complemented written notes and the audio files I produced quite nicely. They are also interestingly complementary to text-based storytelling, as every photograph tells its own story, and helps the reader to visualise place from a different point of view.

I would have liked, in retrospect, to incorporate sensory methods more systematically, for example body mapping from visceral and feminist geography (see e.g. Sweet & Escalante, 2015; Nelson & Seager, 2005), and using other senses than just the visual. More generally, focusing on the body as tool of research and object of analysis would have provided additional insights in the embodied experience of place.

Although I actively tried to avoid the methodological trap of interviews, in retrospect it may have been a good addition to have another point of view on the planning side at least: to talk to a planning expert about what they perceived as invited and invented practices and spaces. In general I did not explicitly explore the relationship between state and dwellers, as I wanted to focus on practices and bodies, in order to depart somewhat from *a priori* assumptions about the relationship between citizens and the state.

Admittedly, my theoretical framework also changed over time; the initial focus on infrastructures made me focus more on the materiality of public spaces than on discourse and what people said about place; this provided an alternative kind of insights into planning practice, by focusing on the result of planning and its interaction with other practices.

I initially sought out connections and collaborations with professionals in the field to create more creative outputs to complement the main thesis – I had in mind the idea of creating a documentary or a radio show or a short graphic novel that could be distributed locally – but due to time constraints and the recent hurricanes in the northern provinces of Mozambique and subsequent relief efforts, these did not fall into place in time. I have often found myself confronted with the practicalities of the field in unexpected ways, and this is likely the same for all research experiences.

After concentrating on speculative fiction as a creative output integrated into my thesis, I found over time that I lacked more structured writing knowledge and tools for the kind of creative writing I wanted to do: I did not have the skills to manipulate words effectively. Writing had always been ‘too easy’ in the past: I had never had to actively consider my writing process. With a creative process such as this one, I suddenly found myself needing to work out tools such as stream-of-consciousness writing in order to systematically work through writer’s blocks.

I hope that through this methodological exploration, I have succeeded to follow Law’s (2004) call for a more generous, quiet method. At times, it has felt like a self-indulgent method, and many existential crises were had trying to break

from the mould of ‘classical’ qualitative methodologies. However, I am convinced that these methodological explorations are necessary and valuable not just in creating more generous methods, but also in dislocating the centre of Western-sanctified knowledge.

A note on positionality and researcher roles

In addition to this pragmatic issue with writing, I found that my experimentation with narration also posed a number of questions regarding my role(s) as a researcher. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012) suggest that in interpretive research designs, there are approximately six identifiable degrees of participation that can characterise researcher roles, arguably on a continuum between researcher and participant. Auto-ethnography, they argue, “turns the researcher’s membership in a class of actors into the object of study, [and so] is at the far end of that continuum, coming close to collapsing the distinction between the two roles” (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012: 64). However, even as an “at home” ethnographer (which I was in many ways), the researcher is never a full member of the field that they are studying.

I would argue that throughout my research process, and as Schwartz-Shea and Yanow themselves argue, I moved between different roles depending on the situation I found myself in (a matter of time and place). I was a participant in the practice of walking, and thus a part of the streetscape I was studying, but also an observer of this streetscape from a more abstracted point of view. I was a participant in the activities linked to Casa Minha, and also an organiser of activities, and (unofficial) member of their team. During the *Feira de Arte e Saúde*, I led part of the activities taking place on stage, asking ‘what if’ questions to the audience. However, this collaboration with Casa Minha put me in a delicate position regarding how I advocated for their work, and how I was associated with the organisation. For dwellers, it often seemed like I was doing research *for* Casa Minha, rather than *with* them. As my gatekeepers in the neighbourhood of Polana Caniço, they were thus very influential in what I learned about the field, and the access I had to certain dwellers (both positively and negatively).

The tension between myself-as-researcher and my “at home” self is something I attempted to make clear in the use of varied narration throughout this thesis. I felt it valuable to include both of these, not only because the auto-ethnographic methodology called for making this clear, but also because erasing the “at home” self would have meant losing an affective and visceral dimension that

was essential in how I came to know the field. These two roles alternated between being subordinate and dominant, depending on situational context, but also on consciously choosing to highlight one or the other.

Internally, thus, the many roles I could take up co-existed (though not always peacefully). However, the effect of who I am – white, expatriate, university-educated, woman, and so on – was significant for the world I uncovered through my research. The problem of whiteness meant that I was always perceived as at least slightly dissonant, out of place, in the streetscape. Researcher tools and behaviours somewhat reduced this dissonance, and served to bridge the gap between myself and others through curiosity. But it also hampered my access to people for casual and meaningful conversation – scripted habits were hard to break on both sides – especially when combined with the fact that my Portuguese was far from good, and my Changana non-existent.

Recommendations for planning practice (in Maputo and more generally)

In Chapter 6, we saw three stories that explored three possible futures: one fully controlled by humans and dominated by concrete, the other a messy reality where life on the street is multiple and cars no longer dominate the streetscape, and the last an uncontrolled reality dominated by nature. The middle messy reality seems most plausible, because it deals with a comparatively small change in practices taking place in the streetscape: it is an ideal case for considering what we find a desirable future for the streets of Maputo.

By posing what if questions, it was possible to explore how practices in the streetscape could be differently. Actively considering diverse futures as was done in Chapter 6 can be used purposefully by planners to consciously choose more inclusive and hopeful urban futures: this implies going back to the utopic calling of planning, but a more quiet version of it.

The insight gathered from the second story in Chapter 6 is that more space should be given for multiple practices. If less attention or space is given to specific sets of practices, such as car-based mobility, this makes room for other practices to take place. Planners should consider the productive potential of unassigned or undefined spaces, as these can accommodate wide ranges of practices which can be highly beneficial to dwellers' quality of life in the city.

Planners should also consider that allowing for micro-encounters and convivial spaces could increase social cohesion and bridge the gap (at least momentarily) between classes.

Planning practitioners should accept that invented practices will take place in the streetscapes they intentionally design, and so should strive to create as inclusive materialities as possible. This means conceiving of the streetscape as more than just a mobility-scape: it has immense potential to become a public space, and is constantly being invented as a public space through everyday practices. A diversity of practices at different scales is key: there is no one way to 'be urban', or to live an urban life, and therefore nobody should be excluded from the city.

I join Andersen et al (2015) in their recommendation that, in Maputo:

> "the idealised notion of 'planning' might be replaced by a variety of flexible approaches through which emergent forms of 'plans' assert themselves alongside state-authored planning schemes. The 'planning' approach that we thus propose needs to be grounded not in an ideal de jure state dominance of land and environmental resources, but in the de facto culturally embedded perceptions and socially constructed forms of interactions, including forms of control over land and natural resources, (…) an approach that shifts the focus from limited impact 'state-led' physical planning to 'state-guided' physical planning that works with actual praxis." (349).

I would add to this that planning practice (in general) should consciously take into account the mundane and everyday uses of space, and not just an ideal imaginary of the urban, as seems to be the case with the growing tendency to plan for "world-class cities", "creative cities", and generally copying models of Western capitals such as London or New York (Hollis, 2013). This can imply actively taking a collaborative planning approach, and/or including an ethnographic approach to the design and planning of the streetscape, in order to ground planning practice.

However, this suggestion of moving to a governance model of urban planning, where the state is a helper and partner in development, must be taken with a pinch of salt. It may be that this approach is linked to neoliberal modes of governance that actually promote too much of a laissez-faire attitude that gives free reign to private developers and foreign corporations. This puts the urban poor at a disadvantage, as they have neither the money nor the power to enact their vision of the city, and may result in a growing inequality gap.

Planners may recall Grabow & Heskin (1973) and collaborative planning's (Healey, 2003) call to 'let go' of the process of planning: to stop thinking about it as a "property right" that belongs to a technocratic planner, but rather to follow an ecological ethic and the consciousness of the people (with a note of caution to not romanticise "the people" and the knowledge they are supposed to have). This can be considered a democratisation of the planning process; by giving dwellers the chance to make the city, their 'right to the city' can be increased.

More practically speaking, in order to create more sociable or convivial streetscapes, urban greenery and street furniture are two very pragmatic solutions to put in place. Rather than producing arid concrete streetscapes, green and multi-functional streets may be better suited to a diverse set of practices. Practitioners may explore for this purpose the notion of "convivial greenstreets" proposed by Tamminga (2014).

It must be noted that it is difficult to plan for the specificity of practices, and thus planners should not expect their interventions to 100% match practices on the ground all of the time. Designs should include sufficient flexibility to match practices that evolve over time and space. The particular shape of urban greenery and street furniture (as interventions that generate more multiple affordances), should be determined in consultation with users of these spaces, and seek to be creative in their imaginings of place and the future.

This is where speculative fiction may come in handy for planning practitioners and dwellers alike. It is often difficult to consider alternatives to the current status quo, and inserting disruptive and creative (storytelling) tools into the reflection process can aid in opening up the spaces of possibility for placemaking. Planning is effectively a storytelling activity, and recognising this at an early stage can help to dislodge embedded assumptions about the future. This can help to generate more hopeful urban futures, and give more freedom and space for creative action.

As I write this, I have come across a new action, taking place in a central neighbourhood of Maputo, where outdoor staircases are used to create temporary open-air cinemas open to all, an initiative that is linked to the Maputo Film Festival. Casa Minha in collaboration with Communichiv also made use of the street in creative ways, turning it into temporary sites for theatre moments. These are one-time or periodic events, but they show that it is possible to re-imagine present materialities to encourage public life in the street.

Finally, the current planning infrastructure of Maputo – in terms of documents and plans, notably the *Plano Parcial de Urbanização* (PPU) – allows for the very kind of grounded planning approach that I would recommend. Actors such as Casa Minha and neighbourhood associations have made use of this flexibility to enact their vision of the city at the *quarteirão* level, but this could be further encouraged by planning entities and engaged or activist groups. The PPU can thus be used in strategic ways to plan or produce spaces that make sense for the grounded context.

Recommendations for future research

Future research should look further into the ways in which everyday practices are constantly opening up spaces of possibility for the future. Just as J.K. Gibson-Graham deconstruct the hegemony of capitalism by looking at other economic practices, planners should investigate the many ways in which the hegemony of planning ideology is remade/appropriated/invented by the mundane.

I would recommend that future research make use of creative, quiet, generous, iterative methods, which follow the ebb and flow of the field and the opportunities that emerge and disappear over time. Alongside this, it is necessary to further reflect on what it means to ‘do’ inclusive planning and to perform the ‘just’ city. This may be through insurgent planning, or collaborative planning, but there may also very well be endogenous theories that will emerge from the Global South or situated contexts in non-Western parts of the world that will help to further this goal.

The visceral experience of the streetscape for planning research is essential to understanding that streetscape: spending a lot of time in the streets, ideally with many other types of bodies so that the researcher’s experience can be confronted with others’ experience, is worth the time investment. Explicitly making use of sensory methods to delve into the visceral relationship to place may yield more generous data to inform future praxis. It may also further contribute to reducing gender-based inequalities in the city.

Future research should strive to provide more empirical cases from the Global South that serve to dislocate the centre of planning: with time this may generate sufficient alternative imaginaries that planners and dwellers of the South do not feel obliged to follow the Western model, but rather see it as one option among many. Being able to see that there are many ways to ‘be urban’,

and that they are all desirable, allows planners to break free of linear perceptions of development. This would further dislocate the centre of planning, and bring more holistic insights into varied placemaking processes around the world, hopefully with their own best-fitted way of ‘doing planning’.

Finally, although I attempted to be as sensitive as possible to the more-than-human entities present in the streetscape, I fear that I have not done them justice in terms of their own ‘right to the city’ as marginalised groups in the social assemblage that is the city. In the age of the Anthropocene, we may do well to follow more in the footsteps of Donna Haraway or Ana Tsing and more seriously consider the importance of the more-than-human as valid presences in the streetscape, and not just for the affordances they provide to human entities. This would move us closer to more inclusive and convivial places for all, and this is particularly important as we re-evaluate our relationship to our environment in the context of the climate crisis.

Epilogue

The day of departure feels nostalgic and bittersweet. I try not to think how this might be the last time I feel the warmth of this country. With my parents moving, I lose my official ties to this place, and become a stranger to a country I once called home.

I check that I have not forgotten anything one last time, and that I have transferred all of my dispersed data onto my hard drive. My dad and I have one last lunch at the FEIMA, in order to enjoy *mucapata com molho de tomate* and a last 2M. So many lasts.

The shade of the trees tempers the heat of the day, and a breeze reaches us from the bay down below. The next 24h will be spent in air-conditioned airports and dry planes, so I relish this moment.

The drive to the airport is chock-a-block full of afternoon traffic, but we planned in extra time and make it to the check-in when the queue is still small. Farewells are brief and bright, I will be meeting my family in Europe again soon. I take the long escalators up to the departure hall, and wave one last time through the floor-to-ceiling window to my dad, standing at his usual spot in the carpark where he knows he can see me go safely through security.

I have enough change in my pocket to buy a coffee and *pastel de nata*, a last ritual to finish my stay, at a café that coincidentally bears my father’s name. They make a call for boarding: it is time to leave.

Até mais, *Moçambique*...

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