

International Conference
MIDDLE CLASS URBANISM IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: ROUTES, SHAPES
AND ASPIRATIONS
Maputo, February 26th to 28th 2018

Participants and short summary of their presentations

1. **Alexandra Appelbaum** is a researcher in the South African NRF Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand

Paper: Reflecting from the pothole: South African exceptionalism and urban middle-class anxiety

South Africa's belief in its own exceptionalism on the African continent has a long history and South African (white) middle class identity has been, at least partially, constructed in relation to Africa as the 'Other'. A large part of the binary construct between South Africa and the rest of Africa, in the eyes of the South African middle class, is the 'modern' infrastructure that typifies South Africa's cities, as opposed to the perceived rural and 'unmodern' Africa.

The South African middle class expresses considerable collective anxiety; perhaps nowhere in the South African landscape is this more clearly articulated than in outrage and panic over potholes. This paper uses discourse around potholes as a lens to explore the way in which the South African urban middle class construct their identity; express anxiety; and understand Africa, urbanity and modernity. A pothole is an indicator of a structural failure in the road infrastructure; as a fixation of the urban middle-class imaginary, potholes are a tangible, physical symbol of precarity and an embodiment of perceived insecurity. This is fundamentally linked to the precarity of modernity and the perceived encroachment of the African 'Other'.

Tracing the historical discourse of potholes in South African media – as well as in the local governance strategies – this paper shows how potholes have been understood, and anxieties expressed, in relation to the meaning of the urban. The paper argues that urban middle-class anxiety about potholes is a manifestation of desires for modernity and the fear of becoming like – their vision of – Africa.

2. **Flora Botelho** is a PhD student at the Department of Anthropology at Aarhus University and a member in the *Project Middle Class Urbanism: An interdisciplinary study of the physical reordering of urban sub-Saharan Africa*.

Paper: Taking enclaving as lenses through which the position occupied by Polana Caniço, an informal neighbourhood in the city of Maputo can be investigated, this paper explores the social infrastructures that maintain this area separated and differentiated from the city centre. Considering enclaving as an orientation to urban spaces based on separation that promote the manifestation of social differentiation, enclaving is here used as a perspective on urban processes that makes social and spatial differentiation evident. Relying on the literature of enclaving that perceives enclaving as a process of marginalisation or of maintenance of privilege, this paper proposes yet a third position to better understand the case of Polana Caniço. The neighbourhood is here explored neither as an area excluded from the shared urban infrastructure nor as one that excludes itself from it by creating its own, private ones. Rather, the neighbourhood is thought of here as an enclaving produced by use of alternative infrastructures, from actual, physical infrastructures to communicational and epistemological infrastructures of social life. To show the mechanisms that maintain the differentiation of this area from the city proper this paper draws attention to three aspects that characterise the neighbourhood's daily life – namely water distribution and use, contextual use of the local and the official languages, and access and use of medical treatment.

3. **Ilda Lindell** is an associate professor at the Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University. She leads the Urban Africa research group and currently coordinates several projects, including “The Demise of the Informal City? Economic growth and street work in urban Africa”. She is the editor of *Africa's Informal Workers: Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organizing in Urban Africa* (2010, Zed Books) and the author of the book *Walking the Tight Rope: Informal Livelihoods and Social Networks in a West African City* (Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002, 2006 2nd ed).

Paper: Urban visions, infrastructures and the re-making of the urban periphery

Contemporary large-scale construction projects and infrastructures in urban Africa can be seen as related to middle-class aspirations and their visions of the urban future. Such projects are often represented as symbols of urban progress and modernity as well as vehicles for creating new urban subjects. However, they often claim space from pre-existing (unplanned) structures and activities that are often seen as signs of urban decay. This paper examines this difficult encounter in the context of the northern periphery of Maputo. The area has undergone dramatic changes through the construction of large-scale sports infrastructures and a high rise residential enclave intended for a new type of resident. This

was followed by the demolition of an unplanned market and the relocation of the vendors into an infrastructurally poor market in a unviable location.

The paper draws on theorizations that foreground the social and political centrality of infrastructures, to examine the socio-political effects of the above transformations. It uncovers the deployment of material infrastructures to discipline the unwanted vendors as well as the subversive practices of the latter. The subjective experiences of the disjunctive infrastructural developments in the area were complex and fractured. Most vendors, despite experiencing an increasingly uncertain condition, were seduced by the symbolic appeal of the mega-constructions and appeared to embrace, rather than reject, middle-class urban visions for the area. They endured a difficult present in order to take part in a promising future in the emerging urban periphery.

4. **Markus Breines** is an associate tutor at the University of Sussex His research is conducted in Ethiopia and he has a background working and volunteering with asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, Norway and on the Thai-Burma border.

Paper: Becoming middle class through migration

Migration in Africa is often construed as a response to poverty, war and lack of opportunities, and over the past two decades, analytical attention has commonly been given to the challenges associated with intercontinental migration to Europe. At the same time, there has been significant economic growth in many countries in the continent and these changes have stimulated a growing body of studies of new social formations, especially by examining what it means to be middle class in Africa. In addition to highlighting contemporary social differentiation through conspicuous consumption (Mercer, 2014), such studies have demonstrated the continued relevance of analysing social relations in terms of class. Historically, the relationship between class and migration has been a central issue in anthropological analyses of rural-urban migration in Africa (Cohen, 1969; Epstein, 1958; Mitchell, 1969), but these topics are generally addressed separately in the current focus on class and migration within Africa (with some exceptions, e.g. Van Hear, 2014). Consequently, middle class migrations remain largely unexplored despite the increasing recognition of the prevalence of migration within the continent (Bakewell and Bonfiglio, 2013; Brachet, 2012; Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Rather than emphasising the failures of development and those who are vulnerable and struggle to get by, lack access to services and are denied basic rights, this paper emphasises people in Ethiopia who are well educated, hold high status jobs, and are relatively prosperous. By interrogating the role of migration in the construction of what can be described as a middle class, it seeks to develop new perspectives on the role of internal migration trajectories in generating social change, which enables a reconsideration of how migration is commonly understood and addressed in public policies and development practices.

5. **Anne-Laurence Verret** is a PhD student in urban studies at the Doctoral School Society and Environment (uniQ).

Paper: The impact of the middle-class housing crisis in the dynamics of socio-spatial recomposition of the Metropolitan Region of Port-au-Prince.

Housing has always strongly characterized the city. If it is seen as the physical translation of a population's culture and lifestyle, it is more so considered to be the essential support for the construction of the identity of every individual and that of life in society. Hence, the United Nations and countries of the North and South have committed to upholding the "right to adequate housing for all". Taking into account the economic, political and urban stakes of housing, public authorities have developed policies and various programs aiming the sector. Nevertheless, the housing crisis is still striking. It particularly strikes the middle classes who, paradoxically, constitute a symbolic capital and represent a growing socio-economic power. Haiti's urban reality is that of developing countries where the lack of planning/management intertwines with the housing crisis to create a complex context. Moreover, its historical context of the first black Republic, its long history of socio-political and economic crises coupled with natural disasters, give Haiti a specificity of its own. In the Metropolitan Region of Port-au-Prince, the January 2010 earthquake sharply increased the housing deficit and decapitalized the middle class. This resulted in a socio-spatial recomposition of the territory, which already started before that date. This thesis aims to understand the impact of the middle class housing crisis in the dynamics of socio-spatial recomposition of the Metropolitan Region of Port-au-Prince, through a study of households' strategies and trajectories, and an analysis of the actions and policies carried out by the public authorities in this area.

6. **Paul Jenkins** is an architect and urban planner with a MA (Arch), PgDip (Arch), PhD (1998). He is a professor at the School of the School of Architecture and Planning of the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, South Africa), the coordinator of the research project: "Urban transformations with the growth of middle classes in African cities - a case study of Maputo, Mozambique", an Emeritus Professor at the University of Edinburgh and a visiting Professor at Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo (Mozambique) and at the University of São Paulo (Brazil).

Vanessa Melo is an architect with a PhD in Urbanism (2015). She is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the School of Architecture and Planning of the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, South Africa), in the research project "Urban transformations with the growth of middle classes in African cities - a case study of Maputo, Mozambique", and a research collaborator of Research Centre for Architecture, Urbanism and Design (CIAUD) of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Lisbon (FA-UL) and permanent member of the Group of Socio-Territorial, Urban and Local Action Studies (GESTUAL) of CIAUD, FA-UL.

Paper: Different spaces of ‘middle-classness’ in Great Maputo: processes of urban development, housing features and social differentiation

In Sub-Saharan African, the growth of what was previously a relatively small middle class, following the recent macro-economic expansion of its countries, has had a significant effect on urban development. In Maputo, middle class growth is still difficult to evaluate, since quantitative and qualitative data, as well as research in this domain, are scarce. However, especially since 2000, there has been considerable changes in urban discourses and practices: while measures directed to middle-class groups gained more preponderance in housing strategies and planning instruments; in Maputo’s Metropolitan Area, urban interventions related to the growth of middle class also became more visible and new ones emerged.

Using a spatial proxy to identify ‘middle-classness’, a research project was conducted to examine these urban transformations in the peri-urban zones of Maputo’s Metropolitan Area. In 2017, based on the authors’ previous research, related works of other authors, and interviews with municipal officials and local leaders, 30 samples of different locations and types of urban development related to the middle class were selected, with fieldwork undertaken in about 50 plots each. Surveys regarding urban land and housing features, and the families who lived in these, were conducted, in order to establish similarities and differences between sample types, and thus understand how the spatial manifestation of ‘middle-classness’ can be characterized and how this affects the urban fabric more generally. This communication intends to present the primary results relating these different processes of urban development, their housing features and the social differentiation of ‘middle-classness’ embedded within these phenomena.

7. **Anna Mazzolini** is a postdoctoral fellow at the Department of Anthropology at Aarhus University a member in the *Project Middle Class Urbanism: An interdisciplinary study of the physical reordering of urban sub-Saharan Africa*. She holds a PhD in Regional Planning and Public Policies from the University of Venice.

Abstract: Enclaving beyond expectations – “Humanised” walls, the aesthetics of identities and the physical reordering

This article presents a set of preliminary findings related with an interdisciplinary research on enclaving processes in Maputo, Mozambique as a manifestation of new middle class-related urban aspirations. Through the lens of an ontology of walls and other “borders” in everyday life and their evolution towards commoditized architectural models, the article guides the reader through new physicality and manifestations of a middle-class housing phenomenon, new aesthetic imaginaries, aspirations towards a city model made of multi-layered enclaves. Conducting the fieldwork with a variety of actors such architects, residents, anthropologists, local developers, and relying on few but significant case studies within Maputo, the aim is to share an interdisciplinary, but spatial-based reading on the

relationship between an emerging middle class urban personhood/citizenship and new, unexpected enclaving processes.

8. **Sandra Roque** is a social anthropologist with a PhD from the University of Cape Town. She currently works as a social development specialist for COWI, a Danish consultancy company and collaborates with colleagues at the Centre for African Studies of the University of Copenhagen. Her work as an anthropologist has focussed on cities, in particular on the relations that urban residents establish with the urban space. Her PhD looked into rural war-displacement and urban concepts in Benguela, Angola, and in her latest project, she studied urban change and urban social and spatial differentiation in Maputo, Mozambique

Paper: *Subúrbios* and *Cityness*: Exploring Imbrications and Urbanity in Maputo, Mozambique

Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, shows profound spatial, social, and economic differentiation built on the legacy of colonial structures of inequality. After Mozambique's independence from Portugal, the nationalisation of Maputo's real estate transformed the racial and social landscape of the city, but liberalisation of the economy in the 1990s and the increasing commoditisation of property linked social and economic status more strongly to the structure of urban space. Although the use of old colonial spatial categories, such as *cidade de caniço* and *cidade de cimento*, has been fading, the terms used today by residents to describe Maputo's urban space still underscore spatial, social, and economic differences. Based on fieldwork carried out in three Maputo neighbourhoods that are undergoing significant change, this article looks at people's activities and movements across the city and the resulting imbrication and interaction between different neighbourhoods. It suggests that Maputo, an African postcolonial city, is experiencing changes that allow residents to establish new relationships with the city, encouraging novel expressions of *cityness* and new conceptions of the urban to emerge.

9. **Nicky Falkof** is an Associate Professor in the Media Studies department at Wits University in Johannesburg. Her current research trajectories focus on urban anxieties in the global south and on risk, anxiety and moral panic in South Africa. Her work is centrally concerned with issues of race, fear and representation in the media.

Paper: Stress in the suburbs: good selves or safe selves in Johannesburg

This paper considers localised anxieties about race, safety, crime and belonging in Johannesburg, South Africa, as expressed in a particular middle class social media community. It examines posts on the neighbourhood Facebook group devoted to the suburb of Melville, in the west of the city. This is a 'formerly white' area that plays host to a long-

established middle class population, which became notorious for its alleged crime problems during the early 2000s and which is currently in the process of re-gentrifying. Melville is also home to poorer residents who have not traditionally been suburban dwellers in South Africa, including a working class black student population and a growing concentration of homeless people.

The paper discusses a series of posts on the Facebook page, showing the dual injunctions which the group members express in their conversations: firstly, to ensure that they are 'safe', and secondly, to perform humanitarian 'goodness'. It draws on scholars including Lilie Chouliaraki, Zygmunt Bauman and Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff to consider the contradictory nature of these urges, in that the collective desire for 'safety' leads to an ongoing low-level anxiety about the presence of poorer and black people in the suburbs, while the desire to do good usually involves collective actions of providing money or goods to poorer and black people. The paper uses these online conversations to show how middle class suburban South Africans attempt to construct their identities within intersecting discourses of risk, rights, safety, charity and tolerance.

10. Anésio Manhiça (a.manhica@kaleidoscopio.co.mz) is a social scientist based in the Kaleidoscope - Research in Public Policy and Culture. He has conducted research on social imagery in Sommershield II, Maputo city, and his ongoing research explores creative processes in the craft industry using biographical methods. In 2017 his dissertation for the degree of Anthropology undergraduated at Eduardo Mondlane University received Christian Geffray, awarded by AFRAMO-CHS the best dissertation in social and human sciences in Mozambique.

Paper: A luxury area in a reed neighborhood: urban sociabilities in Sommershield II, Maputo City

The dominant paradigm in the studies of the city of Maputo emphasizes a duality that opposes the space of "cement", also called "formal" space, to the space of "reed" also known as "informal" space. In this paradigm, social interactions are thought from dichotomous categories as if the inhabitants of the "cement" and the "reed" did not interact.

This study empirically explores "Sommershield II," a buffer area between Somershield's affluent "cement" neighborhood and Polana Caniço "A", a "reed" neighborhood where the former tends to extend. Despite administrative attempts to maintain the spatial separation between "cement" and "reed", this research shows how the continuity between a "cement" space and a "reed space" causes interactions among residents of different spaces, in a complex network of interdependencies that reveal that the plasticity of social interaction allows it to occur well beyond the dichotomous categories used in models of analysis dominant in the studies on the city of Maputo.

11. Marta Pilleri is a PhD student at Università degli studi di Cagliari, DICAAR and at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo.

Paper: Mafalala and the suburbs of post-industrial revolution: relations and differences Urban suburbs can be defined as an ‘iconema’ of the society that lives the city. (Turri,1998)

This concept can be assimilated not only in Western cities, but also in sub-Saharan African contexts.

An emblematic case of historical suburbs in this particular region, can be considered the one of Mafalala, in the city of Maputo. Born as the black district of the portuguese domination city, its spatial configuration is an image of its complicated social history, and this aspect is reflected in its urban form. The inhabitants of the district, who could not 'live' the city, nevertheless represented the main labor force of the colonialists, so their presence in the suburb was indispensable. It is from these preambles that the Mozambican independence movement is born. This configuration can be, in some way, comparable to the European suburbs birth after the industrial revolution, especially in their social and urban characteristics.

The evolution of the modern city has led to, however, a reconsideration of the suburbs as the new urban centers, epicenter of the dynamics and social evolutions, more and more animated and dedicated to the needs of the middle class that lives and modifies them, forging them in their new configuration . The aim of this article is to define the relations and the differences that exist between Mafalala and the main suburbs of the post-industrial revolution cities, focusing on urban developmental aspects and interpreting the new living characteristics.

12. Mehita Iqani is an associate professor at the DEpatment of Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her research addresses the interface between media texts and consumer culture. It has been funded by an NRF Thuthuka Grant (2012-2014), a Carnegie Large Research Grant for 2012 through the Carnegie Corporation Transformation Programme at Wits, an Andrew W Mellon Foundation Research Grant for Younger Scholars (2012).

Paper: Picturing luxury, producing value: The cultural labour of social media brand influencers in South Africa

This paper explores the cultural labour of social media influencers who market luxury brands on their Instagram profiles. A number of recent reports from global consulting firms, reported on in business media, have claimed that Africa is the “new frontier” for luxury consumer markets (Iqani, Forthcoming). Little research has yet been done on the ways in which luxury items are marketed to African consumers. It is important to examine how forms of mediation and communication fit into these economic processes. This paper will

draw on, and contribute to, a well-established body of work that aims to understand the operations of marketers and advertisers as an important site of cultural production (Ariztia, 2013; Cronin, 2004; Mazzarella, 2003; Nixon, 2003) by focussing on one aspect of the work of so-called “brand ambassadors” and “brand influencers”. It will also contribute to the growing literature on the politics and aesthetics of luxury in Africa (Iqani & Dosekun, Forthcoming) by exploring the visual material produced and shared on Instagram by six leading Johannesburg-based brand influencers.

Large, densely populated African cities such as Johannesburg are key sites in which retail developments take place, wealth is produced and aggregated, and marketing strategies deployed in order to attract consumers and develop brand identities. Cities such as Johannesburg are central to the consumer imagination and narratives of aspiration, wealth-creation and social mobility. Johannesburg has since its inception been a city in which aspirant work practices are undertaken by individuals, in the contemporary moment using social media platforms in order to build personal brands and public reputations, to climb the ladder into prosperity. In the context of a larger on-going ethnographic project that aims to understand how marketing and corporate research professionals work to promote luxury goods to African markets, this paper pays attention to the visual social media artefacts created by brand influencers and ambassadors, who are formally or informally linked with high-end consumer brands (such as mobile phones, skin care products, alcoholic beverages and fashion labels).

Through a visual analysis of brand-relevant material posted by six brand ambassadors and social media influencers, this paper provides insight into the aesthetic products of their cultural labour. To contextualise the analysis that will be presented of how key Johannesburg-based social media influencers promote global luxury brands, a brief summary of literature on the concept of brand ambassadorship is offered. The analysis is framed by critical scholarship that defines the work of social media influencers and brand ambassadors as a form of brand value creation. The paper argues that the visual work undertaken online by such cultural actors needs to be put into context with the global geo-politics that informs the ways in which European luxury brands construct their ideas of African markets.

13. Ana Beja Da Costa is a PhD Researcher at the Instituto Superior de Agronomia, Universidade de Lisboa, DRAT / LEAF – Linking Landscape, Environment, Agriculture and Food. She has participated in several research projects on landscape design and ecology applied to human settlements, namely in East Timor, India, Ghana and Mozambique. Parallel to this, she has developed an international career as Landscape Architect.

Paper: Middle Class shaping the Coastal Landscape of Maputo

In Africa, in what promises to be one of the more remarkable forthcoming developments in the overall pattern of urbanization, the region's population is poised to outgrow both Europe's and Latin America's (UN-Habitat 2012:28). Many of the large urban areas on the African continent are located along coastal areas where nature and urbanity are in extremely close proximity, with both spectacular and problematic results (Beja da Costa 2009,p.58). Urban sprawl in these cities is occupying both structural and risk prone areas for local ecological structures, namely flood plains and coastal areas, that are particularly sensitive to the projected impacts of climate change.

Focusing on Maputo, Mozambique, this research investigates an African capital on the verge of many development pressures, and where a rising middle class is growing with defined ambitions that are reflected in specific urban forms. Investments are being channeled towards urban expansion along Maputo's coastline, where middle and high income residential areas are being developed, such as those found in the future Katembe Masterplan, or in the new ring road (Maputo 2008) that crosses Costa do Sol.

This presentation will illustrate Maputo's current development trends through the lens of landscape architecture, as these are currently a combination of applying existing planning tools, with the government's goal of establishing a world class city and the availability and interest of foreign investors, all of which contribute towards the creation of a Western / Asian-like city image for Maputo.

Through brief survey of urban and landscape conditions at the interface between Maputo's coastal neighborhoods and its natural areas, this research aims to question how middle class ambitions are translated into urban form and perceptions of the surrounding landscape. It also questions if it is possible to shift Maputo's urban development paradigm, aiming at safeguarding its natural systems while contributing to maintaining the city's well-known image of quality.

There is an immense window of opportunity to tackle the problematic of urban development on ecologically sensitive areas since the approach can anticipate a sustainable development of Maputo,

facing new urban dynamics (Beja da Costa 2014). Starting from this premise, the research discusses alternatives to the production of a "generic city" (Koolhaas et al. 1998:1248) in this specific African context.

14. Tirso Hilário Siteo is a researcher and executive director of BLOCO 4 Foundation.

He holds a Ms degree in Intercultural Relations from the Open University, Lisbon. His research is focused on youth culture, sociability and identification processes among youth, citizenship, activism, artivism and human rights in Mozambique, spatial dynamics and social movements in urban contexts, critical music and music as social protest in postcolonial Mozambique.

Paper: Contestations and affects: between the walls' silences and screams in the city Maputo.

In the context of urban visual communication it is possible to grasp in different fronts and forms, the temporary occupation – be that for longer or shorter periods of time - of the city's walls by State institutions, political parties, advertisement agencies, individuals or artistic cultural groups. It is on this path that, in languages of and about the city, in the threads of the legal and the illegal, the borders of urban (in)visibilities are established. With the desire to think the urban (in)visibilities through urban graffiti this paper explores the way in which the walls in certain trajectories of the city of Maputo communicate themselves in different periods of silence and or screams and report the permanent relations of affect and contestation.

15. Karina Landman is an associate professor in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Pretoria. Her current research interests relate to public space, spatial transformation, nodal development, sustainable neighbourhoods and urban resilience. Other areas of research include crime prevention in the built environment, gated communities, urban segregation and medium density mixed housing. Karina is currently leading a multi-year NRF project on the transformation of public space in South Africa.

Paper: Middle-class urbanism in South Africa and the rise of gated townhouse complexes and shopping malls

Many South African cities promote the development of world-class cities, aiming to attract national and international investment, which raises expectations and stimulates various aspirations. This is especially prominent under the middle-class, for whom such aspirations are potentially achievable. However, at the same time these aspirations are often threatened by continuous urban violence, a lack of safety and security and rising social and physical disorder. Consequently, the urban landscaped is being re-shaped by a growing middle-class demand and supply of various types of gated townhouse complexes and shopping centres. This paper focusses on the development of these new and emerging urban spaces and aims to illustrate how the middle class in the City of Tshwane (including Pretoria) shape these spaces through aspirations, perceptions and engagement. It draws on a number of studies carried out on gated townhouse complexes between 2013 and 2014, as well as a study investigating the emergence of quasi-public spaces in shopping malls in Pretoria in 2015. The discussion highlights both the social and spatial dimensions of these emerging spaces and indicates how the form or shape of these developments starts to address different perceptions /anxieties and accommodate various aspirations of the middle class in the capital city of South Africa.

The paper argues that middle-class anxieties and aspirations are important drivers for changing city models that are often exploited by urban developers and ignored by city officials when they are criticised for being exclusive. Yet, these spaces are not only spaces of exclusion, but also become spaces of inclusion through shared needs and visions.