

II INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
**COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
LANDSCAPES**
ARCHITECTURE COLONIALISM WAR

18 – 20 JANUARY 2023 – LISBON – CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION

PAPERS BOOKLET

Editors

Ana Vaz Milheiro

Beatriz Serrazina



ARCHWAR

COLONIAL AND
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LANDSCAPES

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Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes: Architecture, Colonialism and War. Papers' Booklet

Editors | Ana Vaz Milheiro, Beatriz Serrazina (Dinâmia'CET-Iscte)

Editorial team | Ana Vaz Milheiro, Beatriz Serrazina, Inês Lima Rodrigues, Leonor Matos Silva, Patricia Noormahomed, Sónia Henrique

Authors | Adheema Davis; Alejandro Carrasco Hidalgo; Ana Cristina Inglês; Ana Magalhães; Ana Vaz Milheiro; Beatriz Serrazina; Ehssan Hanif; Francesca Vita; Helder José; Inês Lima Rodrigues; Joana Filipa Pereira; João Miguel Couto Duarte; Kieran Gaya; Leonor Matos Silva; Maria Alice Correia; Maria João Moreira Soares; Miguel Pires Amado; Nadi Abusaada; Néstor Llorca Vega; Nuno Costa; Paul Jenkins; Paz Nuñez Martí; Roberto Goycoolea-Prado; Rui Seco; Sabina Favaro; Samkelisiwe Khanyile; Sónia Pereira Henrique; Stavroula Michael; Sydney Rose Maubert.

Cover Design | vivóeusébio; CPCL team

ISBN | 978-989-584-077-9

Date | 2025

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Conference Team | Ana Vaz Milheiro, Ana Silva Fernandes, Beatriz Serrazina, Filipa Fiúza, Francesca Vita, Inês Lima Rodrigues (Dinâmia'CET-Iscte)

Scientific Committee | Ana Vaz Milheiro (coord, Dinâmia'CET-Iscte), Ana Canas Martins (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, UL), Major Joaquim Cunha Roberto (Arquivo Histórico Militar), João Vieira (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian), Johan Lagae (Ghent University, Belgium), Luís Lage (Universidade Eduardo Modlane, Mozambique), Peter Scriver (University of Adelaide, Australia), Samia Henni (Cornell University, USA), Tiago Castela (CES);

Partners | Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Dinâmia'CET-Iscte, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Arquivo Histórico Militar, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Part of the research project "**ArchWar: Dominance and mass-violence through Housing and Architecture during Colonial Wars. The Portuguese case (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique): colonial documentation and post-independence critical assessment**" funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), PTDC/ARTDAQ/0592/2020 (<https://doi.org/10.54499/PTDC/ART-DAQ/0592/2020>).

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Editors' note

Ana Vaz Milheiro
Beatriz Serrazina

This volume gathers 18 papers presented at the *II International Congress on Colonial and Postcolonial Landscapes: Architecture, Colonialism and War*, in early 2023, in Lisbon. It is a far-reaching and enriching collection and covers multiple topics, geographies, and time frames. The papers cross debates on heritage, urban planning, warscapes, modernist experiments, repair, religious missions, construction companies, military architecture, and education, among others.

The congress was held at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon from 18 to 20 January 2023. There were 15 parallel sessions, with 80 presentations and 145 participants from around the globe. Sandi Halal and Alessandro Petti (DAAR) presented the opening conference, and Henni (Cornell University), Johan Lagae (Ghent University) and Peter Scriver (University of Adelaide) delivered keynote presentations. This meeting was part of the research project “Archwar: Dominance and mass-violence through Housing and Architecture during Colonial Wars. The Portuguese case (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique): colonial documentation and post-independence critical assessment”, coordinated by Ana Vaz Milheiro and Filipa Fiúza (Dinâmia’CET-Iscte) and funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), grant PTDC/ART-DAQ/0592/2020, which was concluded in November 2024.

The *Colonial and Postcolonial Landscapes Congresses* have been organized since 2019 by the A+I [Architecture + Infrastructures] research collective, coordinated by Ana Vaz Milheiro and based at Dinâmia’CET-Iscte, Lisbon. These meetings aim to discuss the histories of colonial and postcolonial architecture and their impact on contemporary architectural culture. They bring together researchers and professionals from the fields of architecture, urban studies, history and the social sciences, from numerous geographies and involved in contemporary architectural culture, as shown in the following articles.

Sónia Henrique's text examines the documentary research and treatment developed at the Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*) in Lisbon over the last decade. It explains how this approach has allowed contact with several Public Works archives, particularly during three international research projects: *The Colonial Urbanisation Offices* (2010-2013), *Coast to Coast* (2017-2019), and *ArchWar* (2021-2024). The "Public Works" database, accessible via the archive's online portal since 2019, contains archival descriptions of records that evidence colonial memory. Henriques explains how the Portuguese PW archives reveal a complex colonial information system of records, actors, missions, constructions, and technology.

Joana Filipa Pereira presents the architectural contributions of Portuguese architect José Gomes Bastos, focusing on the influences and interactions between his projects in Portugal and Africa during the second half of the 20th century. Through the analysis of two case studies, a Pool in Tamariz (Portugal) and the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU) headquarters in former Lourenço Marques (Mozambique), the article highlights the legacy and complexity of Bastos's work as well as his innovative approach to design under local climatic and contextual conditions.

Maria João Soares and **João Miguel Duarte** examine the architectural legacy of Le Corbusier in India, focusing on his design for the Mill Owners' Association headquarters in Ahmedabad as a paradigmatic example that reflects the context of India's independence from British colonial rule and the city's historic textile industry. By "dissecting" the building's architectural solutions, Soares and Duarte highlight the innovative aspects of its design, specifically tailored to the local climate and featuring a distinctive use of the in-between spaces.

Kieran Gaya focuses on the work of the architect Gio Ponti in designing Islamabad, a new capital for Pakistan, in the 1960s. Gaya's text examines the Ministerial Complex as a striking example of Ponti's aim to convey a "modern" nation through architecture and government buildings. The chapter highlights the interplay between past and modern aesthetics and technologies, considering circulation, light, topography, and climate as the foundations of the architectural object.

Adheema Davis's text offers a thought-provoking analysis of the district of Block AK as an interstitial space, questioning its history and the many roles in architectural heritage narratives in Durban, South Africa. It shows how Black heritage sites are neglected yet provide a crucial opportunity to be reminders of the colonial past. Davis argues for de-cartography as a critical method to uncover hidden layers of the past, present and future.

Ehssan Hanif explores the concepts of urbicide and geotrauma in Iran, focusing on the port cities of Abadan and Khorramshahr. The author uses three literary works written during and after the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) to analyse traumatic aspects of war on people and places. The narratives presented in the article show that clinical spaces, oil spaces and cemeteries have become key sites of collective memory, both in pain and for healing processes.

Alejandro Carrasco Hidalgo examines a series of experimental villages developed by Spain's Francoist dictatorship as a means of imposing Hispanic cultural and social paradigms in Equatorial Guinea. By analysing the spatial operations of territorial occupation, health, and education placed on these sites, the article highlights how they served to reinforce notions of race and identity, reflecting broader strategies of social control and assimilation of local populations, especially as Guinea approached independence in the 1960s.

Paul Jenkins's chapter argues for the decolonisation of concepts pertaining to urban state-led and regulated urban space and form. This is proposed in light of the challenges posed by rapid urbanisation and the constraints of state, private sector and professional capacity, as well as the limited interest of political, economic and professional elites. The process of decolonising the concepts of modernity and the city is expected to facilitate a more expansive understanding of urban norms that extend beyond the standard reference point. This process entails an examination of state regulation of urban space and form, focusing on the notions of physical and social order. The historical overview in the text elucidates the profound embedding of order evolution in various colonial contexts, including Brazil, Angola, and Mozambique, since the Enlightenment.

Stavroula Michael explores the iconography, planning and socio-political effects of water infrastructure in Cyprus during British colonial rule and the subsequent independence period. It highlights how British-led water development projects were aimed to appease the local population and prevent self-determination movements, resulting in 'just-enough' schemes that reflected a modernist aesthetic, and how water infrastructure shifted towards high modernist projects following the country's independence in 1960. Through the lens of water infrastructure, the paper presents a new approach to architectural history as a means to understand better the complex interactions between colonialism, identity and development in Cyprus.

Ana Magalhães presents the history of Beira, in Mozambique, considering the multiple urban plans drawn for the city in the 20th century. It focuses on Beira's Urbanisation Plan, from 1951, to examine its paradoxical relationship with Patrick Abercrombie's design, the Athens Charter's ideology, and the concept of the Garden City. Magalhães argues that the plan laid the ground for Portuguese young architects to provide the city with modern buildings, by considering it a "laboratory" of ambivalences.

Nadi Abusaada examines the construction of Jaffa, the primary port city in Palestine, in the first half of the twentieth century. The paper questions the clashes between Jaffa's 'non-modernity' in Zionist and British colonial imaginaries and the Palestinian visions for the city's modernity. By focusing on the masterplan of the city, drawn by the Egyptian planner Ali Miliji Masoud in 1945, Abusaada shows that Jaffa's own modernity was more than a reaction to Tel Aviv's development.

Sydney Rose Maubert studies the (post)colonial history of Miami, by questioning the role of Black Seminoles, an African descendant group who allied with Seminole Indians in the American South in the early 16th century. Black Seminoles resisted the colonial rule through their queerness, miscegenation and protection of blacks. Maubert's article uses the depth of domesticity to question how humanity was pursued within the institution of slavery and how religion could be subverted by the heritages of the global South.

Paz Nuñez Martí and **Roberto Goycoolea-Prado**'s paper focuses on the construction of social housing in Angola. This was a two-stage process, each with its own urban and architectural designs. Despite initial enthusiasm, both periods have resulted in social, spatial, and environmental conflicts due to the lack of consideration for the lifestyles and aspirations of the inhabitants. The study examines two paradigmatic examples: the Prenda Neighbourhood Unit (1960-63) and Kilamba (2008-2011), a satellite city that remains unconvincing to residents. The research combines literature review and interviews, and it contributes to a critical reflection on colonial and post-colonial housing policies.

Maria Alice Correia, **Inês Lima Rodrigues** and **Helder José** present a study on urban management in Luanda, Angola, during the colonial period (1934-1975), crossing land distribution, public-private partnerships, and planning under Portuguese colonisation. The main goal was efficient space management with strict urban parameters. The private sector's role emerged significantly, mainly through the City Council of Luanda (CML), which facilitated land transactions and project execution. Collaborations focused on land regularisation, construction standards, and enhancing urban quality. Additionally, the chapter addresses how the independent Angolan State, after 1975, approached public policies regarding construction and collective housing development.

Ana Cristina Inglês, **Miguel Pires Amado**, and **Maria Alice Correia** examine the evolution of public open spaces in historical Luanda, highlighting the impacts of political administration on urban design and public space usage across different social groups. It emphasises the dual nature of “planned” and “unplanned” urban settlements. Despite intentions to provide essential services, budget constraints hindered full implementation. The analysis reveals the ongoing challenges in bridging the gap between wealthy and low-income communities. It argues that urban design, policy amendments, and stakeholders can catalyse urban revitalisation.

Sabina Favaro and **Samkelisiwe Khanyile** explore the impact of South Africa's Witwatersrand uranium mining belt in the definition of the location of Black residential areas. Through storytelling, the article spatialises and historicises these socio-spatial dynamics, and presents various dimensions of toxicity over time. It shows the interplay

between urban planning, segregative policies, racial capitalism and ecocide in the region, with strong impacts in today's landscape.

Leonor Matos Silva analyses the professional paths of two Portuguese women architects, Carlota Quintanilha and Alda Tavares, who worked in former colonies in Africa, in the second half of the twentieth century. The article presents an overview of women architects working in former Portuguese Africa, their backgrounds and their struggles for recognition. It then focuses on the paths, motivations and early achievements of Quintanilha and Tavares as architects. It argues that their studies in architecture at the Porto School of Fine Arts were crucial to their later work abroad.

Néstor Llorca Veja's article focuses on the hybrid architecture of Quito, in Ecuador, between the 1940s and the 1970s, to analyse the ideological visions on the editorial lines of Architectural criticism and media. Veja explores the differences between verification and validation (projects and authors), architects' individual and collective paths and strategies, and the exchanges between the local and the global. In Quito, the architectural space has ultimately been shaped by mechanisms of adaptation and processes of identity reconstruction, contextualised and experimenting with technique, forms, typology and cultural meaning.

Throughout the volume, there are also session overviews by some of the chairs who organised panels at the conference. **Rui Seco** presents the session "*Under Golden Suns: Revisiting Late Modernist Typology Experiments*", **Nuno Costa** focuses on "Of other spaces: heterotopias and the strategy of siege", and **Beatriz Serrazina** and **Francesca Vita** write on "*War affairs: the entanglements between architecture and military apparatus in colonial Africa*".

As editors of this volume, and looking ahead to the third edition of the *Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes Congress* in early 2026, we hope that this volume will contribute to wider debates about the interplay between colonialism and the built environment in the 20th century, considering the multiple roles of architecture, the many actors involved, building systems, materials, techniques, skills, knowledge, connections, interactions, cooperation, and conflicts.

Disseminating and accessing colonial records: exploring the Portuguese “Public Works” database

Sónia Pereira Henrique

Dinâmia’CET-Iscte; sonia.isabel.henrique@iscte-iul.pt, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

The documentary research and treatment developed over the last decade at the Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Lisbon) have enabled contact with several Public Works archives. It happened most significantly during three international research projects, namely “The Colonial Urbanisation Offices” (2010-2013), the “Coast to Coast” (2017-2019) and the “ArchWar” (2021-2024) - both projects hosted by DINAMIA’CET, Iscte-IUL. Since 2019, a display of this archival work has been available for consultation on the historical archive research portal, in a database named “Public Works” (*Obras Públicas* in the original). This paper explores the content of the database, considering archival records as markers of colonial memories, this paper explores the content of the database. Accessing the Portuguese Public Works archives enables the study of colonial actors, missions, constructions, and technology once they are recurrent presences in these records - layers upon layers uncovering a complex colonial information system. Colonial Public Works shape landscapes and archives, unravelling several typologies of technical documents such as studies, consultations, projects, reports and information’s - bureaucratic rigour evidence demonstrating architectural informational circuits.

Keywords: architectural records, colonial archive, information systems

Session: Colonial heritage: wars, nationalisms and identities

Introduction

Intending to explore the process of building a Portuguese landscape overseas (1830-1975), this text resorts to the research output “Public Works” database (*Obras públicas*), a direct manifestation of a research path of over ten years. The work is indebted to the academic and human merit of Professor Ana Vaz Milheiro, who gathered a team of experts to it¹. From 2010 until the present moment the colonial public works records, produced by the central administration cabinets have been managed, described and made accessible to the public.

The Portuguese colonial empire entered a new phase with the emancipation of Brazil in the beginning of the XIX century. After 1807 and without Brazil, The Portuguese Empire comprised several African territories including Cape Verde, Guinea, the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Mozambique, and in the State of India Goa, Daman and Diu, and the cities of Macau and part of the island of Timor. Although the empire was broad and it needed an update, it did gain momentum during the second half of XIX. The dynamism of Minister Rebelo da Silva in 1869 remodelled the administrative structure of the colonial ministry. Later, the minister Andrade Corvo also developed accordant policies during the 1870s contemplating an operational bureaucratic structure and a more efficient communication system focusing on Public Works. The defence and enhancement of Portuguese Africa naturally involved a commitment to Public Works.

Considering the interest in archival and records production systems, this text will focus on three axes: the resources available for the study of colonial public works in Portugal, the main typologies of the technical documents (namely studies, consultations, and projects), and the

¹ *Coast-to-Coast* research team (in alphabetic order): Alexandra Areia (FAUP), Ana Silva Fernandes (FAUP), Ana Canas (AHU), António Deus (CES/III-UC), Beatriz Serrazina (CES/III-UC and DINAMIA'CET-Iscte), Elisiário Miranda (U-Minho), Filipa Fiúza (CES/III-UC and DINAMIA'CET-Iscte), Hélder Pereira (Atelier Mulemba), Jéssica Lage (FAPF-UEM), João Vieira (FCG), Jorge Figueira (CES-UC), Johan Lagae (U-Ghent), José Luís Saldanha (Dinâmia'CET-Iscte and DAU), José Quinhones, Juliana Guedes, Luís Lage (FAPF-UEM), Maria Manuela Portugal (AHU), Mónica Pacheco (DINAMIA'CET-Iscte and DAU), Paul Jenkins (University of Edinburgh / University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg), Paulo Tormenta Pinto (Dinâmia'CET-Iscte also DAU), Peter Scriver (University of Adelaide) and Rogério Vieira de Almeida (Dinâmia'CET-Iscte). *ArchWar* research team (in alphabetic order): Alessandro Petti (DAAR), Ana Canas, Ana Fernandes, António Pereira Gameiro (IPGUL), Beatriz Serrazina, Francesca Vita (FAUP), Geraldo Pina (Dinâmia'CET-Iscte), Inês Lima Rodrigues (DINAMIA'CET-Iscte), Jéssica Lage, Johan Lagae, Leopoldo Amado, Luís Lage, Major Cunha Roberto (AHM), Maria Alice Mendes Correia (IPGUL), Patricia Noormahomed (UPM / UniTiva), Peter Scriver, Ricardo Agarez (FCG and Dinâmia'CET-Iscte), and Samia Henni (Cornell University), Tiago Castela (CES/III-UC). Principal Researcher of both projects, Ana Vaz Milheiro (DINAMIA'CET-Iscte). I am grateful to engage with the team and to cooperate in this journey from 2017 onwards.

implementation of the works through contracts and their subsequent reporting. The third axis explores railways, and the infrastructural development that shaped landscapes, presenting some examples of documents in use in those territories.

Studying the Portuguese colonial public works (1830-1974)

While the metropolis was still trying to recover from the financial and economic rift that both the loss of Brazil and thirty years of invasions and political struggles (1807-1834) represented, overseas possessions in Africa were “*virtual possessions*”. In the first half of XIX, they were still “*simple trading posts with cities and ports occupied on the coast and inland, with their income almost exclusively from customs*” (Galvão, Selvagem, 1950: 53-54).

The debate on the legal continuity and discontinuity of overseas territories was a long one. One of the first topics included the extension of the regulations approved to the metropolis to those possessions. Whereas legal discontinuity of colonial policies questions the fact that there weren't imperial projects coherently defined in which the purpose of building/standardizing previously delimited territories was pursued (Silva, 2017: 15-38). The construction of a legal space resembles the limitations that preceded the landscape. Several constraints and vulnerabilities have later been transformed into scientific domination devices (Roque, 2015). This is exemplified by the regulation applied to labour in the evolving context of a transition from non-free labour to free labour, with the abandonment of slavery during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The landscape shaping hadn't been much different from the legal frame, pointing both - legal continuity and legal discontinuity - as processes. The study of the modern diaspora and the built heritage, especially in Angola and Mozambique, necessitates a re-examination of their modernization plans. The transfer of the island of Mozambique to Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and the founding of the city through the *Araújo Plan* (1887). Already with the Republic and directed to Angola, the efforts of Norton de Matos to create Nova Lisboa (now Huambo) with the *Plan of Carlos Roma Machado* (1912). The plan for Beira by Carlos Rebelo de Andrade, followed by the Plan for Porto Amélia (1936) of Januário Moura². Although, contemporary development had its effectiveness after the Colonial Act already in the 1940s. It

² Influenced by the French School (Tostões, 2017: 81).

was cemented with the Colonial Urbanization Office (GUC) and launching the Development Plans (Tostões, 2013: 64).

Regarding the “*public architectural output*” of the final phase of the Portuguese colonisation, Ana Vaz Milheiro asks what territorial occupation processes were at the basis of the homogenisation of the African landscape. What was the role of the Portuguese architectural culture imported to Africa in these processes? And how did that culture evolve locally (Milheiro, 2017: 21). The development plans, manifestations of the architectural culture promoted by the *Estado Novo*, described unequal scenarios in the Portuguese case with the larger provinces presenting another type of attraction - both from the point of view of investment and from the European emigration. That’s the reason that from a historiographic perspective - if considering Public Works - Angola and Mozambique distanced themselves from the marginal condition experienced by Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe (Alexandre, 2017: 432-442). Approaching the end of the empire, in the last decade, the colonial war contributed to further intensifying those territorial asymmetries.

Pre-existing resources to study the colonial Portuguese public works

The database “Public Works” is accessible online through the search portal of the Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive. However, to characterize this scientific output and the relevance it may present to postcolonial studies implies recovering the contributions made by the research projects that enabled its uprising, exploring also the initiatives that preceded these endeavours.

In the past decade, there were about a hundred scientific journals dedicated to African studies. In Portugal, the African Studies Notebooks (Iscte-IUL)³, the African Studia (University of Oporto) and the African of the Portucalense University are references to this scientific field. Also, as Franz-Wilhelm Heimer pointed out at the 7th Iberian Congress of African Studies, the constitution in Iscte-IUL of a Central Library of African Studies⁴ was quite relevant (Heimer, 2010: 27). Another scientific infrastructure to highlight in this scope is the portal Memories of Africa and the East [*Memórias de África e do Oriente*]. Since 1997, it has been recognised as “*a fundamental and pioneering instrument in the attempt to enhance the historical memory of*

³ In the original *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* (Iscte-IUL).

⁴ Funded mainly by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (acronym FCT) and supported by the centres mentioned previously.

the bonds that unite Portugal and Lusophony” as stated at the infrastructure’s homepage. This initiative, a joint effort of the Portugal-Africa Foundation and the University of Aveiro, in collaboration with the Centre for Studies on Africa and Development, has been instrumental in preserving and promoting this rich historical and cultural legacy⁵.

The records mapped

The archival records managed at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU) in the scope of Public Works stem from several investigation projects funded by the Portuguese Foundation to Science and Technology (FCT). Prior to the research project “Archwar”⁶ the AHU hosted as partners two other research projects interested in cooperating with the management and study of this archival shared heritage: “The Colonial Urbanization Offices”⁷ and the “Coast to Coast”⁸. In total, both managed c.18,900 archival descriptions. “Archwar” managed c.1,500 archival descriptions extending the archival management until June 2023. Both projects covered a timeline (1830-1975) and enabled to process approximately 21,500 records (this figure comprises over 52,200 draws and 15,000 photographs). Since 2019, these archival descriptions integrate a database available online at the Archive’s research portal⁹. In consideration of the prevailing circumstances in Portugal until the 2010s, it becomes clear that the establishment of collaborative initiatives between research projects and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon) is well-justified. The custodial history of the records managed throughout the aforementioned projects is also accessible online¹⁰.

The Portuguese colonial public works records

The investigation topics, within the universe of Public Works, cover the empire landscapes and the adaptations of public administration to promote structural and infrastructural development. Personages, missions, constructions, technology landscapes and structures likewise legal devices are a constant presence in these architectural records. Architectural records and archives

⁵ Fundação Portugal-África (2022-11-03), *O portal das memórias de África e do Oriente*.

⁶ Reference: PTDC/ART-DAQ/0592/2020.

⁷ Reference: PTDC/AUR-AQI/104964/2008. Concluded in 2013-07-31 and managed 13,900 archival descriptions.

⁸ Reference PTDC/ATP-AQI/0742/2014. Concluded in 2019-12-31 and managed 5,000 archival descriptions.

⁹ AHU. *Obras Públicas*. <https://digitarq.ahu.arquivos.pt/>

¹⁰ AHU. *Obras Públicas*, custodial history. <https://digitarq.ahu.arquivos.pt/details?id=1119732>

are a focal element of a nation's heritage¹¹. Just as an archive is not a closed system an architectural project also sustains several dialogues with the landscape that it embraces - though presenting common ground and features no project despite being the same interacts in a narrow manner with the environment just as the architecture archive. A historical public archive is characterised by a number of features that diverge from those of a contemporary public archive. However, it is imperative to recognise the significance of both in order to comprehend and contextualize the work of an architect. The study of architecture must be undertaken in context and considering these information circuits. Historical public archives are not evaluated whilst current are, and this simple trait - as if it could ever be that simple - is enough for a historian to know that if they are conducting research in a historical state archive, access may be granted to a broader landscape by comparison to current public archive or even a private archive.

Technical documentation: studies, consultations, and projects

Exploring the database by doing a brief search in the records "title" and "scope and content", the preponderances of studies, consultations and projects are significant. In a total of 19,536 objects, are represented, with 411 studies, 59 queries and 1,755 projects. Avoiding generalizations, which offer little to scientific work, this ratio seems regular. Some documents do not present these controlled terms implicitly in the "title" or the "scope and content" however, that doesn't prevent it to be inferred. And the reason lies in the fact that description units resemble macro criteria regarding their indexing. It is important to note that questions concerning the allocation of time were frequently addressed. This led to the determination to optimise the resources allocated to document processing in the context of archival management.

It is not uncommon for a composite document - a record that is composed of two or more simple archival records - to contain a single identifier OP (the acronym of *Obras Públicas*), although it can represent several description units. Each of which could receive by itself an identifier. In order to elucidate this point for those not versed in the intricacies of archival science, it is necessary to provide some concrete examples. In the event of an aggregation of requisitions being discovered, with all documentation relating to a specific commercial entity (for example, railways), geographical location (Benguela, Angola) and chronological reference (year 1930),

¹¹ Regarding the semantics associated with architecture archives (Godinho, 2011: 7-9).

a systematic grouping and designation is to be applied. This may be expressed as, for example, "Benguela railways. Requisitions of oil, 1930". Within the scope and content, it would be necessary to mention that the requisitions were a group of 10, 20 or 30, for example, and to move on to the following archival unit.

As previously outlined, the archival management revealed the prevalence of two records within the bureaucratic events and practices exemplified by the documentary circuits within a public works business process. These record types were contracts (regarding goods and services) and reports.

Conditions to execute the works: the contracts

The construction of a railway in Mozambique was initiated in 1869, while in Angola, the proposal for a railway from Luanda to Calumbo was presented to the Portuguese government in 1863 by General Governor José Baptista de Andrade (Costa 1902: 7; 27). Contracts centralise much information from the railway information systems¹². In 1889, the Portuguese Ministry of the Navy and Overseas printed a documentary compilation of the concession contract of this railway. This monograph gathers 838 documents (MMU, 1889).

The construction of the Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal border railway was approved and decreed through the contract signed on December 14th between the Portuguese government and João Burnay, representative of Edward Mac-Murdo¹³. Its project comprised 49 written and drawn pieces dated from 1879-09-21 and others on 1883-04-30 prepared by the Engineer Joaquim José Machado¹⁴. All of it is subjected to the Overseas Advisory Board¹⁵ appreciation¹⁶.

The railway construction included expropriations, landfills and excavations, works of art, track settlements, stations and small and large repair workshops, all accessory buildings, guardhouses, barriers, level crossings, retaining walls, fence walls and other works. And such as railway

¹² In another study, I had the opportunity to explore what, at the time, the centralization of information represents to a given production service. The *Boletim e Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino* was published between 1854 and 1867 that displayed a remarkable number of official documents, some produced by the Conselho Ultramarino in a time frame that the central administration of Portugal had no historical colonial archive. A feat that only came to fruition in 1931 (Henrique, 2019). Moreover, the service provided an informative discourse on matters pertaining to the imperial system. Its profile rallied public opinion to the cause of colonisation (Henrique, 2023).

¹³ Docs. 1, 3, (MMU, 1889: 3-4).

¹⁴ Director of the Lourenço Marques Railways.

¹⁵ In portuguese *Junta Consultiva do Ultramar*.

¹⁶ Doc. 6, (MMU, 1889: 7).

concession contracts, this project also involved tackle the supply, conservation and renovation of locomotives, passenger carriages and wagons for goods, machines and tools for the workshops, turntables, hydraulic equipment, cranes, among others. As stated, “*everything that was designated or not designated and necessary to keep the line in a perfect state of operation*”¹⁷.

The concession lasted 90 years, at the end of which the railway and the attached works reverted to Portugal without compensation. But the government couldn't build or grant another railway line in the District of Lourenço Marques that could compete with that one at less than 100km¹⁸. In addition, the establishment of an electric telegraph with kilometre markers and a survey to describe the works of art and the dependencies of the railway was deemed necessary¹⁹. In the context of land concessions, the dimensions of the territory to grant, their duration and benefits (including tax exemptions) suffered several adjustments from 1856 to 1973 (Amaral, 2017) (RPPA, 1967)²⁰. One of the concessionaires' obligations was to establish, within six months, a public limited company with its head office in Lisbon to carry out the purposes referred to in the contract²¹. To this end, its statutes had to be approved by the government, notwithstanding the Law of June 22nd, 1867²². However, the company would be Portuguese for all purposes²³. And that's how the *Companhia do Caminho-de-ferro de Lourenço Marques ao Transvaal*²⁴ came about.

Contractual issues associated to railways also comprise treaties of friendship and commerce. The specific Lourenço Marques's conventions with the South African Republic dated back to the 11th of December 1875²⁵. The consultations with the Consultative Board of Public Works²⁶ and Mines contain technical advice. The document points to construction-related issues,

¹⁷ Track and rolling materials. Doc. 7, 8, (MMU, 1889: 8-15).

¹⁸ Art. 20, doc. 8, (MMU, 1889: 11).

¹⁹ Art. 3, doc. 8, (MMU, 1889: 10).

²⁰ Just the regulations from 1961 to 1967: legislative diploma n°3280, the Decree n°43894, the Decree n°47167 and the Decree n°47486.

²¹ The detail of these contracts is such that they even stipulate the compensation of the State to the company in case of war (art. 24, doc. 8, MMU, 1889: 12).

²² Law of 22nd June 1867, pg.173-180. Legislation complete references can be found at the end of this paper.

²³ Art. 51, doc. 8, (MMU, 1889: 15).

²⁴ Regarding the company statutes: Docs. 31-39, (MMU, 1889: 26-46).

²⁵ As stated in the Convention of the 17th of May 1884. To facilitate the construction and operation of that railway linking Mozambique to Pretoria, the agreement contemplated concessions of fixed and rolling materials and importations duty-free. Doc. 48, (MMU, 1889: 60-61).

²⁶ In portuguese Junta Consultiva de Obras Públicas e Minas.

including budgets ²⁷. By the end of 2022, the “Obras Públicas” database contained 44 pages with documentary references (437 results) referring to the Lourenço Marques railway comprising statutes amendments, minutes of the meetings from its companies, requests, etc.

Enhancing Africa through Public Works

This section of the text explores the semantic universe that may be found in the database. Although we can group it into large blocks, such as sanitation, dams, railways, and others, railways are predominant in our database. Doing a simple search, in the “Public Works” collection, checking the controlled term “railway” returned 2,633 results²⁸. The examination of railway records facilitates the exploration of a wide array of documentary types, which pertain to diverse scientific disciplines. These include, but are not limited to, architecture and engineering, as well as hydraulics, among others. Consequently, the documentation encompasses a wide range of subjects, including studies of various kinds, as well as administrative matters, the procurement or acquisition of materials and services, in addition to the technical projects themselves and the reports on the construction of the railway.

Public works reports, obeying a fluid structure in the XIX century, presented law proposals and the occurred development in each province (Obras Públicas, 1879). In the XX century, its structure gained complexity. Nevertheless, reports acquaint us with work and workers. Records produced by public works services have several authors: directors of services, directors of railways, governors, and explorers. Also, contain references to subalterns. For example, in the reports of the Directors of Public Works published in 1879, one can see the importance of the slave trade for public revenues, still evoking the abolition of the slave trade of 1836²⁹ and the treaty celebrated between Portugal and Great Britain in 1842³⁰.

Colonial railroads: Angola and Mozambique record topics

The “Regulation for the Administration and Supervision of Public Works in the Province of Angola” promulgated by Minister Andrade Corvo in 1877 delineated the aforementioned

²⁷ Doc. 61, (MMU, 1889: 79-85).

²⁸ AHU, *Search portal*, Simple search on the controlled term “railway”.

²⁹ Decree of 10th December 1836, pg. 21-28.

³⁰ Treaty of 3rd July 1842, pg. 209-252.

services in six distinct domains³¹: 1. Geography and Hydrography; 2. Geology, research and mining; 3. Studies, construction and conservation of roads, bridges and telegraphs; 4. Works on rivers, canals, seaports, lighthouses, desiccation of swamps and irrigation; 5. Construction, repair and conservation of public buildings and fortifications; 6. Studies and construction of the Luanda and Ambaca railways³². In 1909, the Directorate of the Railways of Luanda published a monograph on the Malanje Railway line. This monograph comprises graphic documents, photographs and drawings. These visual aids include depictions of notable bridges such as the Caririmbe Bridge, the Lutete Bridge, the Caballe Bridge, and the Ramada Curto Bridge. The monograph also includes drawn pieces of the chorographic sketch of the region and a longitudinal profile of the line, among other elements (DCFL, 1909).

The Malanje Railway construction contract dates from 1881, September 25th enabling to build 364km of line. In October 1888, the first 45 km of this line were inaugurated. It reached Lucala in September 1899. Prior to this, two contracts had been signed on March 11th of 1897. One with the *Companhia Real dos Caminhos-de-ferro-Através de África* replacing the tariffs from Luanda to Ambaca. And another for the construction and operation of a railway departing from the terminus of the Luanda-Ambaca line going to Malanje (Martins, 1963: 18).

Railway tariffs included general determinations of traffic, such as transport conditions, the responsibilities held by non-insure goods, postage payment, current accounts and deposits, wagons, freight trains, deliveries, traffic into stations without permanent staff, traffic to detours, traffic on holidays, collection of goods, refunds, transport of goods, cattle, and other articles, etc. (CFLM, 1908: 1-8). In addition to general provisions, the tariff books, apart from general determinations, also specify the following regulations: "passengers,"³³ "luggage,"³⁴ "transportation of goods"³⁵, "funeral transports", "animals"³⁶, "vehicles", "merchandise"³⁷,

³¹ Decree of 19th February 1877, pg. 18-21.

³² AHU, *Luanda Railway Management Statistical Utilisation Report 1909* (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP17590), *Angola. Port and Railway Directory of Luanda. Report on the financial year 1932-1933* (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP02331), *Angola. National Development Plan, Angola Development Fund Administrative Commission, Luanda Railway Gauge Widening Brigade. Report of 1958* (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13068); *Idem, Report of 1963* (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13030), etc.

³³ Types of passengers, tickets, carriages, compartments, etc.

³⁴ What should be considered luggage: essential passengers' essential personal use items, workers tools, travelling chairs for invalid passengers, sewing machines and saddles. Merchandise intended for trade wasn't considered luggage (CFLM, 1908: 75).

³⁵ Half-price tariffs, insurance, and specific transportation.

³⁶ Food and water, wild animals, sick animals, transport conditions, animal fees according to species, etc.

³⁷ Munition, guns, weight and transportation, types of merchandise, deliveries, insurance, tariffs, etc.

“branches” and “detours”. Another important topic in the railway universe was the water supply to locomotives. In the specific case of the Malanje Railway, there was a leftover pipe from the Porto Alexandre³⁸ pipeline and a hot air pump that the Luanda municipality provided to the railway. In addition to these amenities, which were necessary for the proper functioning of the railway, there was also the study of public lighting (Galvão, 1917: 47).

The topics related to the railway can be diverse, from construction works to exploitation issues. In the transport of goods and passengers, colonial customs were an important undertaking to Portugal. In Angola, there were several custom services namely Ambriz, Benguela³⁹, Luanda and Novo Redondo, Moçâmedes, Ambrizete, Cabinda, Caçango, Santo António do Zaire and S. Salvador do Congo (Sousa, 1902: 57). Another effort related to the railways concerned the granting of land. In 1902, the legislation on this subject was still to be that of 1856, with amendments. Between 1896 and 1897, the increases in this matter focused mainly on the value of the land. This varied from province to province, from region to region. It is possible that after 1897 several concessions of 1,000 hectares did not go through the Chamber of Deputies or the Chamber of Peers of the Kingdom⁴⁰ (Sousa, 1902: 137-143).

Moçâmedes railway

In 1963, the total length of the railway network in Angola was 3,067km of which 1,581km were administrated by the Portuguese government and 1,486km by private companies. The Portuguese public administration had significant interests in colonial railways, with a total of 788km in the line in Moçâmedes, and 638km in Luanda (Marques, 1963: 12).

The historical process of the colonisation of Angola demonstrates that the first recognition of Moçâmedes occurred in 1839, as documented by P. Alexandrino and J. Francisco Garcia (Freudenthal, et al., 2006: 159), which subsequently led to its foundation. In 1846 the fortress

³⁸ On the topic of “Channelling and water supply to Porto Alexandre” the database contains several results from 1940 to 1952, for example: “Urbanisation works” (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP05870); “Water supply project for the village of Porto Alexandre. I) Descriptive memory and calculations” (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP02261); *Idem.* II) Measurements, price bases and budget (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP02262); *Idem.* III) Drawings (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP02263).

³⁹ AHU, Angola. Benguela railway. Four hangars for the Lobito customs (1911-1913), (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP18317)

⁴⁰ In Portuguese *Câmara dos Pares do Reino*.

of S. Fernando was added to the town⁴¹. In 1849, Moçâmedes received 170 Portuguese migrants “displaced from Pernambuco by Brazilian nativism”. These Pernambuco refugees were its first settlers. A further influx of 144 refugees was recorded in 1850. The inability of the district to accommodate the initial influx led to the second wave being directed to Huíla (Galvão, Selvagem, 1952: 100). Moçâmedes underwent a transformation into a village and subsequently into a city in 1904. It gained the customs office in 1851 and the municipal court in 1852. During the 1860s, urban development flourished, as evidenced by the construction of notable edifices such as the governor’s palace, St. Adrião church, the hospital, the slaughterhouse, the market, the city hall, and the peer (Freudenthal, et al., 2006: 49). In the 1960’s, the annual traffic on this route was estimated to be at between 200,000 and 300,000 tons of goods and 70,000 to 80,000 passengers (Marques, 1963: 13).

The Moçâmedes railway construction began in 1905 for military purposes. Hugo Pereira studied the technodiplomatic clashes between Portugal, England, and Germany from 1894 onwards (Pereira, 2019: 163-169). As the work progressed, sections of the line have been inaugurated. And until 1914, this railroad ran up to km176 (Bela Vista). In order to continue the work, the unemployed former contractors of the Benguela railway were hired. A. Montalvão, a former Director of the Public Works Department, oversaw this railway, as the province did not have a single engineer or conductor to supervise the service (Galvão, 1917: 43).

The “General Regulation of the Public Works Directorates and Inspections of the Colonies” defined these services’ responsibilities. Including the study, construction and conservation of public buildings and monuments, hydraulic works, railways, quarries, and mines. Accordingly, they had as many sections as necessary⁴². In Angola and Mozambique, there were permanent inspection services for public works. These were competent for superior management and inspection, technical or administrative covering from public works to railways and ports, surveying and mines, and postal and telegraph services⁴³. Each province had a Technical Council for Public Works to support the feasibility of the works. The diploma categorises the works into three categories: new works, major repairs, and conservation works/minor repairs.

⁴¹ AHU, image of the *Fortaleza de S. Fernando*, AHU_ICONI_ANGOLA_REGIÕES-PANORÂMICAS-EDIFÍCIOS, D. 275, (PT/AHU/ICONI/001/00275)

⁴² “General Regulation of the Directorates and Inspections of Public Works in the Colonies”, Chapter I “Services” (MC, 1918: 3-5).

⁴³ Idem, Chapter VIII “Inspections”, art. 66º (MC, 1918: 24-5).

These could be public buildings, roads or bridges, and hydraulic works⁴⁴. In the directorates of public works, the archivist was responsible for “*receiving, classifying, cataloguing and keeping the books, processes, and other archival documents, maintaining their respective places and due order, according to the catalogue*”⁴⁵.

The organisational and bureaucratic practice of these services, implied that in each department should exist several types of registration books: incoming and outgoing correspondence, confidential information, circulars, service orders, budgets, presentation and exit guides, inventory of instruments, furniture, utensils and materials⁴⁶. In addition to these, there should also be books for the registration of staff. It was also stated that “*to the special services of public works, such as railways and commercial ports, surveying and mines, postal services and telegraphs and agriculture, the provisions of this regulation are applicable unless they are subject to specific legislation*”⁴⁷.



Figure 1. Resume of the matters contained in this box (AHU, OP20038. Photographed by the author, 2022)

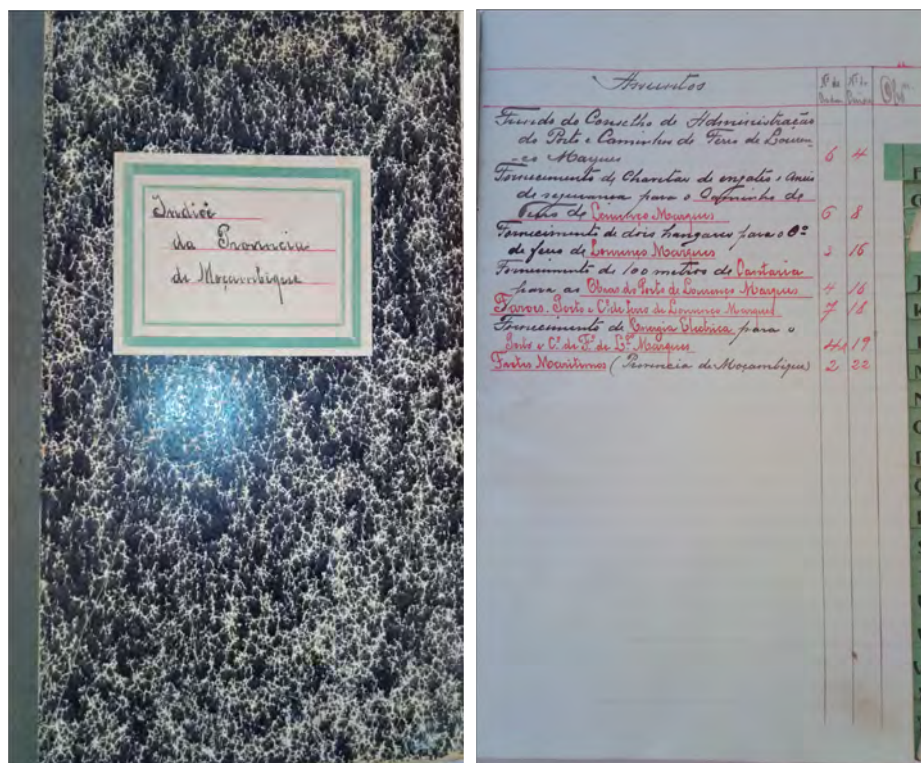
⁴⁴ Id., Chapter X “Organization of works projects and distribution of funds”, art. 107º (MC, 1918: 33-4).

⁴⁵ Id., Chapter V “Personnel duties and responsibilities”, art. 44º (MC, 1918: 19).

⁴⁶ There are not many tools for recovering archival information, specially at the level of the installation unit. But this is a good example. AHU, “Caminho-de-Ferro de Moçâmedes. Nota dos assuntos arquivados nesta caixa” (1910-1916), PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP 20038.

⁴⁷ Id., Chapter XII “General provisions”, art. 154; 156 (MC, 1918: 46).

The will to create indexes is comprehensible. It is an instrument that enables the organisation and retrieval of records rigorously. And there are several idiosyncrasies in this regard. In OP19827, there's an index of the Public Works Department of Mozambique. Although the notebook doesn't present an opening term, considering the subjects listed, suggest that it must have been a production by the bureau responsible for railways and ports. In addition to this inference, the document contains four sheets from this bureau presenting data relating to the description of four installation units⁴⁸.



Figures 2 and 3. Cover and interior of the index of Mozambique
(AHU, OP19827. Photographed by the author, 2022)

In the indexes, in addition to “subject” each entry also had the “order number”, the “container number” and “observations”. Nevertheless, a subject could be registered according to the verb that occurs on the object⁴⁹. Also, there could coexist the object and the collective author⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ AHU, “Index of Mozambique province”, OP 19827.

⁴⁹ Letter A - “Acquisition of the *Draga Parede*, plan and information”.

⁵⁰ Letter B - “Steamboat of 40 to 50 tons for the Inhambane District Improvement Commission”

Considering this practice, and how railways were relevant to colonial administration it is not surprising that “railways” are quite well represented in these indexes, as are “concessions” and “contracts”.

The reports received by the central services regarding railroads were the result of a landscape produced by the local services, including stations. Data that was assembled in monthly reports, that later were compiled into annual reports⁵¹. Notwithstanding this, there were also some demonstrative exercises providing further information. For example, in the image below, we can see the expenditure made on the Moçâmedes railways, from its construction beginning in 1905 until 1910⁵². This time frame in the Portuguese political and administrative context is relevant, since the year 1910 signals the end period of the monarchical regime.

OP20039

Relatório para o ano económico de 1910, feito sobre a construção e exploração da Companhia de Estradas de Ferro de Moçâmedes, desde o seu início, Julho de 1905, até ao fim de Junho de 1910.

Classificação das Despesas	1905-1906	1906-1907	1907-1908	1908-1909	1909-1910	Até ao fim do ano económico	Saldo
Em Moçâmedes							
<i>Despesas</i>							
<i>Despesas</i>	5.221.720	2.778.610	4.623.970	2.262.500	2.896.350	18.783.150	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	250.325.471	108.753.679	89.803.072	105.791.765	301.038.400	855.712.387	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	4.445.114	2.463.220	2.683.922	2.169.870	5.415.630	17.187.756	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	152.175.365	119.485.747	20.090.627	145.240.218	47.402.480	692.495.457	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>							
<i>Despesas</i>	5.935.445	4.401.675	5.325.235	14.135.095	10.825.620	40.623.070	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	41.115.173	26.097.765	21.175.125	22.179.129	17.146.425	128.719.697	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	20.330.451	12.483.400	31.827.168	12.106.120	9.805.195	86.552.340	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	3.954.000	—	4.835.115	5.112.265	1.264.425	19.171.810	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	30.805.039	22.270.025	34.675.695	34.670.478	10.466.801	132.928.038	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	1.625.455	0.115.470	5.464.305	5.719.810	30.124.425	43.059.065	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	5.915.115	18.974.975	23.321.210	22.021.340	10.910.540	81.147.180	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	10.627.970	34.143.380	9.472.215	2.488.060	1.464.800	68.196.425	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	1.196.482	10.975.200	9.774.000	4.995.095	2.121.200	29.967.982	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	—	—	1.000.650	—	—	1.000.650	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	1.700.650	—	—	—	—	1.700.650	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	10.762.077	63.006.305	135.204.978	12.719.913	61.210.630	272.923.803	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	870.822	102.322.087	8.576.147	275.440.000	120.328.076	587.467.132	Indicador para a Companhia
Totais							
<i>Despesas</i>	10.762.077	63.006.305	135.204.978	12.719.913	61.210.630	272.923.803	Indicador para a Companhia
<i>Despesas</i>	870.822	102.322.087	8.576.147	275.440.000	120.328.076	587.467.132	Indicador para a Companhia

(R. V. Relatório feito em Moçâmedes até ao fim de Junho de 1910, sobre os trabalhos de construção e exploração da Companhia de Estradas de Ferro de Moçâmedes, desde o seu início, Julho de 1905, até ao fim de Junho de 1910.)

Figure 4. Moçâmedes railway expense map (AHU, OP20039. Photographed by the author, 2022)

⁵¹ Without wanting to be exhaustive, the following are some of the reports published on this railway covering the years 1906, 1907 and 1908. AHU, “Process nº 28. Moçâmedes Railway. Reports, 1908” (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20023), “Process nr 28. Moçâmedes Railway. Reports, 1907” (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20025) and “Process nr 28. Moçâmedes Railway. Reports, 1906” (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20024).

⁵² AHU, “Moçâmedes railway. Construction cost (maps)”, (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20039).

Part of this control was provided by the information registered in the stations. Railway administration and traffic were managed on a tight note, from the control of train timetables to the movement of goods and people, which were translated into current account maps. These were all daily maps.

CAMINHO DE FERRO DE MOSSAMEDES

Folha de trânsito do comboio n.º de de de 490

Partida de às h. m. da ; Chegada a às h. m. da

Tracção; machina n.º : até e n.º deste até

Machinista de 1.ª Machinista de 2.ª Conductor Guarda freio

Fogueiro de 1.ª Fogueiro de 2.ª Revisor

O conductor é obrigado a mencionar na presente: — 1.ª Todas as infracções dos regulamentos — 2.ª Todas as paragens extraordinárias, local, duração e causa — 3.ª Todos os atrasos, suas causas, etc. — 4.ª Todas as avarias quer da locomotiva, quer do material — 5.ª Todos os erros nos volumes e nos documentos — 6.ª Tudo o que disser respeito a receitas supplementares durante a viagem — 7.ª O estado da via — 8.ª Tudo o que disser respeito ao serviço.

Modelo n.º 15 — 5.000 ex. — Typ. VEROL & C.ª — Lisboa

Estações	HORARIO						Tempo perdido	Tempo ganho	Total do atraso	C. com que cruza	Quantidade de vehi- culos				Explicação dos atrasos e observações			
	Prescripto			Effectivo							Varios	Total do atraso	C. com que cruza	A chegada		Travando	Partida	A saída
	Cheg	Dem	Part	Cheg	Dem	Part												

Figure 5. Traffic sheet (AHU, OP20304-01. Photographed by the author, 2022)

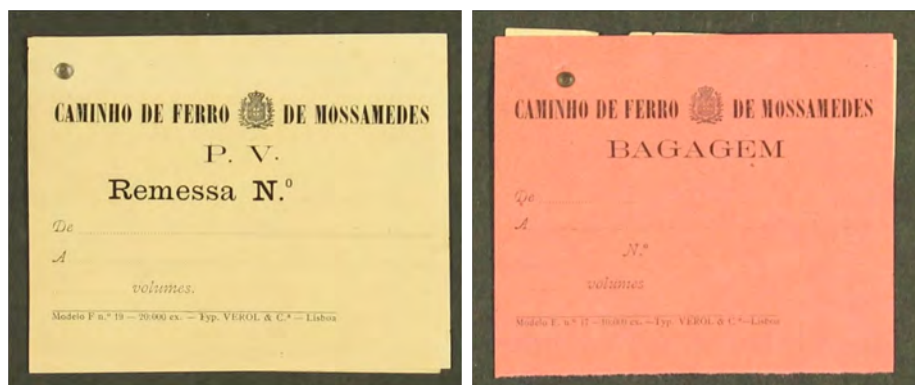
The traffic sheet registers several types of information identifying the machine, the team, and the timetables. Trains received an identification number. Operating the machines was a team of 2 locomotive operators (1st and 2nd class), the driver, the brakeman, the inspector, and the stokers (1st and 2nd class). In the timetable form, the driver should identify the time of arrival and departure, stating the amount of time gained or lost. Also, there should be an explanation about possible delays. The categories of railway expenditure were diverse, ranging from infrastructure and fixed equipment⁵³, rolling stock⁵⁴, miscellaneous materials⁵⁵, workshops and their

⁵³ Including earthworks, civil engineering works, rails, and railway sleepers.

⁵⁴ Including locomotives, carriages, vans, and wagons.

⁵⁵ Machinery and self-propelled equipment.

equipment, construction⁵⁶, and operation costs. The latter category represented a wide range of expenditure including the railway administration, its traffic, matters of traction and workshops, the railroad and its works, furniture, fuel, but also losses, and breakdowns, among others.



Figures 6 and 7. Goods and luggage identifiers
(AHU, OP20304-6 and OP20304-8⁵⁷. Photographed by the author, 2022)

Those were the identifiers for goods and luggage. Both items were subjected to specific tariffs and were recorded separately in daily sheets. This later allowed the station staff to fill in a monthly report. The same occurred to tickets.

Figure 8. Sold tickets map (AHU, OP 20304-5⁵⁸. Photographed by the author, 2022)

⁵⁶ Including personnel and materials.

⁵⁷ Record reference code: PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20304.

⁵⁸ Record reference code: PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20304-5.

This form, entitled “sold tickets map” recorded the ordinary and return tickets sold on the same day. For ordinary tickets, a distinction was made according to the class to which they belonged (1st, 2nd, and 3rd), and whether they were full tickets or half tickets. The same applies to return tickets. Finally, the map presented the total number of sales.

All the information gathered at the stations concerning locomotives traffic, passengers and merchandise was registered daily on the current account maps, as displayed bellow.

CAMINHO DE FERRO DE MOSSAMEDES

Conta corrente do dia de _____ de 190__ Estação de _____

Modelo F. n.º 1-100000 ex. - Tip. YEROS, S. C. - Lisboa

Número das linhas	Descrição	Conta segundo a				Rectificação		Justificação da receita e do saldo devedor do dia			
		Estação		Fiscalização		Deve	Haver	Receitas		Saldo	
		Deve	Haver	Deve	Haver	Da estação	Grande	Pequena	Grande	Pequena	
1	Saldo de ontem.....										
2	Avisos de rectificação n.º.....										
3	Portes a cobrar das guias 1/10 dia de.....										
4	chegadas com atraso em 1/2 P. dia de.....										
5	Passageiros.....										
6	Cobranças suplementares.....										
7	Bagagens e cães.....										
8	Recoragens expeditas.....										
9	Deposito de bagagens.....										
10	Telegrammas.....										
11	Armações.....										
12	Varios.....										
13	Recoragens chegadas.....										
14	Mercadorias expeditas.....										
15	Armações.....										
16	Varios.....										
17	Mercadorias chegadas.....										
18	Dinheiro curiado á caixa.....										
19	Pagamentos por ordem.....										
20	Totais geracs.....										
21	Saldo devedor para amanhã.....										
22	Req. Vales e porte.....										
23	Totais geracs.....										

O chefe da estação

Figure 9. Current account map (AHU, OP20304-13⁵⁹. Photographed by the author, 2022).

⁵⁹ Record reference code: PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20304-13.

Expenses regarding colonial railways are incurred both in the metropolis and locally. Within the metropolis, expenditures were allocated to pay the remuneration of hired personnel, the procurement of materials, the transportation of supplies, and the provision of insurance for said materials⁶⁰. In contrast, overseas expenditures were allocated to the conduct of studies, the remuneration of personnel, the establishment of temporary encampments, the construction of stations, earth movements, works of art, rolling materials, track accessories, and miscellaneous other expenses. The reception and the inspection of materials, which were regulated in 1902, also constituted a significant expense⁶¹.

The importance of railways to colonial projects is multifaceted, being instrumental in military purposes, facilitating the establishment of settlements, and enabling the extraction of minerals and the exchange of goods, thus connecting them to other public works. The construction of dams, for instance, not only harnessed the potential energy resultant of water accumulation, translated into other works of importance. The “Mabubas” waterfalls, as documented by the “Obras Públicas” dataset, serve as a case in point, with 92 results of this hydroelectric use⁶². Mabubas played a pivotal role in the economy of Luanda, benefiting the industries of Cacucaco, and the agriculture that was established around the Dande and Bengo rivers (Galvão, 1917: 62-63).

However, regarding hydroelectric uses, the development of Cahora Bassa in Mozambique served as a symbol of Portugal’s colonial development policy. In addition to supplying energy to South Africa, this was a complex development model for Mozambique that included the regulation of the Zambezi River, the introduction of hydro-agricultural practices, the establishment of complementary to agriculture, the promotion of tourism, among other initiatives (MU, CSFU, 1969: 1). In 2004, the Portuguese Institute for Development and Support (IPAD)⁶³ as the responsible stakeholder of that documentation edited the inventory of archival documentation relating to the Cahora Bassa project. The work presents several sections:

⁶⁰ The document containing the identifier OP20039 comprises a list of suppliers to this railway. AHU, “Moçâmedes Railway. Construction cost (maps)”, (PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP20039).

⁶¹ Decree of 6th November 1902, 1781-1783. Regarding this topic, the clauses and conditions for public contracts and overseas materials supply improved in 1900 hadn’t been amended since 1861. Ordinance of 20th October 1900, 387-410.

⁶² (AHU), Search portal, simple search on the controlled term “Mabubas” (2023-02-08)

⁶³ In Portuguese, *Instituto Português para o Desenvolvimento* (acronym IPAD). This organism was created in 2003 by a merger of the *Instituto da Cooperação Portuguesa* (ICP) and the *Agência Portuguesa ao Desenvolvimento* (APAD). Instituto Camões, *IPAD’s history* (2013-02-10).

studies, projects, contests, and reports (IPAD, 2004: 11-66). Currently, these documents are stored in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa. However, the “Obras Públicas” dataset contains twenty results of this enterprise⁶⁴. Another representative project on hydroelectric uses was the case of Cunene (Cruz, Furtado, 2022), also archival managed by IPAD, there are just eleven results in the database⁶⁵.

Conversely, a survey of the database reveals 285 results pertaining to smaller enterprises involved in hydroelectric developments. In Angola several rivers are worthy of note, including the Catumbela, Biópio, Quihita, Luachimo, Cambambe, Quiminha (Bengo), Cutato das Ganguelas, Cuebe, etc.⁶⁶ In Mozambique the focus is on the south of the Save (the Incomátimovene), the Umbeluzi, the Limpopo, the *Revue*, and the Messalo⁶⁷. In the Guinea-Bissau the focus is on the Geba valley⁶⁸. In India the Pilerne lagoon, the Dude Sagor falls, the Candepar river, the Molem channel and the Taleigão river are of particular interest⁶⁹. In Macau, the Taipa and Coloane regions are of relevance⁷⁰. In Timor-Leste, notable works were undertaken in Baucau and the Sarim River,⁷¹ while in S. Tomé and Príncipe the Contador River was subjected to similar development⁷².

Conclusion

The development of the Portuguese colonial space until independence can be explained through the prism of public works. Analogous to the processes occurring within the metropolis, the imperial project overseas, seen through the lens of public works, brings together several actors

⁶⁴ AHU, Search portal, simple search on the controlled term “*Cabora Bassa*” (2022-11-22).

⁶⁵ AHU, *Hydroelectric development* (Cunene): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP6414-OP6421, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9202, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP12917 e PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP12988.

⁶⁶ AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (Angola): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP234-240, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP1264, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP1265, etc.

⁶⁷ AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (Mozambique): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP1181-OP1183, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP2654-OP2657, etc.

⁶⁸ AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (Guinea-Bissau): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP647-OP655, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP3058, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP3071, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP11433, etc.

⁶⁹ AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (India): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP1177, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP1178, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP3564-OP3568, etc.

⁷⁰ AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (Macau): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP11642, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP11786, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP11796, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP12608, etc.

⁷¹ AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (Timor-Leste): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP8013, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9508-OP9511, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP11343, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13539, etc.

⁷² AHU, *Hydroelectric developments* (S. Tomé and Príncipe): PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9529, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9589, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9624, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9634, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP9660, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13502, etc.

in attributing another harmony to space. Infrastructures and structures, including buildings, benefited from the contributions of science and technology, in which the Portuguese Polytechnic School and the Army School were of paramount importance (Macedo, 2012: 31-112).

Very briefly, from the abolition of the slave trade (a theme that has occupied national politics since 1835) to the reforms of 1843, 1859, 1868, 1969, 1878, 1892 and 1902, and then to the central organisational structure, the Secretariat of State for the Navy and Overseas (Henrique, 2020: 70-72), and all the increments that it brought to overseas politics, a strong commitment to Public Works is evident. Particularly from 1869 onwards. At the conference held in 1901 at the Lisbon Geography Society, Henrique Barahona e Costa, an official with extensive experience in the Public Works Directorate overseas, identified several moments of renovation that proved to be pivotal to this sector. The issues concerning the progress of African domains were emphasised, and the contribution of several ministers of the Ministry of Navy and Overseas was highlighted.

In 1869 Rebelo da Silva, assumed the role of Minister shortly after Andrade Corvo was nominated Rebelo da Silva's successor. By the end of the century, Ferreira do Amaral had followed suit. Following Rebelo da Silva's intervention, the 1877 expedition enabled the Minister Andrade Corvo to advocate for the opposition's stance on combating the un-healthiness overseas by implementing measures such as draining the marshes, channelling rivers to facilitate navigation and irrigating fields, illuminating the ports, constructing piers, bridges⁷³ and customs to facilitate trade, opening roads and building railways to reduce the distances between products and markets. It is noteworthy that over the course of nearly a century, the colonial Public Works Service continued to evolve in its design of the territory overseas.

The "Obras Públicas" database is a valuable source for the study of this evolution. This includes the works themselves, the technicians involved, the indigenous peoples engaged in the projects, the regulations, the reports, all the communication around these topics, and all the documentary types drawn upon this thematic area. This colonial information system is of immense value in

⁷³ Angola, as an example, in the dataset contains so far 118 results of bridges of which 11 projects before 1902. From 1878-1890: AHU, *Moçâmedes bridge project*, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP 13905, *Ambriz bridge project*, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13953, *Luanda customs bridge project*, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13954, Gunzu bridge project (1880), PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13961, Lucala's bridge Pinheiro Chagas, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP17415 e OP13924.

From 1890-1902: metallic over structures for the Luanda do Ambaca railway, PT/AHU/ID-OP/ OP6344-OP6346, *Novo Redondo bridge*, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP13941, *Bungo bridge*, PT/AHU/ID-OP/OP15441. It is anticipated that these figures will increase in line with the outputs of ArchWar.

enabling the study of the Portuguese administration through the lens of Architecture, encompassing a landscape of projects and vulnerabilities.

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[Session Overview]

Under Golden Suns: Revisiting Late Modernist Typology Experiments

Rui Seco (Chair)

CITAD, Research Center for Territory, Architecture and Design; ruisecoc@gmail.com; Lisbon, Portugal

Introduction

“It was the ATBAT 'Grille' from Morocco [...] with its golden suns on wands and new language of architecture generated by patterns of inhabitation that seized us” would remember Allison Smithson about the impact of the panels presented at CIAM 9 by the “Atelier des bâtisseurs” (Smithson and Smithson, 1991).

After World War II architecture was required to produce solutions to the reconstruction of a European mainly ravaged territory. This tabula rasa permitted the materialization of modernist ideas on the city that had been sidelined by the pre-war geopolitical context - in 1953, the *Charte d'Athènes* was already twenty years old, and was finally being put in practice and subjected to criticism. This was the year of CIAM 9, the congress under the theme of the Habitat held at Aix-en-Provence, on which Allison Smithson remembered the golden suns that illustrated the typological experiments by the ATBAT Afrique.

To build a new world, new cities and spaces to harbour the reconstruction of society and morality, was architects' ambition in the post-war. And although *L'Esprit Nouveau* seized the opportunity it had prepared to, new ways started to stem from pre-war ideas. Four years on from the Bergamo congress 'The Athens Charter in Practice', six years from the 'Reaffirmation of the aims of CIAM' at Bridgwater, the North African experiences fuelled the notion that modern architecture could not freeze at the vertical block and that the city, seen as a whole, required further innovative ideas, in order to create new structures that could nurture urban life and human activity. 'The Heart of the city', at Hoddesdon, in 1951, preceded the Habitat theme, a more comprehensive approach to the city, at Aix-en-Provence.

A new generation of young architects which sought the evolution of modernist ideas that they felt were starting to age saw Morocco and the golden suns paving a new way to architecture, through innovation and experimentation. They no longer just rejected conventional city, outdated and unsanitary, but also intended to question modernist solutions that were crystallizing. They wanted to do something new.

At CIAM 8, the Groupe d'Architectes Modernes Marocains [GAMMA], founded in 1949 on the initiative of Michel Ecochard, head of the Urban Planning Department of the then French protectorate of Morocco, had already presented the Yacoub-el-Mansour neighbourhood plan for the outskirts of Rabat (Cohen, 1992: 61). At Hoddesdon the work presented by the Moroccan representation was already the result of a wider and comprehensive team, integrating geographers and sociologists (Avermaete, 2003), and including, in addition to Ecochard, several architects such as Bodiansky, Candilis, Kennedy, Piot, Woods, Godefroy and Beraud (Mumford, 2000: 231). It showed an approach that faced both the difficulties posed by a rampant urban growth which created extensive shantytowns - Casablanca had grown from 27,000 to 650,000 inhabitants between 1907 and 1952 - and a more formal urban growth, planned to the European-referenced middle class. Michel Ecochard's perspective led to a renewal type of intervention in the slums, introducing new infrastructure, and planning new developments structured according to the implementation of a street grid framework and the definition of a fabric of 8 x 8m single-storey patio houses. Instead of demolishing and imposing a new, European-based, urban layout, the GAMMA group proposed to conduct and manage spontaneous urban growth within a model that was close to the typologies being set in the field by the new inhabitants. Casablanca's neighbourhoods at Port Lyautey, Sidi-Othman and Carrières Centrales were presented to CIAM as the first responses to the problems of the past - illustrated by the Medina of Fez - and the present - exemplified by the slums of Casablanca.

On the other hand, a different type of settlement was presented as the example of an *European habitat outside the metropolis*, a series of standardized collective housing buildings. These were created with the prominent participation of Georges Candilis, a young architect who had collaborated with Le Corbusier in the completion of the Unité d'habitation de Marseille, and who declined the French-Swiss architect's offer to direct the construction of Chandigarh, opting instead to go to North Africa and work with the GAMMA group. Proceeding his previous studies with Shadrach Woods on the evolution of the duplex typology of the Unité, as the 'Theoretical Study for a Semi-Duplex Building' dedicated to "*the master Le Corbusier*"

(Candilis and Woods, 1953: 87), they developed together with colleagues such as Aroutcheff, Jean, and Vorobey, under Bodiansky's supervision, housing blocks for different locations and solar exposure (North/South or East/West). They followed a set of guiding principles, such as limiting the proportion between building width and length, in the quest for cost control, the search for flexibility in the interior, enabling an extent for adaptation from dwellers, and a volumetric interplay between the interior and the façade, aiming for creativity and expression. These guidelines, synthesized in three words as economy, ethics and identity.

The image of these housing blocks, the so called *Nid d'Abeilles*, published with strong impact around Europe in architecture journals, converted them into iconic registers of a new way to design, balancing local context with architectural vanguard and setting a new relation with the inhabitants.¹ Allison and Peter Smithson stated that these Moroccan realizations constituted the first manifestation of a new way of thinking, but also that it was their architectonic materialization that made them believe in the existence of a “*new universe*” (Smithson and Smithson, 1955).

As the divisions within CIAM aggravated, heading to the tenth congress, the North African territory constituted a major reference for the young, who pledged for a voluntary erasure of architecture as the first goal of the habitat, enabling the adaption of spaces by man for himself. Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco declared independence in 1956, ceasing the development impulse promoted by colonial administrations in these subdued territories, that paradoxically had opened a liberty space for architectural experimentation. North Africa would no longer be the territory for European architects to experience new solutions for the city (Seco, 2022). Three years later, in 1959, the death of CIAM was announced. From its remains, Team 10 would surge to pursue novel paths of architectonic innovation and experimentation, in diverse territories, and would establish a new platform for debate and disclosure of innovative ideas, engaging new generations of architects in the quest for a renewed modernity (Avermaete, 2003). In the following years, various experiences with typology, layout and design would be performed by multiple architects, in different countries and social contexts, many of them still potentially unrevealed.

¹ *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 46 (1953).

Topics, Geographies and Periods

The session ‘Under golden suns: revisiting late modernist typology experiments’ proposed an analysis of typology experiments developed from 1950s, challenging researchers to present studies exploring and reflecting on experiences produced or influenced by colonial contexts, in different realities and territories. Beside the French example, also the Portuguese African scene, comprising overseas work by Vieira da Costa, Simões de Carvalho, Alberto Soeiro and Amâncio Guedes, was spelled as a conceivable worksource, among many possible others.

Space, pattern and structure, layouts comprising duplexes and semi-duplexes, elevated streets and pathways, mat architecture, courtyards, terraces and other relevant features were suggested as potential leads for studies presenting evolutionary testing of new design proposals on housing and the city. How did projects and experiments on these and other correlated ideas contribute to the new paths of architecture in the third quarter of the 20th century? Did they play a role in composing the framework and underlying issues that prompted the end of the modernist period? Could they still today inform the debate on the city and its architecture?

A set of remarkably stimulating responses was presented to this call. Covering the geographic distance from Mozambique to Pakistan, the Indian states of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, back to Cyprus and establishing a series of European-based references, these presentations covered an interesting range of design experiences with diverse uses, from housing to administration, a ministerial complex and urban design. This body of research provided an insight on the architecture mindset progress from the *Charte d’Athènes* to its ambioned evolutions, the *Charte de l’Habitat* and the *Habitat Bill of Rights*, a process that took several decades.

Asu Tozan, from the Eastern Mediterranean University, in Cyprus, contributed with a study on the post-war collective housing built in Nicosia by the British administration in response to the growing migration to the main cities of Cyprus. ‘*Design and Planning Processes of the Multi-Unit Housing Projects in British Colonial Cyprus during WW II and the Post-war Period*’ provided a perspective on urban and architectural practices from the beginning of the colonial period, with a special focus on the expansion from the historic fabric in the aftermath of WW II. The role of the Public Works Department, a British administration division, was analysed, reflecting international tendencies like the street decks concept used in multi-housing buildings promoted by the colonial government.

A perspective on the relations between overseas and inland architecture was presented by Joana Borges Pereira, from Lusíada University, Lisbon, Portugal. The work of the Portuguese architect José Bastos provided the groundwork for this reflection, in the presentation and paper '*Criss-crossing Architecture: The plural work of José Bastos*'. From Bastos' personal archive and photographic records research, two of his design proposals were used to base these reflections – the Tamariz pool contest proposition for Cascais, Portugal, and the BNU bank headquarters building, at Lourenço Marques, Mozambique. The analysis highlights the liberty experienced by architects in the colonial territory, enabling the setting of an overseas modernist architecture that embraced the integration of many artistic interventions, both local and from inland, and that fostered a relation with local specificities.

The work of the Italian architect Gio Ponti in Pakistan was analysed in the study '*Gio Ponti in Pakistan: The Ministerial Complex for Islamabad*', presented by Kieran Gaya, from the School of Art History and Cultural Policy, University College Dublin, Ireland. The Islamabad commission was an important landmark in Gio Ponti's work, as the new capital of Pakistan was intended to assume an emblematic role to the recently self-determined Islamic state, liberated from the British empire in 1947. Ponti, invited by the military government to create a ministerial complex that could synthesize contemporary architecture and classical inspiration, designed from 1961 a remarkable system of inter-connected spaces with courtyards, patios, pathways and corridors articulating public and private spaces, emulating both Mughal edifices and classical European buildings.

Another European architecture master working in the far east, Le Corbusier, is the object of the study titled '*Under the Shaded Space: Le Corbusier and the Mill Owners' Association Building*' by Maria João Soares and João Couto Duarte, from Lusíada University, Lisbon, Portugal. In addition to the well-known architectural legacy in Chandigarh, created to present the new independent India, departing from the British empire, as a modern nation facing the future, Le Corbusier also developed work at Ahmedabad, in Gujarat. The Mill Owners' Association headquarters, designed by the French-Swiss architect from 1954, is analysed in this study focusing on the experimental typological solutions. The concept of in-between space is explored in the analysis of the building and its specific elements, like the detached three-dimensional grid serving as *brise-soleil*.

Rohan Varma and Nelson Mota, from TU Delft Department of Architecture, Netherlands, presented a study on the work of Balkrishna Doshi, named '*Incrementally, we Dwell: B.V. Doshi's Aranya Township as a typological innovation in housing design inspired by the Habitat Bill of Rights*'. This study argues that the most significant typological innovations in housing design in the second half of the 20th century were developed outside Euro-American circles, using the example of the Aranya Township project to illustrate the evolution from the *Charte de l'Habitat* draft to the *Habitat Bill of Rights*, a manifesto by a group of architects that included Candilis, Sert, Ardalan, Safdie and Doshi, sustaining that this document played a pivotal role in shaping post-colonial typological innovations in housing design.

The comprehensive geographical and chronological scope of these studies enabled a far-reaching reflection on the topic of typology experiments produced and influenced by colonial contexts. From a set of relatively unknown or overlooked projects and their founding context, the evolution of architecture throughout the second half of the 20th century was revised, with focus on innovation and freedom to experiment new solutions, set on a strong belief of architecture's role in an evolving society, illustrated at CIAM 9 by the North African golden suns.

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Criss-crossing Architecture: The plural work of José Bastos

Joana Borges Pereira

Universidade Lusíada; jfsfbp@gmail.com; Lisboa, Portugal.

Abstract

The third quarter of the 20th century meant thriving, fearless Architecture for the Portuguese authors working in the overseas provinces. Graduated during the 1940s, this eclectic group of young professionals would “claim for architects the rights and liberties that painters and poets have held for so long” (Amâncio Guedes, 1925-2015). Their journey started in 1948, with the *I Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura*, gaining “flesh” along the next three decades. The geographical distance from mainland Portugal and inherent lack of supervision by the *Estado Novo* regime, gave them the needed freedom to explore architectural paths that combined new formal approaches with technical details, due to the specific climate and conditions of those territories.

José Alexandre Gomes Bastos (1914-1991) was one of those authors. Fairly unknown to many of his fellow architects, José Bastos was a successful author, producing around 600 works during his long career. His first connection with overseas architecture was in 1940 as Assistant Architect for the Colonial Section of the *Exposição Histórica do Mundo Português*, held in Belém. Later, he developed buildings for Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and S. Tome and Príncipe, being BNU of Lourenço Marques (today Maputo) the most published one.

The aim of this paper is to reflect on José Bastos’s thinking process, both overseas and mainland works and experiences, throughout two of his – standing under golden suns – projects: a Pool in Tamariz (Portugal) and BNU of Lourenço Marques (Mozambique). To establish those connections this study will use, as core information, José Bastos’s personal archive and photographic records that were never studied before. Ultimately, this paper seeks to shed light on the importance of Gomes Bastos’s work and legacy both on continental and former Portuguese territories Architecture. Because his work was much more than a linear path, it was a rich and intertwined criss-crossing Architecture.

Keywords: José Bastos; *Banco Nacional Ultramarino*; Tamariz Pool; Architecture and Arts.

Session: Under Golden Suns: Revisiting Late Modernist Typology Experiments

The Portuguese peculiar case

“[...] on or about December 1910 human character changed [...] between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature” (Woolf, 1924: 4-5).

Architecture was no exception. There is no doubt that the first half of the 20th Century is the synonym of frenzy and transformation, a time where previous conventions were shattered, alongside the territories and populations of the belligerent powers involved in the bloody World Wars. Portugal’s situation was no different and the first four decades of the Century became the perfect stage for a Regicide and the rise and fall of the Republican Regime that ultimately led to the implementation of *Estado Novo*¹. All events were amplified by a conservative society, where modern ideals were received with a pinch of salt.

Despite those circumstances, young Portuguese architects could contact various modern paths – through travels, magazines and books –, bringing home the latest formal and technical skills. Such was the case of the architects Carlos Ramos (1897-1969), with his *Pavilhão da Rádio*² from 1927, Jorge Segurado (1898-1990) creator of the 1936’s *Casa da Moeda*³ Complex or Pardal Monteiro (1889-1957) with *Cais do Sodré* Station (1928) and *Instituto Superior Técnico*⁴ Campus (1936). Unfortunately, those professionals would be conditioned from using the international canons or developing a national modern expression, even during the early years of the *Estado Novo* government, when Modern Arts – and Architecture – were equated as effective means of propaganda.

The end of the 1930s would signify a definite turn of the tide for the *Estado Novo* architectural language creation and the architects’ production control. During the heyday of the Fascist and the National Socialist regimes, the Portuguese government encouraged the architects to study the different formal approaches that were being developed in those countries, and to replicate them – to a certain degree – in Portuguese official and private projects. The aim was to create a Portuguese architectural language that crossed influences from the Italian Rationalism,

¹ *Estado Novo*, directly translated as New State, was the name of a Portuguese 20th Century authoritarian regime. Inspired by nationalist and dictatorial far-right regimes, it was implemented in 1933 and ceased in 1974. Its most notorious personality was the Cabinet President António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970).

² Radio’s Pavilion.

³ Currency House.

⁴ Superior Technical Institute.

Novecento, Monumentalism and German-stripped Classicism with Portuguese vernacular and revivalist details. This conjunction of languages would result in a myriad of dense, heavy and sober volumes of nationalist inspiration such as the 1941 Areeiro Square by Luís Cristino da Silva (1896-1976); the Raúl Rodrigues Lima (1909-1980) *Monumental* Cine Theatre (1946) or the 1947's Rovisco Pais National Leper Colony, by Carlos Ramos (1897-1969). This reality was, by the end of the 1940's, about to change.

How Portuguese architects claimed Modernity for themselves

The year was 1948, when the *Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos*⁵ promoted the *I Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura*,⁶ with the “*Architecture in the national context*” and the “*Portuguese housing issue*” (SNA, 1948: XV) as main topics. The meeting rapidly turned into a clear message for the government and its institutions that the control over the architect's production and its formal choices were no longer accepted. In fact, most of them would endorse the freedom to use modern language (specially the International Style) in their compositions, and the need to “correct the concepts of tradition and regionalism, increasing the use of new techniques and cherishing new aesthetic ideals” (SNA, 1948: LXIII) and the necessity of reinforcing standardisation and collective housing as means of increasing the quality of Portuguese population living conditions. Another aspect of the debate was the urgency of creating a specific architectural expression for the overseas territories. The topic was gaining traction among Portuguese architects since the 1943 New York MOMA exhibition *Brazil Builds* and the publication of its catalogue *Brazil Builds: architecture new and old, 1652-1942*⁷. After Le Corbusier's (1887-1965) travels to Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay in 1929, there was a significant interest in Modern Architecture and all of its nuances.

In Brazil, a group of architects led by Lúcio Costa (1902-1999) tried to articulate the Portuguese colonial heritage of *Arquitectura Chã*⁸ with the Modern Movement language. This approach to

⁵ National Architects' Trade Union.

⁶ First Architecture National Congress.

⁷ Philip L. Godwin, MOMA. www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2304.

⁸ Plain Architecture is a Portuguese Architectural Style developed between the 16th and the 17th Centuries. Characterised by its plain sober straight lines, this style combined aspects of vernacular and classical architecture in the buildings. The Architectural Style was first identified by the historian George Kubler (1912-1996). In 1972, he published *Portuguese Plain Architecture: between spices and diamonds, 1521-1706*, where he studied in depth, this Portuguese Style.

Modern, which did not imply disowning the Past, but embracing it, was very appealing to the Portuguese architects.

By getting in touch with the *Brazil Builds* text, this young generation was inspired to research and create new typologies and languages, more adequate to both dry and humid African climate needs, without discarding the Past and the historical legacy. It was time to claim for themselves, the same liberty of search and expression that their South American counterparts had been given, it was time to create a Portuguese Modern Tropical Architecture.

The Modern Movement in Portugal's Overseas Territories

The 19th-century civil constructions in Portuguese overseas territories were envisioned as practical structures to preserve the settlers' basic needs of health and safety, rather than complex architectural exercises. Therefore, it was common to use metal structures, garnished with balconies, that would go along the entire construction, "with stylistic and technological eclectic characteristics" evolving "over the century in a similar way to metropolitan architectural culture" (Milheiro, 2012). After 1930, with the promulgation of the *Acto Colonial*⁹, there was a higher interest in the creation and development of a National Tropical Architecture. In the 1930s, however, most of the buildings produced overseas were modelled from the Portuguese mainland architecture, combined with climatic solutions that would reduce the harsh environment.

The implementation of the *Estado Novo* regime, in 1933, triggered effective progress on the overseas territories – seen by the Government as a strategy to internationally justify their maintenance under Portuguese administration. That reality led to an abrupt increment of population, especially in the third quarter of the 20th Century. The demand for urban planning and new housing was very clear. It was necessary to give architectural unity to the flourishing cities, especially from Angola and Mozambique. That was the aim of the *Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial*¹⁰ – GUC, created in 1944, in Lisbon. The "decision to centralise [...] the urban and architectural colonial production came from an economic perspective" (Milheiro,

⁹ Colonial Act was a law promulgated on July 8th, 1930. In the diploma, the overseas territories were designated as Colonies and the junction of all Portuguese territories became the Portuguese Colonial Empire. With this law, the overseas territories' High-Commissaries were extinct, creating the Colonies' Governors. They would report directly to Lisbon, losing previous constitutional autonomy. Another aspect of the Act was the legal protection of the Indigenous from forced labour, implying punishment for those who tried to abuse them.

¹⁰ Colonial Urbanization Office.

2012). In their attempt to produce Portuguese architecture overseas, the GUC technicians initially tried to emulate the nationalist monumental language used in continental Portugal, where clean depurated volumes were given historical and revisionist details. Public workers' housing, schools, and administration buildings were amongst the first group of constructions.

Fortunately, there was a stronger path for overseas architecture. Away from the rigid governmental machine, the authors unrelated to GUC used premises learnt from *Brazil Builds* and from other South American countries such as Argentina, Mexico and Uruguay. They were embryos for a new typological and formal lexicon – connected with the climate demands – that allowed architects to express their personal experiences and beliefs, connecting their European background with native African influences.

Time would prove them right and the *Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial* was extinct in 1957, with local offices being created all over the territories, in order to accomplish the real demands of the populations. Local professionals with modern approaches were integrated into those offices, allowing autonomy to each province. Step by step, Portuguese Tropical Architecture started to emerge. It was time for names like Amâncio Guedes and João José Tinoco (1924-1983) – in Mozambique – and Simões de Carvalho (b.1929) and Vasco Vieira da Costa (1911-1982) – in Angola – to take action and materialise their architectural ideals.

José Bastos, the unknown creator

José Alexandre Gomes Bastos was born in 1914 in Lisbon. Through the middle of the 1940's, he completed his Architecture studies at *Escola Superior de Belas Artes*.¹¹ Bastos started working while a student, debuting in 1940, as Assistant Architect of the *Secção Colonial*¹² of the *Exposição Histórica do Mundo Português*.¹³ Being part of a team of architects, scenographers and decoration specialists, he was responsible for creating three thematic pavilions for Guinea, Tea and Coffee, as well as the project for the Colonial Section's Restaurant. The entire group was supervised by the architect Gonçalo de Mello Breyner (1896-1947) – José Bastos's biological father.

¹¹ Lisbon Superior Fine Arts School.

¹² Colonial Section.

¹³ Portuguese World Historical Exhibition.



Figure 1. José Bastos portrait (José Bastos Archive).

Between 1943 and 1944 he joined Adelino Nunes' (1903-1948) team for the new buildings commission of *Correios Telégrafos e Telefones* Company.¹⁴ The same year he transitioned to the medical and social buildings section of the *Federação de Caixas de Previdência*,¹⁵ where he became Head of Division in 1947. The year after, Bastos attended the *I Congresso Nacional de Arquitectura*, being one of the first architects to register for the event. Although there is no solid information about his positions during the Congress, we can easily infer the author's ideas aligned with those defending International Modern Architecture, due to his career evolution and design choices.

In 1949, he decided to move into a new life chapter, by resigning from *Federação de Caixas de Previdência* and creating his own architecture office. From that moment on, Bastos would produce the bulk of his work, with buildings from various typologies such as medical and post offices, banks, churches, hotels, administration buildings, shops, collective dwellings and private residences. In terms of project volume, he worked with both simple programs – adaptation or rehabilitations of pre-existing buildings – and large-scale interventions. José Bastos worked until the 1980's creating more than 600 projects. He passed away in 1991.

¹⁴ Telephones, Telegraphs and Post.

¹⁵ Provident Funds Federation.

The Personal Archive, a window to the architect's mind

José Bastos's personal archive has been kept by one of his sons, the architect Alexandre Bastos (b.1954), and is nowadays composed of circa 30 filling boxes containing descriptions, sketches, architectural drawings and photographs of his projects. Unfortunately, due to a fire years ago, a significant part of the archive was completely destroyed. As a result, it is only possible to know about José Bastos's overseas work due to some brief written references¹⁶ and scarce publications in magazines, such as *Revista Arquitectura* and *Binário*.¹⁷

Despite the situation, we can assure Bastos designed multiple houses in Guinea-Bissau, a hotel in S. Tomé and Príncipe (that was not built), was responsible for the finishings and decoration aspects of the *Banco Comercial*¹⁸ of Angola¹⁹ and author of Mozambique's *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU)²⁰ headquarters, as well as its director's house. For this province, he had also designed an apartment building called *Saldanha*, which integrates the BNU Archive but was not built. As a result, we had to resort to *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*²¹ Historical Archive – in order to study the entire project of Lourenço Marques's BNU – as it is nowadays the institution responsible for the conservation of the BNU Archive.

By revisiting all the available files in José Bastos's Archive, we were able to understand his “modus operandi” and the way he tackled each program and typological needs. We could also observe that most of the project's primary sketches were much more “Modern” than their final approved versions. This duality between what the author aimed to do and what he could do is undeniable and unfortunately common, in Bastos's generation.

Under Golden Suns – The Pool and the Bank

Being the proposal of the session to reflect on “*Late Modernist Typology Experiments*”, “*Under Golden Suns*” (Seco, 2022: 39), it seemed natural to select Bastos's archive pieces where the

¹⁶ Those informations were compiled by José Bastos himself for his entry in architect José Manuel Pedreirinho's *Dicionário dos Arquitectos Activos em Portugal do Século I à Actualidade* [Dictionary of the Portuguese active architects from the 1st Century until Today].

¹⁷ *Revista Arquitectura* (1927-1988) and *Binário – Arquitectura, Planeamento e Design* (1958-1988) were two Portuguese magazines specialized in Architecture and Design.

¹⁸ Commercial Bank.

¹⁹ The architecture project belongs to Januário Godinho (1910-1990).

²⁰ Overseas National Bank.

²¹ General Deposit Bank.

Sun and the Typological aspects were most significant. What we were not expecting was to find in two of these projects – one in Portugal and other in Mozambique – the beginning and the end boundaries of José Bastos's most important working cycle.

A Pool in Tamariz

It was December 1953 when the *Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos* published a competition regulation for the design of a pool alongside the Tamariz beach, Estoril, in a plot of land between the seashore and the railway station/panoramic road. The developer was the *Sociedade Estoril-Plage*²² and asked for an outdoor adult and children saltwater pool with a jumping platform and playground. In addition, it was necessary to create changing, shower and toilet cabins (40 for each gender) as well as box offices and a restaurant/bar with outdoor seating (by adapting a pre-existing building). The infrastructure should be protected from dominant Northern winds and from the noise of the nearby rail station and busy panoramic road. Because of that, the program implied that the cabin's volume could be used as a protector screen. The proposal's delivery deadline was 20 January 1954.

A Bank in Lourenço Marques

The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino*, created in 1864, was responsible for the currency emission and commercial development of the Portuguese overseas territories. With headquarters in Mozambique since 1877²³, the demands of the new city's growing population, especially after the 1950s, led to the decision to create a new building, around 1954. The building would be located in Lourenço Marques downtown, near the Port, the Train Station and the old Fortress. José Bastos was invited by the Bank Administration to provide Lourenço Marques with a modern, impressive construction, that symbolically represented the Portuguese permanence overseas and the importance of the economic development of that territory to the *Estado Novo* Cabinet. This task would become one of the most complex projects of his career and his most published piece.

²² Estoril-Beach Society.

²³ According to (Carvalho, 2015: 1).

During 1954, Bastos travelled to South Africa, studying notorious contemporary buildings. In Johannesburg, he was interested in the 20th Century Theatre (1940), designed by the firm Cowin & Ellis²⁴, while in Pretoria, he would focus on the Bank of Netherlands Building (c. 1953), from Norman Eaton (1902-1966) and on the Meat Board Building (1952), designed by the architect Helmut Stauch (1910-1970) in an architectural lexicon called “Little Brazil”. After that, he went to Mozambique, where he understood “in loco” the bank needs and how the dependency should function. Interestingly, he was given total freedom to organise and connect the different sections of the bank, as he seemed programmatically most convenient.

The first draft of the project was delivered in December 1954. From the draft to the beginning of the construction almost five years would pass, with major changes in the Lourenço Marques’ urban plan regulations, additions to the bank program (health and recreational centre for the workers) and demolitions of the block’s pre-existing constructions. The next couple of years meant a new task for José Bastos: the invitation of various Portuguese artists to participate in the decoration, spatial qualification and enrichment of the building. Their intervention transformed the architectural body into a “living piece” of Art. The BNU headquarters was completed in 1964.

Made of paper... made of concrete

An architectural project starts with an idea, a gesture, a spark that creates a complex thought process and evolves into a qualified space. That is no exception in our two case studies. The difference between them resides in their outcome. While the Pool would never “live” outside the paper, would never be soaked by the golden flames of the Sun, the BNU building would embrace them, remaining, even today, as a landmark in *its* city. Regardless of their faiths, both revealed their creator’s architectural thinking and expressed a process where he matured his ideas, excelling in the construction process, architectural spaces and decoration details.

²⁴ According to the website of the South African Artefacts, the firm Cowin and Ellis was created in 1936 by the architects Norris Tynwald Cowin (1875-1942) and Thomas Gordon Ellis (1887-1940), after the dissolution a previous firm called Cowin, Powers and Ellis.

From the surface to the core

For a better understanding of our “journey” throughout the case studies, we decided to approach them as visitors of the space, reading both projects’ key characteristics from the outside to the heart of the buildings. For a better systematisation of those key characteristics, we hierarchized them into four “typological umbrellas” considered essential to identify José Bastos’s signature aspects, as an author.

1. *A unique Building for a unique Place*

When it comes to project design, the connection between the intervention and its surroundings was one of José Bastos’s main concerns. The Sun trajectory, dominant winds, terrain shape and pre-existing edifications were all parts of the equation. Bearing that in mind, it is interesting to observe the way the architect solved – with a single gesture – both projects. In the Pool, he created clean-cut volumes along the railroad – like a “single plan screen” – blocking wind and noise (from the trains and ocean drive). He would then turn the architectural complex South, to the Sun and the Ocean, making the program “grow” from that original screen. With that gesture he was able to organise and hierarchise the different Pool sections, while giving the best implantation possible to the fruition spaces.

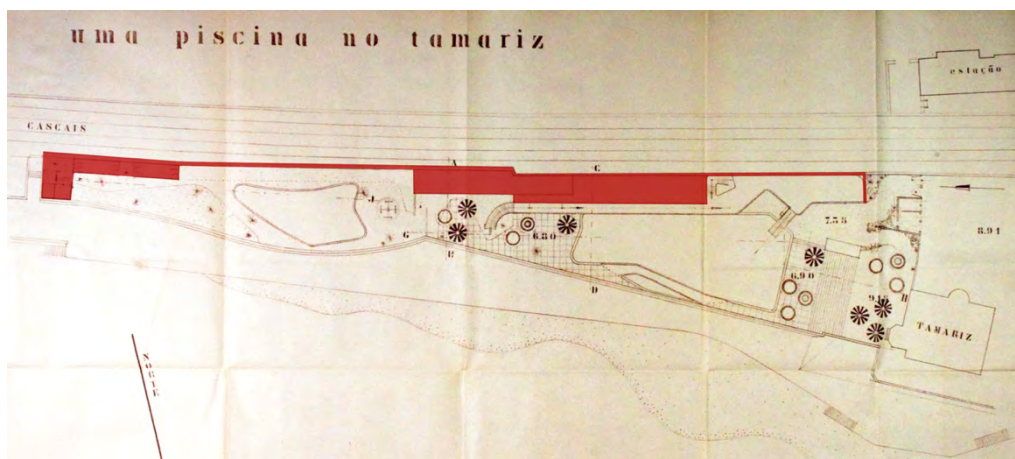


Figure 2. Tamariz Pool plan (José Bastos Archive, Project nº 126).

In a similar process, José Bastos maximised the BNU construction area by creating an “O” shape, stretching the building’s body to the limits of the city block. He then turned the

composition to the inside, hierarchizing the building entrances according to the importance of the streets they were facing, being the main one the *República* Avenue. In the core of the building, a large glass dome housed the main counters room.

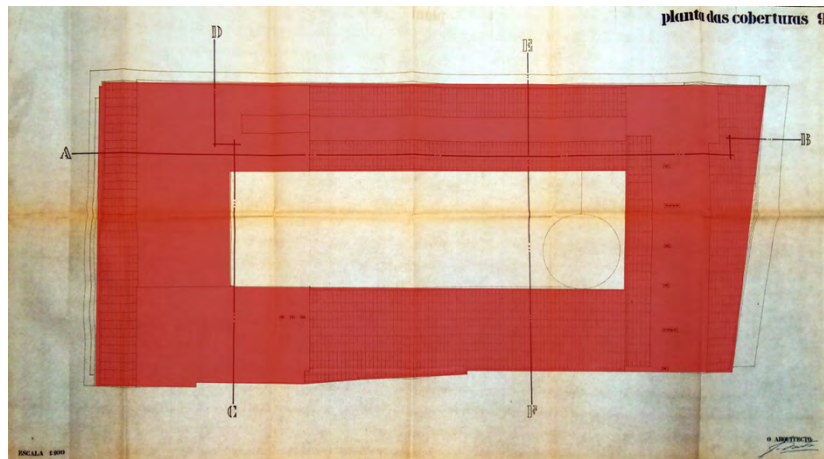


Figure 3. BNU roof plan (AHCGR BNU/03GP/1GIM/1/2/5-5 Vol. XXVIII).

2. Architectural Promenades and Façade Compositions

The relation with the building starts even before reaching its entrance door. There is something special about observing a piece from a distance and being able to detect new details of its façades and compositions with each step closer. José Bastos used curiosity to entangle the visitants even from far away, providing them with a gradual interaction with the building.

First, the perception of the global volume and the recognition of its strength axes, then the ability to decipher the most notorious aspects of the composition and its programmatic uses and, finally, the power to touch the building's "skin", covered with colourful textured compositions. The detailed metric of the façades was also very important in Bastos's work. This last feature was especially notorious in the Pool project. From a distance, the volume would stand out due to the repetitive vertical blades of the South façades. A closer look would allow the visitor to "embrace" their four different rhythmic elements – in an almost musical game of full and empty – the thin blades would relate with the small zenithal windows, the large glass panels and the blind textured surfaces. This "composition game" of advance and retreat of the surfaces would then be emphasised by the different heights on the composition volumes.

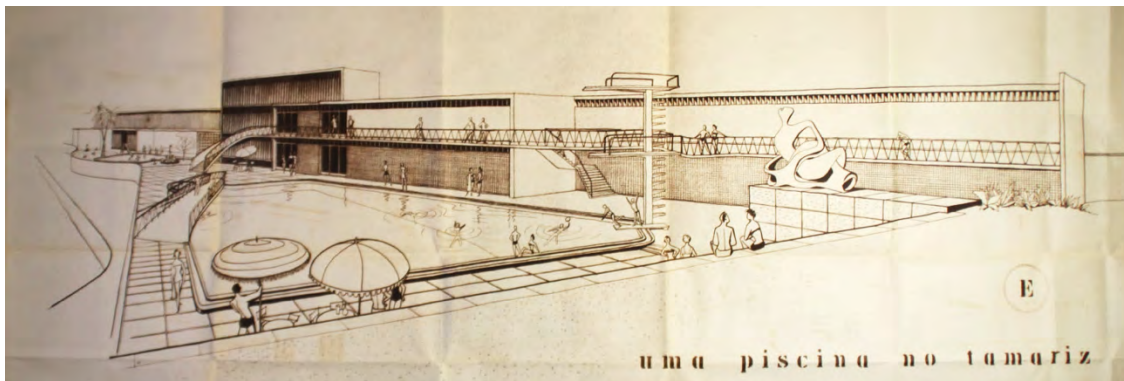


Figure 4. Tamariz Pool perspective (José Bastos Archive, Project nº 126).

Although adjusted to the BNU building reality, a similar “modus operandi” was used by José Bastos in the bank project. It was needed to control the building approach throughout República Avenue, Consiglieri Pedroso Street and Laranjeiras Lane. In order to do that, the architect used the façades’ composition as a means to hierarchize the main entrance at República Avenue; the secondary entrance, that gave direct access to the counters room, at Consiglieri Pedroso Street and the bank workers’ entrance, at Laranjeiras Lane.

From afar, the main façade had a solemn and majestic feeling – giving the building a strong institutional charisma – and making the structure easily recognisable from the city’s main boulevard, thanks to an expressive and deep concrete *brise-soleil*. This grid-like element was used to control the strong North Sun that, otherwise, would enter the administration cabinets and the workers’ recreation centre and housing units. The façade was tripartite with a “base” where a row of *pilotis* allowed the access to the Bank foyer, a “shaft” delimited by the *brise* grid and a “capital” where a recessed volume contained the Administration Reception Area of the bank, with a generous terrace to the city.

The secondary façade, facing the *Consiglieri Pedroso* Street was, again, decomposed into three “parts”. The ground level that corresponded to the counters room entrance; a first floor, with a *fenêtre en longueur* that reminded of a panoramic screen – obscured by a delicate vertical *brise-soleil* –; and a third “body” composed by a four-storey volume with a strong geometric pattern where the position and dimensions of the windows allowed to, like in Tamariz, create a game of “full and empty”. This last piece of the façade composition was recessed in comparison with the first two, allowing a gentle transition to the nearby city block volumes.

Despite being the wider of the three, almost 100m long, the façade facing the *Laranjeiras* Lane allowed the balance and formal connection between the previous two. First, due to a seamless horizontal white frieze – in the transition between the ground level to the first floor – that would turn into a canopy both in the North and South façades; second, because it contained the same strong geometric composition as the *Consiglieri Pedroso* one. At last, the *Laranjeiras* Lane was a pedestrian path, so José Bastos paid special attention to creating a four-story volume, matching the height of nearby *Casa Coimbra*.²⁵ Along the top of this section of the building was a canopy, like a stripe, similar to the one in Pretoria's Bank of Netherlands. This canopy function was to protect the terrace adjacent to the workers' ludic centre that contained a small fountain and some pieces of sculptural art. When approaching the building, it was possible to understand the attention given to its "skin" being covered with colourful and textured tiles.



Figure 5. BNU perspective and façade detail (Edições BNU and AHCGD, Photo nº431).

3. *Different Paths for Different Uses*

Besides studying the exterior approach to its buildings, José Bastos would also carefully define their interior circulations and distribution paths. In fact, he frequently used vertical circulations as anchors in the building layout. In spite of the complexity and multiplicity of the program, there was always a formally organic "main path", almost like a "backbone" of the building. The Pool and the Bank were no exception. For Tamariz, Bastos created organic accesses progressing

²⁵ Coimbra House.

alongside the waterline. Those paths were not only responsible for the delimitation of the children and adults pool, but also for the division between cabin users according to their gender.

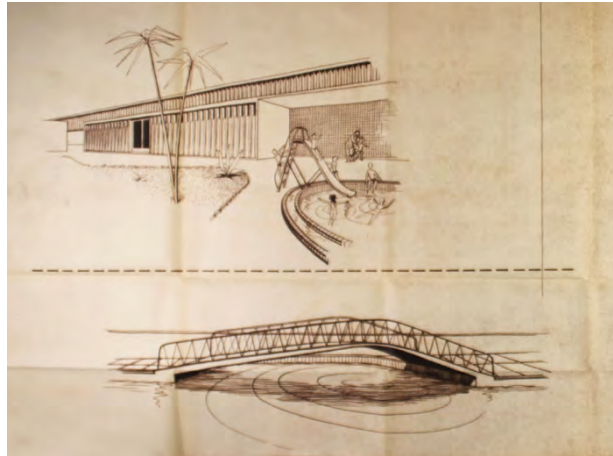


Figure 6. Children's Pool and perspective of the small, curved bridge
(José Bastos Archive, Project nº 126).

Adjacent to the main volume, two sets of stairs would turn into a *promenade*. With simple plastic elements, he was able to create an upper deck – for those willing to use the male cabinets, the jump platform or simply sightseeing – while protecting the others, near the pool, from the Southern Sun. In order to easily access the Pool restaurant/bar, the users could cross a small, curved bridge, thought by José Bastos as a small folly.

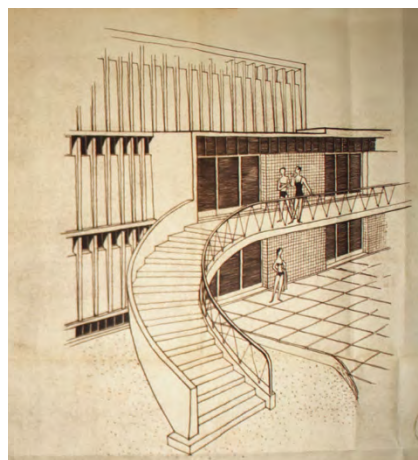


Figure 7. Access to the Pool changing, toilet and shower cabins
(José Bastos Archive, Project nº 126).

BNU was a much more complex situation. The bank program implied the creation of various paths that could, or not, intertwine with each other. We cannot forget that the building contained not only the Bank's public services "per se", but also the administration and archive spaces as well as the technical areas and workshops that allowed the Bank to print, coin, destroy and store currency. In the upper levels of the North and South façades were situated a medical centre and recreational centre – for the Bank workers – as well as apartments for the maintenance and Bank's top-level employees.

As a way to solve this complex demand, José Bastos anchored the program according to the main vertical circulations of the building. After that, he connected them, by recurring to horizontal corridors that allowed the creation of a tridimensional complex net. The core of this amalgam was a spiral staircase coated with a Murano mosaic panel, by Estrela Faria (1910-1976), that connected the renting volts with the main reception space and the administration cabinets. Due to security reasons, Bastos took special care in splitting circulations between public and private uses. He even created independent lift paths for the BNU workers: The route for the administration staff was different from the one for the medical centre workers and both were independent of the access to the apartments at the top of the building. This clear need to distinguish what is private and public led to formally distinct approaches to those paths. For instance, the basement corridors that gave access to the main vaults were plain white, coated with simple durable materials while, at the opposite side of the spectre were the public paths, with intricate art interventions and noble materials.



Figure 8. BNU corridor to the main vaults and view from the main staircase top (José Bastos Archive).

4. *The limit for Architecture is Total Art*

The connection between Architecture and Arts was not new, on the contrary. However, José Bastos searched for a new level of cooperation, aiming the creation of a “Total Art being”. Although we will never be able to know which artists Bastos envisioned to create the large polychrome intervention for the Pool façade surfaces or the anthropomorphic sculpture near the pool, we can, at least, imagine the colourful panels with Sea motifs and golden Suns.

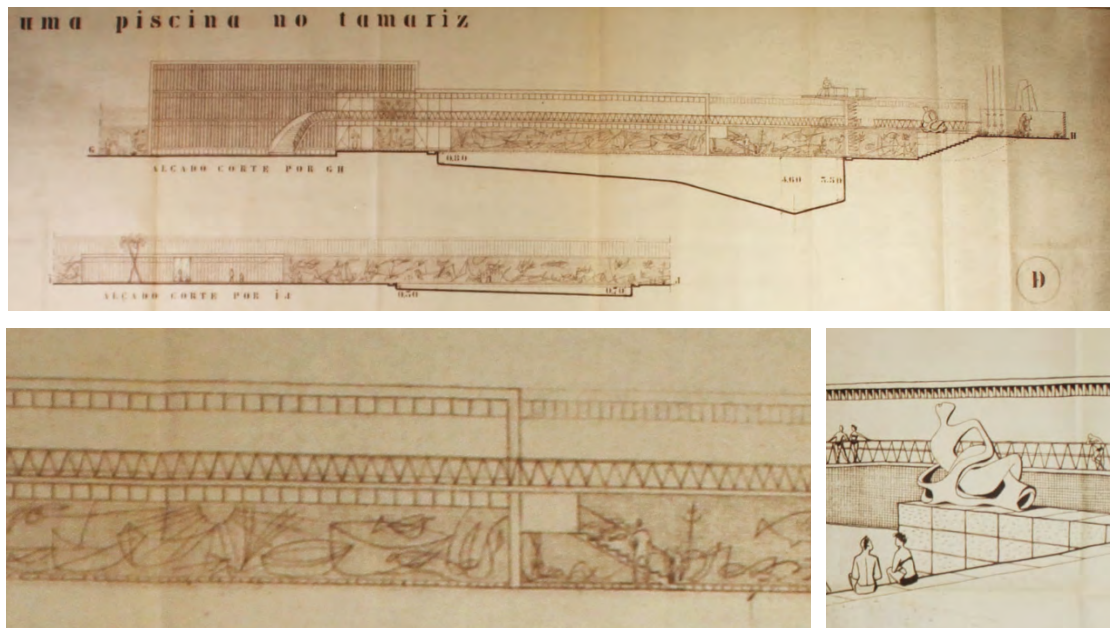


Figure 9. South main elevation and details from the Pool's polychrome panel and sculpture
(José Bastos Archive, Project nº 126).

When talking about the BNU Art interventions we fortunately do know that José Bastos chose a group of 15 artists to enrich his masterpiece. In that group, he was able to balance not only contributions between artists residing in mainland Portugal and in Mozambique, but also to join well known artists (with a solid career) with young artists that were starting to get visibility.

Their names were Araújo Soares (1927-2007), Bertina Lopes (1924-2012), Dana Michahelles (1933-2002), Estrela Faria (1910-1976), Francisco Relógio (1926-1947), Jorge Garizo do Carmo (1927-1997), João Ayres (1921-2001), João Paulo (1928-2012), José Freire (n.d.), José Pádua (1934-2016), Malangatana Ngwenya (1936-2011), Maria Manuela Madureira (b.1930), Querubim Lapa (1925-2016), Rolando Sá Nogueira (1921-2002) e Zeca Mealha (1939-1979).

Their artistic contributions demonstrated how important the correlation between Architecture and other forms of Art can be, especially in terms of spatial qualification of the project, by adding a more tactile and tangible dimension to the spaces.²⁶ The BNU building and its art pieces have been perceived, since 1964, as one element and after almost five decades – as far as we were able to investigate – none of the art pieces were altered, destroyed or removed from the building. BNU’s “flesh and bones” remains untouched until today.



Figure 10. Aspects of the art interventions in BNU
(José Bastos Archive and Edições BNU).

²⁶ We have been developing, for the past year, a study about the correlation between Art and Architecture in the BNU of Lourenço Marques Building. As a result, we presented in the 2nd Hyállinos International Conference on Inter and Transdisciplinarity in Architecture (July 2022, Athens, Greece) the theme “Inscribed in Skin: Arts and Architecture in Banco Nacional Ultramarino of Lourenço Marques”.

Conclusion: Criss-crossing Architecture

The Pool project of José Bastos was not selected to be built in Tamariz. The winning proposal was presented by the architect Manuel Tainha (1922-2012) and, despite the deep changes it was submitted to, we can still visit the equipment today. After Mozambican Independence in 1975, the BNU was extinct, being replaced by the *Banco de Moçambique*.²⁷ The BNU Directory was converted into the *Banco de Moçambique* (BM) Headquarters. Today, José Bastos's building shares the block with a new BM building Headquarters, erected during the beginning of the 21st Century. Its future is uncertain. In the end, Portuguese architects were able to create an Overseas Modern Architecture. The buildings they produced are still standing under golden Suns as part of a, not so far, Past. Their presence reminds and inspires young local architects to search for the essence of a new African Architecture. The work of José Bastos, remains almost unknown, being revealed piece by piece.

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Under the Shaded Space: Le Corbusier and the Mill Owners' Association Building

Maria João Moreira Soares ¹; João Miguel Couto Duarte ²

¹ Centro de Investigação em Território, Arquitectura e Design; mj.soares@sapo.pt; Lisbon, Portugal.

² Centro de Investigação em Território, Arquitectura e Design; joao.mc.duarte@gmail.com; Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

“And on this earth alone//which is ours//The sun master of our lives//far off indifferent//He is the visitor – an overlord//he enters our house.” Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, 1955.

In the first minute of 15 August 1947, India affirmed its independence from the British Raj. Jawaharlal Nehru was to be the prime minister of a sovereign India – a country that believed in the future but was marked by political and religious tensions. In affirming the country as a nation geared towards progress, Nehru also sought the support of Western architects. It was in very particular circumstances, the birth of the new capital of the Indian state of Punjab, Chandigarh, that Le Corbusier, travelled to India for the first time in 1951. Under India's scorching sun, Le Corbusier left an exemplary architectural legacy. This sense of exemplariness is primarily associated with Chandigarh, overshadowing his four works in Ahmedabad – a city in the state of Gujarat, and a bastion of the country's textile industry. Also in 1951, Le Corbusier was invited to visit Ahmedabad. On this trip, Surrottam Hutheesing, Secretary of the Mill Owners' Association, an association of Indian cotton mill owners, commissioned Le Corbusier to design the headquarters of the association in that city. The Mill Owners' Association building from 1954 is a paradigmatic work, tailor-made for a specific climate and presenting experimental solutions in terms of typology – solutions that are relevant to the debate on contemporary architecture. Le Corbusier operated from a three-dimensional grid. The building is characterised by a volume that serves as a *brise-soleil* and which, detached from the main volume by a small gap, determines a principle that is activated throughout the building: that of the in-between. The purpose of this chapter is to “dissect” Le Corbusier's Mill Owners' Association building, as if it were a body, penetrating the shade that this “body-house” provides.

Keywords: Mill Owners' Association building; Le Corbusier; *Brise-soleil*; Post-colonial India.

Session: Under Golden Suns: Revisiting Late Modernist Typology Experiments

And on this earth alone
which is ours
The sun master of our lives
far off indifferent
He is the visitor – an overlord he enters our house.

– Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, 1955

Piranesi uncovered and retrieved the decaying body of the ancient and modern city.
Wielding the etcher's needle like a scalpel, he applied surgical procedures taken, I believe,
from medical illustrations, to turn the still-living fabric of architecture inside out.

– Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body Criticism: Imagining the Unseen in Enlightenment Art
and Medicine*, 1991

The India of Nehru and Le Corbusier

The Indian city of Ahmedabad in Gujarat state lies on the banks of the River Sabarmati. The waters of the river and the region's soil type combined to make the city a textile industry centre in the country. The industry flourished in the 19th century under the control of the British Raj. In the first minute of 15 August 1947, India declared independence. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the country's first prime minister, was to be a kind of pioneer for independent India – a country that believed in the future but had to contend with serious political and religious tensions. To demonstrate India's status as a nation guided by progress, Nehru was to seek the support of Western architects. It was in very specific circumstances, the birth of Chandigarh, the new capital of the Indian state of Punjab, that Le Corbusier (1887-1965) left for India on 18 February 1951 on his first trip to the new country¹.

¹ Le Corbusier arrived in New Delhi on 19 February 1951. From there he travelled to Chandigarh and Simla. He returned to Delhi on 19 March 1951, from where he flew to Ahmedabad. After a short stay in Ahmedabad on 22 and 23 March, he then flew to Mumbai (then known as Bombay). In Mumbai he met with Jehangir Ratanji Dadabhoy Tata (1904-1993), a steel manufacture magnate and owner of the Air India airline. On his way back to Chandigarh, Le Corbusier stopped in New Delhi on 25 March and was received at the Presidential Palace. After

In January 1950 the urbanist Albert Mayer (1897-1981), together with his collaborator, the architect Matthew Nowicki (1910-1950), was chosen to head the team of designers for the new state capital. The former capital, Lahore, had been annexed by the British Raj in the mid-19th century and had played a central role in the political decisions that led to the Partition of India and the resulting independence of Pakistan; it then became the capital of Pakistani Punjab. However, the partnership between the two USA-based designers was to be short-lived. Nowicki tragically died in a plane crash in Egypt in the summer of that year and Mayer opted to terminate his involvement in the project. In December of the same year, Le Corbusier assumed responsibility for designing Chandigarh, leading a team made up of several architects².

Under India's scorching sun, he was to leave an exemplary architectural legacy. The exemplariness is generally associated with Chandigarh, its urban plan and, above all, the Capitol complex. Le Corbusier's four works in Ahmedabad were overshadowed by that exemplariness. In March 1951 Mayor Chinubhai Chimanbhai (1901-1993) invited Le Corbusier to visit Ahmedabad. The works he designed for Ahmedabad were part of the city's social fabric, as they were closely connected with a network of families who held the economic and political power in the city, and perhaps still do. Chinubhai Chimanbhai belonged to the Lalbhai family, which had close relations with the Hutheesing and Sarabhai families, all of which were involved in the textile mill business.

Le Palais des Filateurs

On this trip to Ahmedabad, Le Corbusier was commissioned by Surrottam Hutheesing (1901-1974), Secretary of the Mill Owners, a prominent association of Indian cotton mill owners, to design the new headquarters of the association. In addition to the association's headquarters, Le Corbusier was also commissioned to design a museum – this commission came from Chimanbhai as the mayor – and the Hutheesing, Chimanbhai and Manorama Sarabhai houses, the latter commission being made on Le Corbusier's second coming to India, in November

staying in Chandigarh for six days, he flew back to Delhi and then on to Mumbai again. He returned to Paris on 2 April 1951 (Serenyi, 1983: 93).

² The team included Pierre Jeanneret (1896-1967), Maxwell Fry (1899-1987) and Jane Drew (1911-1996). These were joined by nine Indian architects: Manmohan Nath Sharma (1923-2016), A. R. Prabhawalkar (1923-1974), Bhanu Pratap Mathur (1926-1976), Piloo Mody (1926-1983), Urmila Eulie Chowdhury (1923-1995), Narinder S. Lamba (1922-1978), Jeet Lal Malhotra (b.1929), J. S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash (1924-2008).

1951. Four of the five projects were built: the Mill Owners' Association building (1951-1954) (fig. 1); The Museum of the City (1951-1956), currently known as the Sanskar Kendra Museum; Villa Shodhan (1951-1956); and Villa Sarabhai (1951-1955). Villa Shodhan was originally designed for the Hutheesing family. However, Hutheesing was to abandon it, and sold the final designs to Shyamubhai Shodhan, also a member of the association.



Figure 1. Le Corbusier, Mill Owners' Association Building, Ahmedabad, India, 1951-1954.
© Maria João Moreira Soares (2015).

The Filateurs

The relationships between the various members of these *filateurs* families in Ahmedabad, who were of the Jainist faith, are important for understanding the origins of the initial commission made to Le Corbusier. Manorama Sarabhai (1913-1993) was Chinubhai Chimanbhai's sister; he, in turn, was a cousin of Surrottam Hutheesing. Manorama, Chinubhai and Surrottam were all nephews/nieces of Kasturbhai Lalbhai (1894-1980), Ahmedabad's richest industrialist, who was the great driver of the cultural and educational progress of a city that, thanks to its wealth, was able to avoid the British yoke in the colonial period and thus affirm its own pre-independence. Lalbhai co-founded the Ahmedabad Education Society, which was to lead to Ahmedabad University and the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad (IIMA), the premises for which were designed by Louis Kahn (1901-1974) from 1962 to 1974.

The importance of Ahmedabad is revelatory of the importance of these families in the Indian political and cultural scene. Taking the Sarabhai family as an example, one finds a whole world

of political activists, philanthropists, scientists, artists and patrons of the arts of international importance. Anasuya Sarabhai (1885-1972) – known as Anusyabehn, “the friend of the poor” (Shukla, 1977: 1) – left for England in 1912, of her own accord, to get an education. She became involved with women’s rights activists and figures such as George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) and Sidney Webb (1859-1947), who inspired her to return to India and work with underprivileged communities. Anasuya became a central figure in the women’s labour movement in India. In 1917 she was behind the foundation of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association (Majoor Mahajan Sangh)³, India’s oldest association of textile workers, and was later made lifelong president of the association by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). Ambalal Sarabhai (1890-1967), Anasuya’s brother, was chairman of Calico Mills and founder of the Sarabhai Group of Companies. He was involved in the Indian independence movement and was a very early supporter of Gandhi. He was president of the Mill Owners’ Association in the 1920s. Ambalal Sarabhai and his wife, Saraladevi Sarabhai (1896-1975), a women’s rights activist, had five daughters and three sons. Of the children, Gautam Sarabhai (1917-1995) and his sister Gira Sarabhai (1923-2021) were to play pivotal roles in the foundation of the National Institute of Design (NID) in Ahmedabad in 1961. The NID was an institution inspired by the Bauhaus principles and is still active today. Mridula Sarabhai (1911-1974), following in the footsteps of her aunt Anasuya, became a political activist. Like her father, she was involved in the Indian independence movement under the mentorship of Nehru. Vikram Ambalal Sarabhai (1919-1971) was a physicist and astronomer and is indicated as one of the figures responsible for the Indian space programme. He was chairman of the Indian National Committee for Space Research and the Indian Space Research Organisation. Together with Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Vikram was also co-founder of the above-mentioned Indian Institute of Management (IIMA). Gira Sarabhai (1923-2021) was an architect, having studied under and worked with Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959). She was a member of the team that developed Wright’s Guggenheim Museum in New York (Bhagat, 2021). Gira and Gautam were instrumental in sending invitations to Frei Otto (1883-1944), Buckminster Fuller (1895-1983), Charles Eames (1907-1978) and Ray Eames (1912-1988), and Louis Kahn (1901-1974), between the late 1950s and early 1960s, to visit Ahmedabad, thus helping to evolve the city’s cultural scene. Gira and Gautam founded the Calico Museum of Textiles in 1949, which is

³ See the brochure commemorating the association’s sixty years of existence, *Six Decades of Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association* (1917-1977), published by Manaharlal T. Shukla in 1977.

recognised as the museum that is home to the best and most varied collection of Indian textiles in the world (Bhagat, 2021); Gira was to be associated with the museum until her death. “All of us in the design space in contemporary India owe Gira Sarabhai a huge debt of gratitude for her selfless, perfectionist, single-minded work.” (Tyabji, 2021)

The importance of these institutions was confirmed by Laila Tyabji (2021):

[t]here are two iconic gateways in modern Ahmedabad, the National Institute of Design (NID) gate and the Calico Museum of Textiles one, and Giraben [Gira Sarabhai] was instrumental in creating both—institutions that became entry points to knowledge, inspiration, and instruction for generations of young designers, researchers, craftspeople far ahead of their time.

Gira Sarabhai also played a pivotal role in the choice of Le Corbusier to design the new house of Manorama Sarabhai, the widow of her brother, Suhrid Sarabhai (1913-1942), and their two children. Manorama welcomed international artists at her villa, from whom she requested works; these included: Le Corbusier, Alexander Calder (1898-1976), Isamu Noguchi (1904-1988) and David Tudor (1926-1996). She struck up a friendship with Tudor (Keefe, 2013). In a letter to David Tudor, dated from 1 March 1969, Manorama Sarabhai wrote: “Dear David, I have heard from Gira that you may be coming to the Design Institute sometime this year. May I ask you to be my guest for the duration of the time that you will be in India. It would be such a wonderful thing. At least write some lines and let me know when you will be coming.” (Keefe, 2013) Gita Sarabhai (1922-2011) was a musician who promoted interexchange between Indian traditional music and Western music. As part of this interexchange, she worked in New York with figures such as John Cage (1912-1992), striking up a friendship with Cage and Merce Cunningham (1919-2009). Cage (1961: 127) would later write⁴:

And then in the nick of time, Gita Sarabhai came from India. She was concerned about the influence Western music was having on the traditional Indian music, and she'd decided to study Western music for six months with several teachers and then return to India to do what she could

⁴ John Cage's recollection of Gita Sarabhai is featured as part of “Story 79” in the record *Indeterminacy: New Aspect of Form in Instrumental and Electronic Music. Ninety Stories by John Cage, with Music*, edited by Folkways in 1959. John Cage reading was accompanied by David Tudor's music.

to preserve the Indian traditions. She studied contemporary music and counterpoint with me. She said, 'How much do you charge?' I said, 'It'll be free if you'll also teach me about Indian music.' We were almost every day together. At the end of six months, just before she flew away, she gave me the *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*. It took me a year to finish reading it.

Cage, Cunningham, Tudor and Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008) were in Ahmedabad in 1964, accompanying the Merce Cunningham Dance Company (Keefe, 2013).

The Sarabhais were an extraordinary family—between them, Gira and her siblings covered the arts and sciences, culture, management, technology, design, social work, education, politics, and, most importantly, institution building. Equally at ease in tradition and cutting-edge modernity, never shy to bring in experts, artists and advisors from all over the world, they transformed Ahmedabad into a thoroughly modern Indian city and thought centre, yet firmly and comfortably rooted in its past. (Tyabji, 2021)

In his book of 1986, *Le Corbusier: Ideas and Forms*, William Curtis opportunely describes the Sarabhais as “Modern Medicis”:

In the Ahmedabad context, the Jain patronage of architecture allowed a nice balance between personal displays of prestige and the edification of the city. Modern Medicis, the merchants of Ahmedabad wished to convert their money into the more elevated currency of art. They may even have nurtured the ambition of reviving something of the city's past architectural glory. Visual quality was a daily concern in their textile businesses, and they were entirely open to technological and conceptual inventions. They wished to turn the “Manchester of India” into a centre of culture, and knew that Le Corbusier could give their enterprise immense prestige. For his part, it must have been flattering to have all this attention after years of neglect in Europe. (Curtis, 1986: 202)

This extraordinary weave of familial and social relations, here represented by one of the *filateur* families, reveals a political resilience that helped bring about the already mentioned pre-independence of Ahmedabad in relation to the British Raj, a pre-independence that was also the

result of the huge cultural and educational investment carried out in the city. This whole scenario contributed to the interest of these families in Le Corbusier. However, one must point out the importance of another figure in defining this interest: that of Krishna Nehru Hutheesing (1907-1967), Jawaharlal Nehru's younger sister. By marriage, Krishna was a member of Surrottam Hutheesing's family, who was responsible for commissioning Le Corbusier to design the association's building. It would seem evident that Nehru's new India came to Ahmedabad also through his sister, in addition to through the progressive *filateurs*. Along with the design projects for Chandigarh, those for Ahmedabad were an expression of a post-colonial India that desired to be modern.

The brise-soleil

In an interview from 1986 (Kagal, 1986)⁵, Balkrishna V. Doshi (1927-2023) reflects on the culture clash that followed Le Corbusier's arrival in India, pointing out that, as a westerner, Le Corbusier had a different attitude to the challenges facing India: "What do you do in a country where there's no technology but lots of skilled people, people with ideas; a country far behind in time but also very vital — full of energy!" (Kagal, 1986) The notion that the country was "behind in time" was countered by the idea that India, at least the India that was resetting its outlook by means of independence, was "vital and full of energy". This counter-stance seems to fit in fully with Le Corbusier's profile as an architect – as if, there and then, he was absolutely living an *esprit de la vérité*.

That spirit was immediately challenged by the climate conditions of a country in such a specific geographic region with the coordinates it had: "Ahmedabad sits just below the Tropic of Cancer, south of the Great Thar Desert, and the difficulties of its summer have been well recorded through history." (Ubbelohde, 2003: 67) On this matter, Le Corbusier points out:

The country is tropical. The monsoon rages for two months of the year and is an alternating combination of downpours and sunshine. A western architect has spent his life learning his profession; to be sure he must apply his profession in India, but he must adapt it to antagonistic

⁵ The interview with Balkrishna V. Doshi by Carmen Kagal "Le Corbusier: Acrobat of Architecture – B. V. Doshi interviewed by Carmen Kagal", was originally published in *Vistāra – The Architecture of India, Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Kagal, 1986: 204-214), a catalogue for an exhibition of the same name at the Festival of India, 1986.

requirements: comfort is coolness, it is the current of air, it is the shade. And yet the sun must penetrate at the proper time, in the favorable seasons. [...]. Whether it concerns housing, offices, or a palace, the conditions of the problem are dictated by a constant merciless sun with conditions of temperature, humidity and dryness varying from one month to another – all contradictory factors. To play the role of a modern architect under these conditions is not easy. (Boesiger, 2013a: 114)

As early as 1951, in his hotel room in Mumbai, Le Corbusier sketched alternative solutions to the colonialist architecture he experienced at the Taj Mahal Hotel. His solutions – which were purely speculative – featured what Le Corbusier called the “[i]nvention of constitutive elements for a modern Indian architecture: columns, awnings, brise-soleil, etc.” (Boesiger, 2013b: 104)



Figure 2. Le Corbusier, Mill Owners' Association Building, East façade viewed from inside, Ahmedabad, India, 1951-1954. © Maria João Moreira Soares (2015).

While the city of Ahmedabad depended on the River Sabarmati for its industry, it seemed almost allegorical that the new Mill Owners' Association headquarters would be located next

to the river, on its western bank. However, the impact of the river went beyond the merely allegorical and became something more concrete: the new headquarters were to “live” from the comfort offered by the cooling winds coming from the Sabarmati. The east-west axis thus became a pivotal element in the design project – to the east and west, planes that open up, gain in volume, as *brise-soleils*; on the north and south sides, planes that are closed. As a climate control mechanism, the eastern *brise-soleil* functions very openly: perpendicular planes to let the eye roam over the river and its pleasant breezes (fig. 2). The *brise-soleil* on the west is more complex: planes rotated 45 degrees to the south to block the frantic and chaotic vistas from Ashram Road and filter the dry and polluted atmosphere (fig. 3).



Figure 3. Le Corbusier, Mill Owners' Association Building, West façade, Ahmedabad, India, 1951-1954. © Maria João Moreira Soares (2015).

The profuse vegetation on the volumes created by the *brise-soleils* – which is part of the original idea for the mechanism – helps to cool and humidify the winds by providing a desirable, controlled current of air. In summer, the sunlight does not penetrate directly into the interior space of the *filateurs'* headquarters; in winter, light is free to enter. This is the undeniable importance of the *brise-soleil*. As Le Corbusier himself put it: “It was in my private atelier on

the Rue Nungesser et Coli where I would suffer in silence (for a cause!) that I cast my eyes upon the brise-soleil, which I have conceived, which I have named and the term has become universal today: brise-soleil (sun-breaker).” (Boesiger, 2013a: 114)

The verandah and the reference

The *esprit de la vérité* also demands attention, perhaps not always consciously, to another reality. As Doshi says: “He [Le Corbusier] looked at the skyline of Indian temples, he saw arches and domes, verandahs and balconies. In general I have the impression that in India he felt the impact of another culture that has joy and grace and compassion.” (Kagal, 1986) While climate-related matters were crucial for the development of the design project, no less important were issues related to a culture that was impactful on various levels, namely that of traditional architecture. On his first journeys to India, Le Corbusier’s sketchbooks filled up with drawings that revealed his interest in diverse examples of Indian architectural culture. These examples include, first and foremost, the Jantar Mantar astronomical observatory in Delhi; the Pinjore gardens near Chandigarh; Hindu and Jain temples in Ahmedabad; Mumbai’s Gateway of India; aerial views of Rajasthani near Jaipur; old courtyards near Ambala; a factory in Ahmedabad⁶. As is well known, travelling and registering his experiences in new places were things that were part of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret/Le Corbusier’s persona.

Le Corbusier’s interest in the relationship between exterior and interior spaces became part of his architectural lexicon early on. There are many examples of this, such as the designs for the Pavillon de l’Esprit Nouveau (1925) in Paris and the Villa Savoye (1928-1931) in Poissy, France. However, in India, Le Corbusier was to find a context that was extraordinarily favourable to experimentation, almost lab-like experimentation, with that relationship. The *verandah*, a space that links the exterior and the interior, and where the extension of domestic life, for example, is maximised, and an architectural element inherent in Indian culture, was to become, as Doshi indeed asserts, a theme of interest to Le Corbusier. Le Corbusier gave these hybrid spaces in India new meaning, allowing them to establish themselves as spaces to be experienced in all their plenitude. In contrast to western experiences, where sunlight is avidly

⁶ These drawings are featured in Le Corbusier’s sketchbooks E18 and E19 (Serenyi, 1983: 93).

sought after, most of these spaces are protected by *toits-parasol*. Direct sunlight gave way to shade – as the climate dictated.

In Le Corbusier's work, this inversion in the use of hybrid spaces has one particular antecedent: Villa Baizeau (1928-1929) in Carthage, Tunisia. In Tunisia, which was then a French protectorate, Le Corbusier was to experiment with an architectural model that sought to respond in part to the Mediterranean climate: a house whose interior spaces are closed in on themselves, recalling the compactness of the kasbahs, but which are then freed, like a series of terraces protected by *toits-parasol*. Parallelepipedal in form, the whole was enclosed by pilotis. More than twenty years later, Villa Baizeau became a reference for the Mill Owners' Association building and for Villa Shodhan.

The design for the *filateurs* was the result of an extraordinary design consistency that had been explored for decades. However, it is above all, a particular response that results from a demanding culture and geographic region and from the type of clients – a number of industrialists all connected by close familial ties, Jainism and, of course, common cultural and business interests. For them, Le Corbusier was building a “palace” – a palace like a house.

[H]is concept of the house as a palace which he developed during the 1920s and given clearest expression in his book, *Une Maison – Un Palais*, published in 1928. There he defined the palace as “a house endowed with dignity,” which for him meant monumentally achieved by “pure forms composed according to a harmonious law.” One of the houses Le Corbusier singled out in his book to exemplify his concept of the house-palace was his Villa Cook of 1926, which offers important clues for understanding the internal organization of the Millowners Association Building. (Serenyi, 1983: 97)

This “palace”, to house the association, took the form of a parallelepipedal volume (fig. 4). Beside it, but separate from it, another volume was erected with a trapezoidal plan and an inclined roof. This volume is home to a restaurant. On the ground floor of the “palace” there are support spaces for the functioning of the building. Here, the *promenade architecturale* begins: the ceremonial ramp goes up on the building's exterior towards the first floor, defining an axis on the west elevation, the shift of which to the right gives it a slight but characteristic asymmetry. This ramp is accompanied by an open-air staircase, also to the right, connecting the

ground floor to the *bel étage* on the second floor. The ramp invades the space of the *brise-soleil* on the west, giving rise to a vertical gap over three storeys in height. The first floor is made up of an entrance with a reception and a double-height ceiling, several administrative offices and restrooms. The space generated by the horizontal access axis is only intersected by another access block, in the form of a volume housing the two lifts. In this space, the winds run free. Continuing the *promenade*, one now climbs the stairs on one side of the ramp. On the final landing, a red pivoting door, in a free-standing portico, marks the entry point to the *bel étage* (fig. 5).

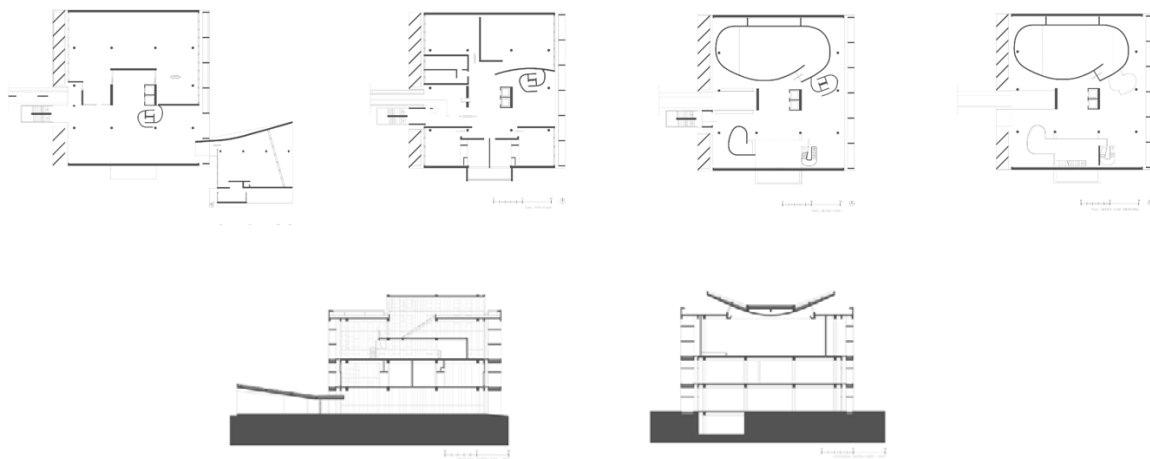


Figure 4. Le Corbusier, Mill Owners' Association Building's floor plans and sections, Ahmedabad, India, 1951-1954 (drawings adapted from *Le Corbusier, Oeuvre complète, volume 6 – 1952-57*).

On this floor, the spaces that unfold function at a more private level: the assembly hall; a bar; and restrooms. The *promenade* takes one through all the floor's spaces, including a small mezzanine set into the wall, on the southern side. From the mezzanine there is access to the upper terrace. The *promenade* on the *bel étage* is open and non-directional – this openness is made clear by the very high ceiling and by the forthrightness of the positioning of the *brise-soleils* on the opposite sides. The *bel étage* is an exterior room, which one enters through a door that is enclosed between grilles. This informal great hall of the “palace”, where the winds are controlled, is a more private space than the *promenade* on the lower floor. One can just imagine the conversations between the *filateurs* there.



Figure 5. Le Corbusier, Mill Owners' Association Building, free-standing portico, Ahmedabad, India, 1951-1954. © Maria João Moreira Soares (2015).

Le Corbusier's design results in a building that works the relationship between public and private, meaning that a public association can enjoy an environment that is close to domesticity, thus contributing to the idea of "a house endowed with dignity", to the idea of a palace. The relations between the *filateurs*, based on personal connections that resulted from the caste system, family ties, activism and religious faith were very well understood by Le Corbusier, finding expression in an open, complex building that also engaged with *filateurs* in a conversation. "One of the reasons why Le Corbusier's architecture was welcomed by his Indian clients was because they were accustomed to seeing classical buildings that, in addition to being open, are often characterized by irregularity and flexibility." (Serenyi, 1983: 105)

Chiaroscuro and écorchés: the Palais des Filateurs reviewed

Not only traditional Indian architecture had captivated Le Corbusier, but also Indian miniatures. Indian miniatures are small, extremely detailed paintings that have existed since at least the 9th century. His sketchbooks feature small drawings that reproduce situations associated with that type of Indian painting highlighting spatial environments taken from everyday scenes. Le Corbusier's drawings also come with some notes that reveal his admiration for how spatial depth and the relationship between light and shade are represented in Indian miniatures (Candela Suárez, 2017: 281). As Doshi puts it:

[h]e [Le Corbusier] spent a lot of time looking at Indian miniatures and he once showed me a painting of Krishna and Radha dancing. "You see," he said, "how front and back are both shown, how you can twist the plane to get a complete image." The problem that was intriguing him was how to get another dimension within the same plane. And this is what he did in Ahmedabad – he made the formwork go against the nature of the concrete, i.e., normally the formwork is designed vertically, but here he placed the shuttering planks diagonally, so that the shadows cast are diagonal, while the basic level remains horizontal. This was done with the idea that the plane must get another dimension through shadow.

In Indian miniature paintings you notice that something will suddenly go out of the frame. Or out of all those cows, one cow will turn its head. We allow those exceptions. Le Corbusier was like that – exceptions were important to prove the rule. And this came out of the realisation that rigid structures are not the answer if you want them to survive. (Kagal, 1986)

This interest by Le Corbusier in achieving another dimension on one and the same plane opened up a path for new readings of his design choices for this "palace". While the *brise-soleil* was nothing new in his architecture, the mechanism was to gain new importance in his Indian works – a new depth, in several meanings of the word. The design for the Mill Owners' Association building was no exception here. On the contrary, the building is a reference for the use of these shade-producing elements. The quest for a new dimension was to focus on the use of concrete and its formwork: "the east and west façades are of raw, unfinished concrete; the *brise-soleil* are clad in wood, and the walls in sheet metal." (Boesiger, 2013a: 114) The vertical planes of the *brise-soleil* on the building's west, rotated by 45 degrees, gained texture through the

placement of the wooden formwork alternating in opposite directions to accentuate the shade effect provided by the horizontal planes. The effect facilitated a response to that which Le Corbusier had observed in Indian miniatures – something goes “out of the frame”, as Doshi puts it. The plane takes on a new dimension through the shade.



Figure 6. Nicholas Hill, *Ecorché* figure, c.1545. © Royal Academy.

The space was also to gain new dimensions and new volumes – visible volumes that were almost palpable. The building’s entrance axis became a huge mouth, gaping and dark, that accentuated the monumentality and provided cavernous depth. In that depth, a very particular effect gains life: the chiaroscuro. While the building for the *filateurs* is a “palace”, the *Palais de l’Association des Filateurs d’Ahmedabad*, and uses architectural references that go back as far as the Renaissance, it is also in this period that the chiaroscuro effect was first used in painting. The value provided by this effect resonates in the spaces of the non-directional promenade designed by Le Corbusier. The shade gains in volume, taking on different densities

depending on the time of day and season of the year, and assuming the protagonism normally conferred upon sunlight. The use of chiaroscuro in this “palace” functions in the space – an exterior interior – in between the spatial organisation of the two main floors, including the mezzanine on the *bel étage*. On the east and west facades, with the *brise-soleils*, the purity of a reading of the chiaroscuro provided by the gradual elimination of the outline is compromised by the intentional reading of the lines defining the respective grilles. However, that compromise, particularly on the west, is also an announcement of a provocation that has to do with the volumes generated by the shade. By gaining in volume, the exterior grille loses the meaning of “skin” frequently given to an elevation, making the design an *écorché* (fig. 6).

The Mill Owners' Association building does not have a skin; it has a skeleton, muscles and organs. The *brise-soleil* volumes are now muscles that gain autonomy and protect the organs, the most important of which is the assembly hall. The organs, free from the structure, “hang” on the skeleton. They free themselves from the structure because the structure guarantees them that freedom. Doshi states:

Structure for him [Le Corbusier] was only related to the function it must perform – it was not a rigid element. So he did not follow one system, but used many systems to achieve his goal. Because many systems together really add up to another system, don't they? He was never rigid, always varied, forever playing with dualities and multiplicity. (Kagal, 1986)

The assembly hall, clad in diagonally placed wooden panels, is the most dissonant element in this body, as it unequivocally defines a game of dualities. The curvilinear surface, which gently curves like an egg, is detached from the bones that house it. Light enters through the top by way of a roof, which arches towards the sun, asserting itself beyond the plane that forms the terrace. In the hybrid, chiaroscuro and void space, this element, like an organ, is not alone. Other elements become autonomous, giving expression to the open space that is formed as a generous in-between. The theme of autonomisation is a recurrent one in this “palace”. The stand-alone elements – from the doorway to the accesses, and to the various spatial volumes with different functions – operate as character traits. The Villa Savoye (1928-1931) also has such features: the ramp, and also the staircase, the washroom on the ground floor, the fireplace in the living

room, the vertical plane of the single-span terrace at the end of the “promenade” through the house.

This character is reinforced by the autonomisation of the volumes – or muscles – that function as *brise-soleils*. The volumes are separated from the main body of the building by a small gap (fig. 7). Everything is detached. Everything is interspersed. Everything is open. Everything is a body stripped of skin, an *écorché*.



Figure 7. Le Corbusier, Mill Owners' Association Building, gap between the East *brise-soleil* and the building. Ahmedabad, India, 1951-1954. © Maria João Moreira Soares (2015).

Le Corbusier was not indifferent to *écorchés*. In the 1925 *L'art décorative d'aujourd'hui* [The Decorative Art of Today], there are skinless human figures that show the blood circulation system and the supporting bone structure. Further on, the same book features drawings of the digestive system and drawings of the functional organs of plants, and photographs of large machines, such as the ocean liners. This is a theme that he will return to again and again throughout his work. The figure of the Modulor comes close to an *écorché*, revealing, as it does,

the “machine” working in his belly. Even architecture as an *écorché* had been sketched out previously. At the 1939 *Daily Mail Ideal Home* exhibition in London, Le Corbusier presented a manifesto dedicated to the 1930 Ville Radieuse, in which he proposed the design of a pavilion. The pavilion consisted of a vertical orthogonal frame, developed heightwise like a skeleton, whose interior is accessed by a ramp, an interior populated by floating organs, bathed in sunlight and flanked by vegetation (fig. 8).

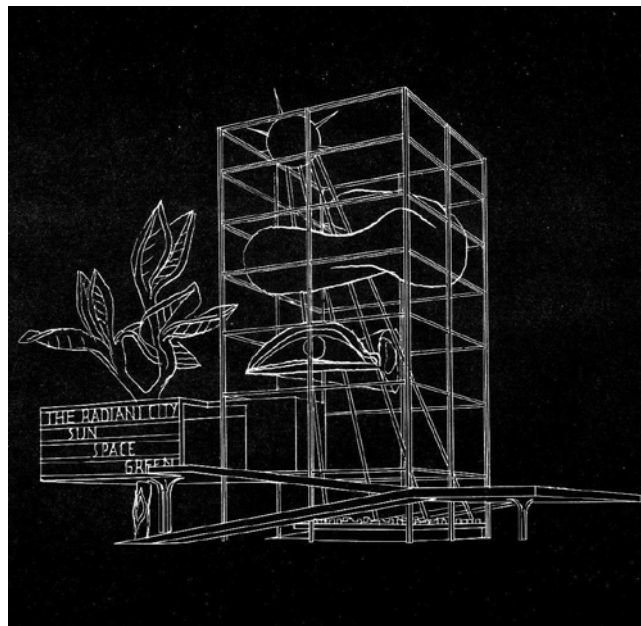


Figure 8. Le Corbusier, *Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition*, London, 1939. © Le Courbusier / FLC / ADAGP, Paris / SPA, Lisboa, 2025.

This is the typological genesis of the Mill Owners' Association building. That genesis was founded on strong principles that consistently accompany a line of thought and can be added as a value that runs through Le Corbusier's architecture over decades. Those principles gave rise to a meta-circumstantial architecture, where the circumstances are important, but the work exceeds them in importance, becoming part of a time period that is ulterior to the circumstances. The Dom-Ino House system, developed in 1914, was to gradually take on that condition of meta-circumstantiality. It is, for example, at the root of the genesis of the Villa Baizeau and re-emerges as a system in the design of 1939's “pavilion”; the latter was later reused in for the *filateurs*' association, Le Corbusier's *écorché* palace.

Regardless of the reasons, practical in varying degrees, that gave rise to its conception⁷, the Dom-Ino House system featured repeatedly in Le Corbusier's work as a design principle. The "pavilion" of 1939, which was much less impactful in terms of affirmation of his oeuvre, was the result of a constant revision of design principles, such as those of the 1914 system. The Mill Owners' Association building is the legitimate heir of this constant revision. It inherits the skeleton and the exterior ramp; it inherits the organs floating in between the bones; it inherits the unashamed lack of a skin. Nature, in turn, takes on a new role, now functioning in close agreement with the architecture⁸.

The *filateurs*' palace is a "body-house".

For the age of encyclopedism, the human body represented the ultimate visual compendium, the comprehensive method of methods, the organizing structure of structures. As a visible natural whole made up of invisible dissimilar parts, it was the organic paradigm or architectonic standard for all complex unions. Whether ideal or caricatured, perfect or monstrous, it formed the model for proper or improper man-made assemblies and artificial compositions. (Stafford, 1997: 12)

Le Corbusier wrote in 1925:

The further back we go, the more satisfaction we obtain. We learn that everything is arranged according to principles consistent with the whole: that every organism is a kind of link in the chain of variations around the axis between two poles, variants which, responding to a single factor, establish a series: a coherent system varies in accordance with the countless possible sets of combination. (Le Corbusier, 1987: 181)

L'Esprit de vérité

Balkrishna Doshi states:

I was once in his office with P. L. Verma, then the Chief Engineer of Chandigarh. And Le Corbusier asked, "What is the truth really?" Then he drew two parallel lines, with a wavy line

⁷ The Dom-Ino House system is presented in Le Corbusier's *Oeuvre complète* as a solution that anticipated the devastating effects of World War I (Boesiger, Storonov, 2013: 23).

⁸ Doshi states: "[In India] [h]e saw many things for the first time – the bright blue sky, the relentless sun, the hot winds, the cool moon, the beauty of tropical nights, the fury of the monsoon. And he said to me once that while his work thus far had been a counterpoint to nature, he now realised that he had to have a pact with nature." (Kagal, 1986)

in between. "Truth is like a river," he said, "it flows continuously, changing course, modifying itself, without ever touching either bank." Truth for him was always in the process of evolution. (Kagal, 1986)

To the typology presented in London, a kind of *écorché* without muscle, are now added *brise-soleils* and *toits-parasol* that provide a chiaroscuro effect; the reference of the Villa Baizeau is then added. To Western culture and Indian culture is added an understanding of a moment in contemporary history. To architecture's *raison d'être* is added the indomitable will of a man in search of the truth. The *Palais des Filateurs* lives on in time. It has become timeless.

"The mystery is not negligible, is not to be rejected, is not futile. It is the minute of silence in our toil. It awaits the initiate. The initiate is the man of great strength who will explain... one day." (Le Corbusier, 1987: 181)

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P. under project reference UIDB/04026/2020 and DOI identifier 10.54499/UIDB/04026/2020 (<https://doi.org/10.54499/UIDB/04026/2020>). The technical drawings were made by Luís Carlos Bucha, to whom the authors wish to thank.

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Gio Ponti in Pakistan: The Ministerial Complex for Islamabad

Kieran Gaya

University College Dublin, School of Art History and Cultural Policy; kieran.gaya@gmail.com; Dublin, Ireland

Abstract

The laboratorial experiment of Islamabad, as the new capital of Pakistan, was expected to forge the development of an architectural typology emblematic of the nation. Gio Ponti (1891-1979) arrived on the scene in 1961, at the invitation of the military government, intent on leaving his mark on this global scale project. Ponti's reputed ability to synthesise contemporary forms and materials into functional buildings inspired by classical aesthetics was his calling card, and the expectant officials assigned his firm the extensive Ministerial Complex. The task at hand was to express Pakistan as a modern and independent Islamic state through an architectural rhetoric, establishing a recognisable typology for government buildings, which could then be reproduced across the nation. The question is whether Ponti's designs have proven successful in giving visible materiality to the integrated ideologies of Pakistan as a post-colonial 20th-century territory, carved out in the name of a historical religion, aiming for a progressive future.

Ponti, in Pakistan, participated in the inauguration of a version of modern Islamic Architecture, inspired by recognisable historical typologies associated with political and religious enclaves. He designed the Ministerial Complex as a system of inter-connected spaces with courtyards, patios, pathways and corridors providing links and boundaries between public and private. He was thus emulating Mughal edifices, dear to the Pakistanis, and classical buildings in Europe. This demarcation of access levels to authority figures, and implied sacred spaces, is also taken into consideration with the involucre, which shifts from transparent, translucent, to relative opacity. The scale and modulations of the complex reflect the setting of the Potohar Valley wrapped by the Margalla and Muree hills with the Himalayas in the distance. Ponti's design has become integral to Islamabad in representing Pakistan.

Keywords: Post-Colonial; Modern; Islamic; Architecture.

Session: Under Golden Suns: Revisiting Late Modernist Typology Experiments

Introduction

State-sponsored public architecture is expected to express the principal ideology of the nation it is called on to represent. Pakistan came into existence as a geopolitical territory after independence from Britain and Partition from India in 1947. (Figure 1) The nation was created as a home for South Asian Indian Muslims spread out between West and East Pakistan, which has been independent Bangladesh since 1971 (Jalal, 2014: 5-9). Sandhurst-educated Field Marshal Ayub Khan (1907-1974) came to power in 1958, and soon after being declared President set about to build the new capital city of Islamabad to thus legitimise his government and concretely establish his legacy. In 1960, Greek Architect and Planner, Costantinos A Doxiadis (1913-1975) devised the Master Plan for the Pakistani federal capital according to an arrangement of zones, spread out over a grid to be inserted into the Potohar Valley adjacent to the old Military Cantonment of Rawalpindi in West Punjab, which was developed during British occupation to oversee the region (Yakas, 2001: xiv, 1, 6, 37-40).



Figure 1. India and Pakistan at Partition in 1947 (Economist.com)

The key structures and power hierarchies, represented by the Administrative Sector, capped by the Presidential Palace, Aiwan-e-Sadr, and the Religious Nucleus, crowned by the King Faisal Mosque, were situated at the culmination of the city's intersecting two principal axes, framed by the Muree Hills and Himalayas for the first and the Margalla Hills for the second, according to Doxiadis's final version of the urban plan for Islamabad. (Figure 2) The commissioning

authorities of the Pakistani government were intent on having a modern capital, which explicitly showcased the forward-looking ideals of the nation, anchored in the fundamental core values of Islam. The architects who were invited to design Islamabad's prominently representative public buildings were expected to provide this iconographic synthesis.

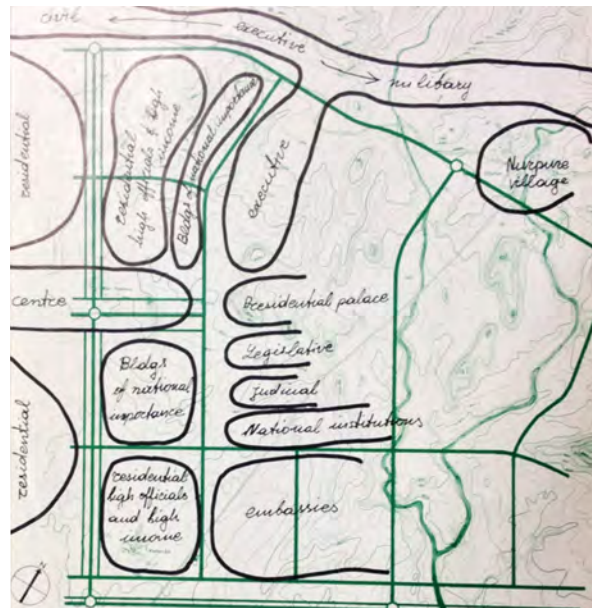


Figure 2. Administrative Centre according to Urban Plan designed by Doxiadis (Doxiadis Archives).

Italian architect Gio Ponti (1891-1979) spent the larger part of his career drawing inspiration from the volumetric geometries of classical forms to create modern adaptations suited to the contemporary. He was concerned with function as with aesthetics and his designs used everything technology had to offer (Ponti, 1957, 9). This ability to craft memorable, historically infused, forms housed in modernity is showcased in the 1925 private home at Via Randaccio, Milan (Figure 3) and the 1952 School of Mathematics for the University of Rome, La Sapienza (set up in its new location in 1932 and inaugurated in 1935), which Ponti designed under the tutelage of Marcello Piacentini (1888-1960), architect for the Fascist Regime government of Italy (Etlin, 1991: 223-224). This structure is an elaboration of the authoritative architectural language Piacentini had devised, a symbiosis of the essential geometries of neo-classical forms and Rationalist Modernity.



Figure 3. Gio Ponti's Design for a Private Home at Via Randaccio in Milan, 1925
(Milano Photo Gallery; Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra)

This was in line with similar incentives of the Italian government, also come to power through the manner of a coup known as the March on Rome (October 1922), in its seeking both a political legitimacy and a monumental social legacy, as what was to be required for Pakistan, some thirty years on. This was a valuable experiment for Ponti in catering to a request for an architectural rhetoric of power couched in a synthesis of language between historical and contemporary, in both style and material. (Figure 4) However, a more recent worldwide reputation for Ponti, before his arrival on the Pakistani scene, emanated from his design for the Pirelli Building, in collaboration with Pier Luigi Nervi (1891-1979), completed in 1958, and located in Milan (Figure 5). Ponti's skills and experience made him attractive to the government of Pakistan as they sought architects for the focal-point government enclave of their new capital city.

In August 1961, the Capital Development Authority (CDA) for Islamabad selected Gio Ponti and Associates to design the Ministerial Complex based on the proposal he had submitted in person (Yakas, 2001: 120, 128-129, 136). It is interesting to note that the acquaintance of Ponti with a key member of Pakistan's Building Authority, Architect Zahir Ud-Deen Khwaja (1922-2015), had happened in 1957 when the Italian architect was a juror in the competition for the

Karachi Monument to Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), the founder of Pakistan. It is also likely that Ayub Khan himself, as well as General Yahya Khan (1917-1980) who was chair of the CDA for a time, had met Ponti on that occasion (Ud-Deen Khwaja, 1998: 62-63). The Pakistani Government requested that the Milan Studio of Ponti-Fornaroli-Rosselli, or PFR, submit initial designs, principally for the Secretariat comprising Ministry Offices, and for Pakistan House or Islamabad Hotel, at the time known as the Members of Parliament Hostel. The initial proposal was approved with minor modifications, and an official agreement was signed in February 1962 (Yakas, 2001: 119-120, 128-129, 136).



Figure 4. Ponti and Associates, School of Mathematics, La Sapienza, Rome University
(Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra).

The principal communicative requirement for the Ministerial Complex, beyond its functionality as support edifices for the day-to-day matters of the government of Pakistan, was that it be evident of the composite national ideology and of the unity, amid diversity, brought to the people through Islam. This meant that each individual building had to be designed to express, externally, internally, and through its setting, the Pakistani government's desire to portray itself as evidently projected toward future progress and Islamic in its core identity, all the while showing its layered diversities of function and presence through stylistic choices. Ponti saw this as an opportunity to put into practice ideas he was developing on how to fully adapt the dialogue between classical canons and modernity to a transnational architectural discourse (Ahmed, 2012: 35-38). He took on the task by designing neutrally linear tectonic buildings that were to

function as identity-shaping ideological icons through siting arrangement, layout, landscape, and encasing displays.¹ The buildings forming the unit were set to connect visually with each other through material and shape while differences in how the involucres shape the facades show the diversity of function within each group of ministerial offices. Through these strategic design choices, PFR succeeded in giving the Secretariat and Pakistan Hostel their own individual identities while still managing to provide the viewer with a clear understand that these function and belong together as a unified whole.



Figure 5. Gio Ponti's Pirelli Building in Collaboration with Pier Luigi Nervi, 1958-1961
(Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra).

Ponti's Ministerial Complex for Islamabad

The PFR Milan Studio's principal design concept for Pakistan's government buildings was that each ministry office would have façade features defining its individually separate role from the others and yet each would have elements to evidence measures of cohesion into a larger unit

¹ PFR Archives, Studio Salvatore Licitra, Via Dezza 49, Milan. Archivio Fotografico d.113, Soggetto, Islamabad, 1962.

when viewed from a distance. Ponti developed his assigned section of Islamabad's government enclave through structures spread across as detached pairs of four inter-connected L-shaped blocks, nestled into a largely unlevelled landscaped site next to the extensive estate dedicated to the Presidential complex (Figure 6). Ponti's Secretariat and Pakistan House were organised in an arrangement pulled back from Constitution Avenue, which runs perpendicular to the principal axis of Islamabad, Jinnah Avenue (previously Capitol Avenue) leading to the Administrative Sector, as designed by Doxiadis in his 1960 Master Plan for the capital.



Figure 6. Site Plan View of Ministerial Complex for Islamabad, 1961
(Archivio Ponti, CSAC, University of Parma, Italy).

The Ministerial Complex is visible through a line of trees, which function as a screen, thus giving the impression of being accessible though not always fully open to the general public (Figures 7 and 8). Ponti adjusted to the lack of ground-breaking machinery available locally by devising an amalgamation of buildings that reflected the surrounding mountainous context in the shape of a range of its own. He stated that he wanted to keep the site as natural as possible, except insofar as it needing to be made suitable for building (Figures 9 and 10). Ponti thus managed to turn around a technological limitation into a design and aesthetic advantage, which also allowed for his buildings to go up quite rapidly since the ground was intervened with minimally except to lay down foundations. The Pakistani authorities were immensely pleased with the speed of construction here since Ayub Khan was intent that Islamabad should be

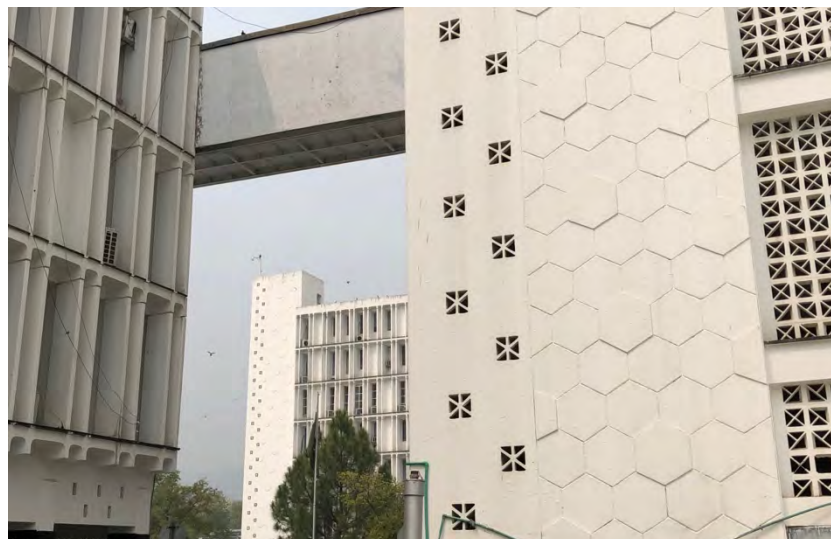
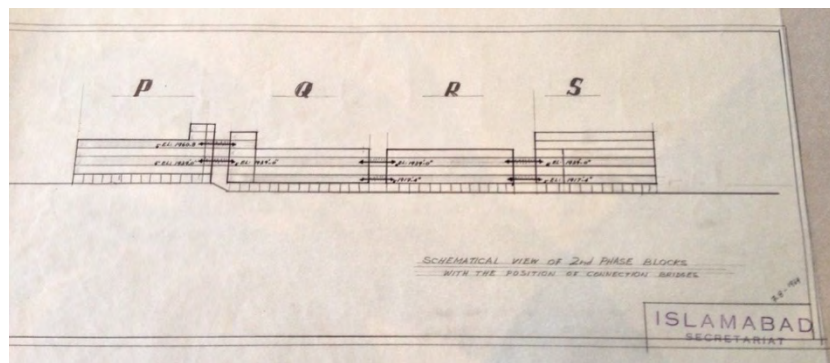
completed even faster than Brasilia had been (Yakas, 2001: 9-10, 88, 149). The step up from the road and undulating natural setting framed the buildings with a manner of pedestal while the pale facades also aided in giving a sense of their rising out as highly visible bright monuments from the land.



Figures 7 and 8. Two Sets of Interlocking L-Shaped buildings (Archivio Ponti, CSAC, University of Parma, Italy); Driving Past the Ministerial Complex on Constitution Avenue on the way to the Intersection with Jinnah Avenue and Presidential Palace (Author, 2022)

This well-calculated design was in collaboration with British Landscape Architect Derek Lovejoy (1925-2000) who had been hired by the CDA, on the advice of British Architects,

Robert Matthew and Stirrat Johnson Marshall (1912-1981), of RMJM and Partners (founded in 1956). The latter had been appointed by the CDA as consulting architects, specifically for the Administrative Sector that was to contain all the principal government structures (Glendinning, 2008: 413-414). Lovejoy's firm collaborated with Ponti and his son-in law Alberto Rosselli (1921-1976) on the development of the landscape for the Ministerial Complex (Lovejoy, 1985: 222-225). Rosselli was the one who principally inter-faced with the CDA and its designers, spending larger amounts of time on site than Ponti, who due to his age may have found travelling rather more arduous (Glendinning, 2008: 413-414). Even so, the conceptual idea of the whole complex was decidedly Ponti's and showcases his experience in shaping authoritative buildings that combine modern materials and forms while being evidently inspired by historical idioms.



Figures 9 and 10. Cross-Section of Ministerial Complex showing pedestrian bridges and two towers (Archivio Ponti, CSAC, University of Parma, Italy); Elevated Corridor Passageway between higher levels connecting all the buildings of the Complex (Author, 2022).

Formal Palladian Italianate natural settings inspired Ponti's landscaping choices in the villas he had designed before his arrival in Pakistan. In Islamabad, he added Mughal Palace gardens to his sources for emulation, taking into consideration the familiar historical and cultural context of the city's future residents into account as well as visitors to the capital from the rest of the South Asian region. The staggered repetitive shape of the two groups of inter-locking L-structures helped to create courtyards that open on two sides, and were then loosely closed off by the framing of the concrete buttressed stepped and tiered, flower and grassy garden beds along with their water pools, and the adjacent building's façade. The gardens that wrapped in and out of the complex's serpentine structure were intended to provide an aesthetic panorama of gentle green and unfinished concrete slopes with both steps and ramps for movement. The ruggedness of these bases in contrast to the green grass was designed to mirror the naturalistic setting and confirm Ponti's built mountain range. The variety of socles for the smooth white reticulated buildings with their longitudinal recessed fenestration created both vertical and horizontal shadows in the bright light. The water features were not only for reasons of aesthetics with dappled reflections being cast onto the facades but also to provide coolness in the open spaces and increased ventilation to the ground floor offices. The pools were elevated or sunken in an attempt at generating a formal appearance that was still in line with the natural context. Thus, Ponti and his associates managed even with the exteriors' inter-play to showcase forms issuing from a period in the region associated with Islamic grandeur while choosing decidedly recognisable modern materials for the spectacle. (Figure 11)



Figure 11. Ministerial Complex nestled in Potohar Valley, 1963-1965
(Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra).

Ponti designed the number of storeys for Islamabad's Ministerial Complex to stand between five to seven, giving rise to a decisively vertical display while still being careful not to rise above the adjacent buildings of higher national importance, which were to be the National Assembly Hall, Parliament, the Supreme Court, and the Presidential Palace according to the urban plan for the Administrative Sector, as well as taking into consideration possible seismic activity in the region. This humility of size helped to clearly define the hierarchical power structures in the enclave. Ponti's sensitivity also worked well into the design team's wish to keep the buildings at a harmonious human scale, visually respectful of the surrounding natural context and precedent Pakistani built form that had rarely risen above five storeys except for domes and minarets. Ponti's range of buildings was intended to blend in with its hilly surroundings while framing dramatic views of the elevated topography. Users and visitors of the complex as well as those viewing from the road would be moving their eyes across the complex both horizontally and vertically. The grandeur of the whole city's administrative enclave would thus be elevated and enhanced in their memory.

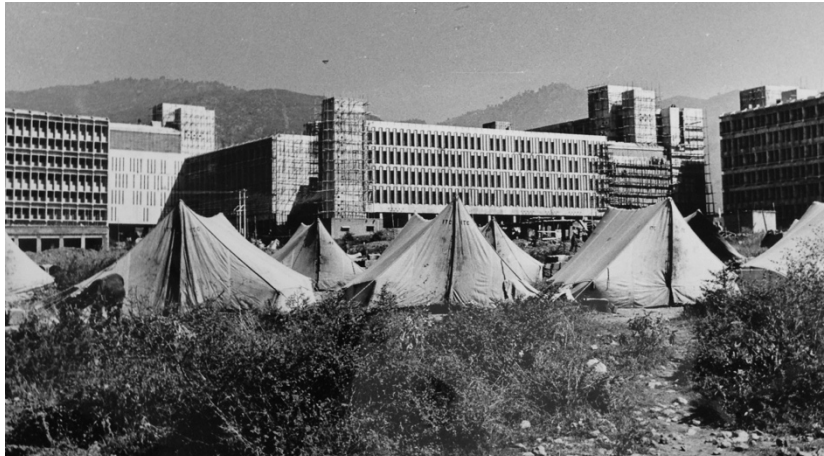


Figure 12. Ministerial Complex under Construction (Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra).

Physical circulation within the whole complex was carefully considered in the spatial planning. Vertical movement between floors was designed to happen in ventilated cooling towers, which were to contain both stairwells and lifts. There were also elevated passageways to bridge between buildings at the second and penultimate floors as well as subterranean access. (Figure 12). The interior spaces were connected between each other with arrangements of both internal and external envelope-like corridors at alternate levels. Ponti's buildings end up rising like a

robust statement against the backdrop of the Margalla and Muree Hills, and the Himalayas in the distance. It was set in harmony with the natural environment and aimed to present a rhythmical façade against the sky from all viewpoints, whether from near or far. (Figure 13)



Figure 13. Varying heights of buildings matching the background hill-scape
(Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra).

PFR shaped the unified mass of the Islamabad Ministerial Complex buildings taking into careful consideration the local climatic conditions. This was achieved through the adjustment of each open space and façade in relation to how the sun would hit it in each season and at various times of the day. Orientation, and fenestration detailing as well as airflow were to all collaborate to keeping the locale as comfortable as possible for the users throughout the year. All these concerns were dealt with through a series of strategies. Customised geometric Brise-Soleils were used extensively in the circulation enveloping elevated walkways, which thus provided adequate and filtered sunlight while the offices themselves were also to be naturally lit most days. Shading from direct sunlight and risks of overheating were handled by the placement of protruding vertical and horizontal fins as well as built-in awnings. These were intermediated with a rhythmical arrangement of both vertical and horizontal slit into the façade itself, at regular intervals, on each plane of the L-shaped form. Ponti mentioned that he designed these types of inset blinds after looking at the Moorish usage of such strategies in Europe, namely in the Alhambra, and in Pakistan directly referencing the Jallis of Mughal structures. Even though most of the interior spaces are now cooled with air-conditioning window units,

such an early attempt at sustainability and effective natural insulation and ventilation is to be admired. (Figure 14)



Figure 14. Pre-cast Lattice Work window detailing and slits for light and view out from pedestrian passageways (Archivio Ponti, Studio Salvatore Licitra).

The Italian architects responded to the request for a modern building typology by not binding their designs to past forms. They also drew inspiration from the natural surroundings to create the volumetric display. They adapted their choice of material to include locally manufactured elements as well as building technologies available on site even though Ponti did complain a few times about wanting access to the same facilities he had in Milan.² The architects used infills of precast concrete with in-situ frames in place of small modular bricks that would have inordinately lengthened the implementation process and delayed completion. Their approach at the time also sought to inform local expertise through showing by example what could be done with tools, materials, and skills available in the region.

Ponti was one who embraced modern construction technology without denying that past aesthetic ideals were still of prime influence on his choices regarding form. Despite Ponti's desire and decision to operate within all that was deemed to be modern, he was resistant to an insistence on functionality at the cost of aesthetics. He is famed to have said: "Beautiful architecture has lasted beyond its initial aspect, scope and function, and has often successively

² PFR Archives, Studio Salvatore Licitra, Via Dezza 49, Milan, Italy. Archivio Corrispondenza PFR, Casa e Studio Fotografico Paolo Rosselli, Via Rovani 11, Milan, Italy. Soggetto: Islamabad, 1961-1963.

served different purposes.” He believed that the right to existence of an architectonic work, and its inherent right to endure against all odds, was based more on the value given to the building’s beauty than on its efficacy of function (Roccella, 2009:21). He stated that beauty could be seen as a function and that it was ultimately the most resistant material factor. Ponti felt that making sure his architecture was architecturally pleasing was a way for it to oppose itself to destruction by time or man’s interference. This complexity of approach ended up serving him well in addressing the needs of the 20th century Pakistani capital for monumentality and memory making. The wish for a memorable mix of modern and yet classical monumentality expressed by the local authorities come across in Ponti’s designs for the Ministerial Complex of Islamabad. The functional aspects of the buildings PFR designed for Islamabad remain evidently successful to this day; they are a witness to Gio Ponti’s prophetic thinking. They are a testament to his belief that aesthetics matters. They have been largely unchanged structurally, both internally and volumetrically. The involucre is still the same despite the protruding cooling units in the windows. The surrounding landscaped areas have been sadly covered up to generate parking spaces even though the internal courtyards mostly retain their original appearance. Ultimately, the longevity of the complex, more than sixty years on is proof that Ponti’s work in Pakistan was designed to endure aesthetically as well as functionally.

Present Day

Ponti’s body of work in Pakistan participated in the inauguration of a version of modern Ponti’s body of work in Pakistan. His designs have proven to be successful in giving visible materiality to the enmeshed ideologies of the nation. They have acquired the status of joining the ranks of the area’s chapters of Mughal and subsequent British Anglo-Indian colonial architecture while showcasing the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Ponti’s Ministerial Complex frames one side of the Presidential Palace complex and actively takes part in the communication of Islamabad as a capital. The two main groupings of buildings are easily and clearly understood upon arrival by the main road access due to their arrangements, their shapes and light colour against the darker shaded landscape. At night, the interior is lit from within, as are the facades from the outside, thus creating varying effects of chiaroscuro, forms of visual entertainment cherished by Ponti. These buildings provide a pedestal or screened entrance gateway-like support to the Administrative Centre while flanking the elevated Presidential Palace nearby. There is no

denying that from a distance, or even up close, the Ministerial Complex was meant to look impressive but not oppressive, stable in its modern formality, with the choice of a monochromatic scheme intended to give balance as well as uniformity against the backdrop of the mountain range's varying summits. Ponti's intended symbolism in the design of this building complex transmitting, with its clean vertical and horizontal lines, a sense of visual stability and connectivity of diverse functions meeting across bridges, sitting in a curated landscape reminiscent of a Mughal Garden, with its reflective pools of water, pathways along flowerbeds, including a small kiosk-like mosque, continues to be cherished in its meaning to the local authorities and populace.

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The [de]cartography of blackness: Re-membering Architectural Heritage in Greyville/Block AK, Durban

Adheema Davis

Aluta Architecture; adheema@aluta.co.za; Durban, South Africa

Abstract

“when the group areas act is abolished,
my mother aches to go back
to the street she was removed from
and it is we, grown attached
to the scar we call home, who say, no,
we don’t want to live in a White area,
this time ceding it ourselves.”

– Gabeba Baderoon

The History of Intimacy is a delicate reveal of an intergenerational discontinuity – Baderoon’s mother’s nostalgia for a home from which she was forcefully removed, and the poet’s own novel mechanisms, be they conscious or otherwise, of protecting herself from recreating the trauma of apartheid-colonialism. Forced removal, the ‘unambiguous process of bleaching’ (Jeppie and Soudien, 1990:144), was an expunging of Blackness that has scarred South African ‘post’- apartheid-colonialist landscapes, from sites such as Cape Town’s District Six to Durban’s Block AK. Once home to thriving multi-racial communities, now pockets of displacement, untouched expanses bearing the scars of urbicide – remnants and ruins that marked this place as a home of Black heritage in the city. These urban scars affirm monuments to apartheid-colonialism, reducing the tangible notion of heritage to a singular, bleached narrative perpetuating the settler-colonial myth; subsequently erasing the intangible memories of Blackness from both our city and our consciousness as it is confined to the outskirts of the city, entangling present socio- spatial engagements within the city at large (Rosenberg, 2020: 25). The [de]cartography of blackness will seek to interrogate Block AK, exploring its formation and demise due to apartheid-colonial legislation; unpacking its role as a monument to apartheid-colonialism; and motivating to re-inscribe the socio-cultural layers both present and forcefully removed – reimagining architectural heritage within the city of Durban.

Keywords: absence/presence, architecture, blackness, cartography, decolonisation, heritage, memory, public, production of space, re-membering

Session: Architecture of Repair

Foreword

In this, and every exercise, I claim no moral superiority and boldly reclaim my own position, story, and heritage. I will no longer accept advances to erase, pacify, or nullify my existence. I acknowledge my place on stolen land, built by the hands of enslavement; I celebrate, and support the enduring connection of all black, indigene, creole, and enslaved people to it. So too do I confirm my support for the just resistance of the Palestinian people in the face of Zionist colonialism; my support for the economic boycott, divest, and sanction of the supposed state of Israel towards the freedom of the Palestinian people and the return of indigenous land. Decolonisation is not an abstract metaphor, it is this collective act of resistance. Dedicated to the victims of forced removals, including my own families.

Terminology

Terms play a major role in constructing historical narratives (Mellet, 2020:18), following the perspective popularised by Bantu Stephen (Steve) Biko's leadership of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), this paper counters the efforts of the 1950 Population Registration Act of apartheid-colonial era South Africa that expanded upon the discourse on race and divided South African humanity into racial groups. A pyramid of racial categorisation gave expression to White nationalism - with those racialised as Black Africans at the base, Coloureds and Indians populating the intermediary, and Whites at the top, with respective social and spatial accessibility, seeking to naturalise the condition of apartheid-colonialism (Ngwenya, 2018:95).

“We have defined Blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society, and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations.”

– Bantu Stephen Biko, 1971

This paper refers to ‘White’ as the privileged racial group, originally referred to as Europeans who went on to adopt the nomenclature of ‘White’. The term Black describes the collective of marginalized and oppressed peoples including those racialised as Indian, Coloured, and Black by the apartheid-colonial regime and the current government in enabling further separation between the racial groupings; counter to the negative term non-Whites popularly used within

the apartheid-colonial period. Terms such as ‘native’, ‘asiatic’, and ‘slave’ are used only as documented in records from the apartheid-colonial era, and not in any way to degrade these communities.

As Patric Tariq Mellet describes the power of terminology in framing historical narratives, consideration must be made of names of places and their capacity in inscribing the physicality of such powers. Every effort is made within this paper to draw cognisance of both place-based identities and just powers across time, illustrating both old and new names as references throughout. The case of Greyville/Block AK is one such terminology, describing the area by both its technical naming, as well as the preferred title by the residents themselves enforcing a place-based identity.

Introduction

Cartography is the science or practice of drawing maps, involving both scientific and artistic elements, combining graphic talents and specialised knowledge of compilation and design principles with available techniques for the production of maps. Maps function as visualisation tools for spatial data, extracted for a variety of purposes. The cartographic process – a process of mapping - is concerned with the capture, manipulation, processing, and display of such spatial data. It may involve the superimposition of political, cultural, or other non-geographical nuances onto a geographical area to create holistic impressions of the space.

[de]cartography is then the process of reversing such non-geographical layers off of the depicted area, creating a perceived impression of spatial data towards a particular end. The intentionality of lines that divide, erase, or reduce presence, history, and memory in space.

Apartheid-colonialism – terminology used to describe the condition of South Africa’s history of separateness as a progression from colonial rule in 1652 into the formal apartheid regime in 1948 – appreciated the aesthetics of the definitive line. A hard edge, centralising the mechanism of boundaries to their system of power. This fascination in drawing a line on a map, as points of transition discerning between identities, categories, and regions – homeland, township, suburb - a referential, visual, and direct truth that could be enforced and enacted upon is rooted in the colonial imperative across the African continent, and evolved into the dark, yet powerful logic of apartheid-colonialism (Thornton, 1996:2-15).

Before the enforcement of apartheid's ideology of separateness with the National Party's election into rule in 1948, Durban had conceived the notion of the segregated city in 1943, spatially dividing people along racial lines and executing the process of what would come to be known as forced removals prior to the passing of the Group Areas Act of 1950 as national legislation. The development of the modern city was structured around the division of racial groups, an exercising of [de]cartography that rendered Black presence within the city "as invisible as possible to the dominant class" (Maylam and Edwards, 1996:1).

The apartheid-colonial South African government structured the [de]cartography of Black people and their heritage under the guise of providing a solution to the supposedly unsanitary spaces occupied by Black people within the city - slum eradication, and later, forced removals, saw the erasure of multi-cultural communities across South Africa like District Six, South End, Sophiatown, and Greyville/Block AK. Spaces that would for next generation remain contested, scarred by forced removals. The presence today of these barren landscapes monumentalise apartheid-colonialism – affirming the reducing, erasing, and reversing of Black presence from the city enacting the infrastructure of our segregated history within the context of post-1994 democratic South Africa.

Largely ignored and undocumented, Greyville/Block AK draws parallels to District Six, South End, and Sophiatown; each formed as a Black, multi-cultural, and working-class neighbourhood on the edge of the central business district (CBD); each later considered as a slum and declared for White occupation cleared to make room for housing, commercial projects, and Technikons for White development; each faced extreme resistance and took over a decade to be cleared of its ex-residents; and sadly, each are today bleached, contested, and scarred landscapes.

"otla utlwa makgowa a re, a re yeng ko meadowlands, meadowlands, meadowlands, meadowlands sithandwa sam/ otlwa utlwa batsotsi ba re, ons dak nie ons phola hier phola hier phola hier, phola hier sithandwa sam.

you'll hear the Whites say: let's move to meadowlands; meadowlands, meadowlands, meadowlands, my love/you'll hear the tsotsis say, we're not moving, we're staying here, stay here, stay here, stay here, my love."

– Meadowlands, Strike Vilakazi

Composed in 1956 by the late great South African jazz musician Strike Vilakazi, in isiZulu, seSotho and Tsotsitaal – a slang that incorporated English, Afrikaans, isiZulu, seSotho and Tswana – expressing the resistance of those forcefully removed by the apartheid-colonial government from Sophiatown in central Johannesburg to Meadowlands on the outskirts of the city. This song is critical in understanding the production of space in apartheid-colonial South Africa, it describes not only the [de]cartography of Sophiatown, the heart of South African Jazz in 1955 by the government, but the resilience of Black communities and their connection to urban space in spite of it. As invisible as possible – invisible, not not present, but made to seem as such.

The song was made popular by Nancy Jacobs and her sisters, the Sophiatown Theatre Company, and maMiriam Makeba, with one phrase in particular that made waves both locally and internationally. *Ons phola hier* became a slogan adopted across the country that embodied this fiery resistance, emblazoned across walls, placards, and the hearts of Black South Africans during the struggle for democratic freedom. Dispossessed of land and community, the ex-residents and subsequent generations of District Six, South End, Sophiatown, and Greyville/Block AK today still champion for their cause – a reclaiming, revealing both nostalgia and novelty as mechanisms for elevating a people's history and legitimising re-membering Black heritage as a construct for just place-making.

Drawing erasure: The production of space

To understand the [de]cartography of Greyville/Block AK, one must first understand the formation of the place, and the context in which it found itself – the city of Durban during the peak of the apartheid-colonial establishment. A brief history of Durban is a tale of a natural bay on the South East African coastline of the Indian Ocean, a glimpse of dry land nestled between two lush wetlands. It is a tale of British occupation and settler-colonial capitalism intertwining Indian indenture and African migrant labour. It is a tale of the modelling of racist, separatist spatial planning and labour exploitation, of displacement of its people, all so romantically washed in the morning sunlight that hits the promenade along the Indian Ocean shoreline (Rosenberg et al, 2014).

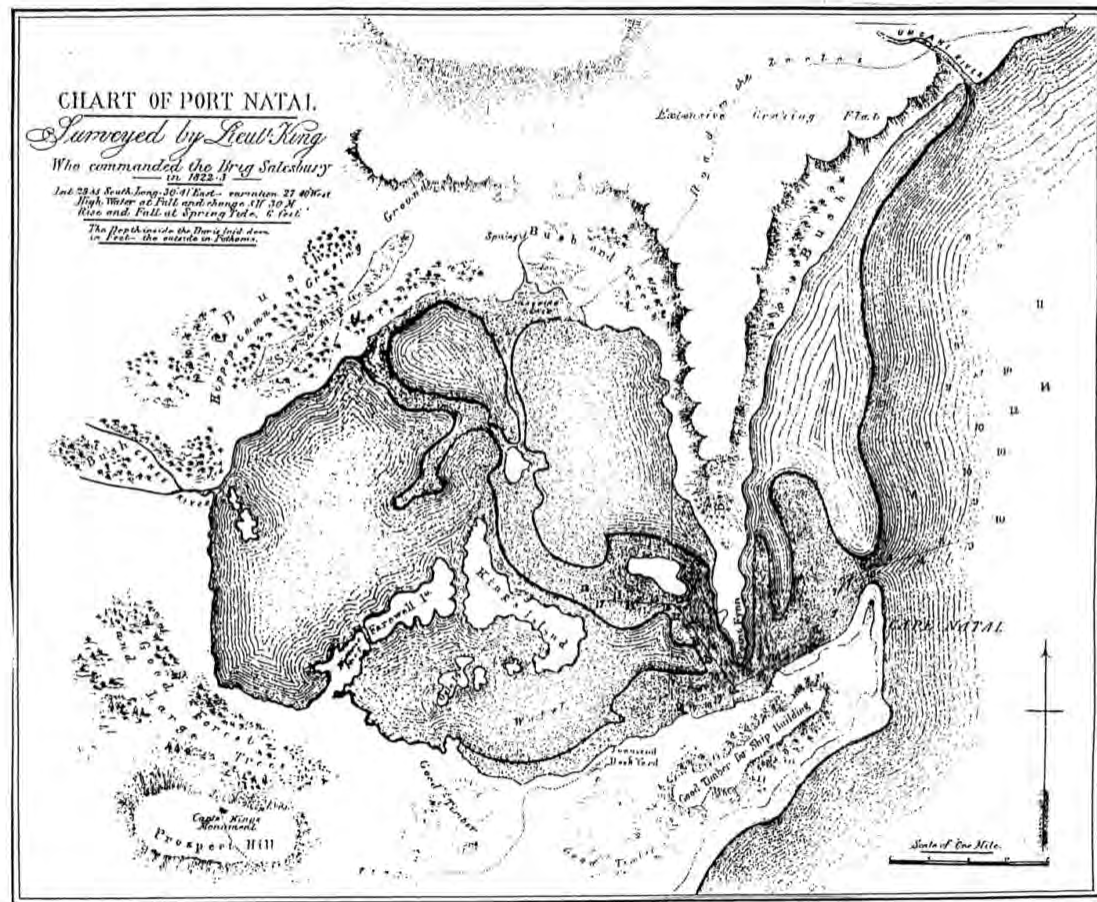


Figure 1. A map of Durban as drawn by Lieutenant James Saunders King, in 1822-3 (Cubbin, 1988).

Lieutenant King's 1822 survey of then Port Natal illustrates the attraction of the natural bay harbouring lush, fertile land beyond that would serve as an ideal trading post for the British empire along its routes between Europe and Asia, and was thus established by Francis Farewell in 1824. Attraction grew, and soon the trading post became a camp, and by 1840 the camp developed into a normalised settlement, assuming many characteristics of a British colonial town with a grid-iron city structure. The 1846 map depicts the layout of the fledgling colonial city, describing the position of the town centre amidst geographical layers of natural harbour, wetland, ridge, and forest, as drawn by surveyor-general, Thomas Oakes.

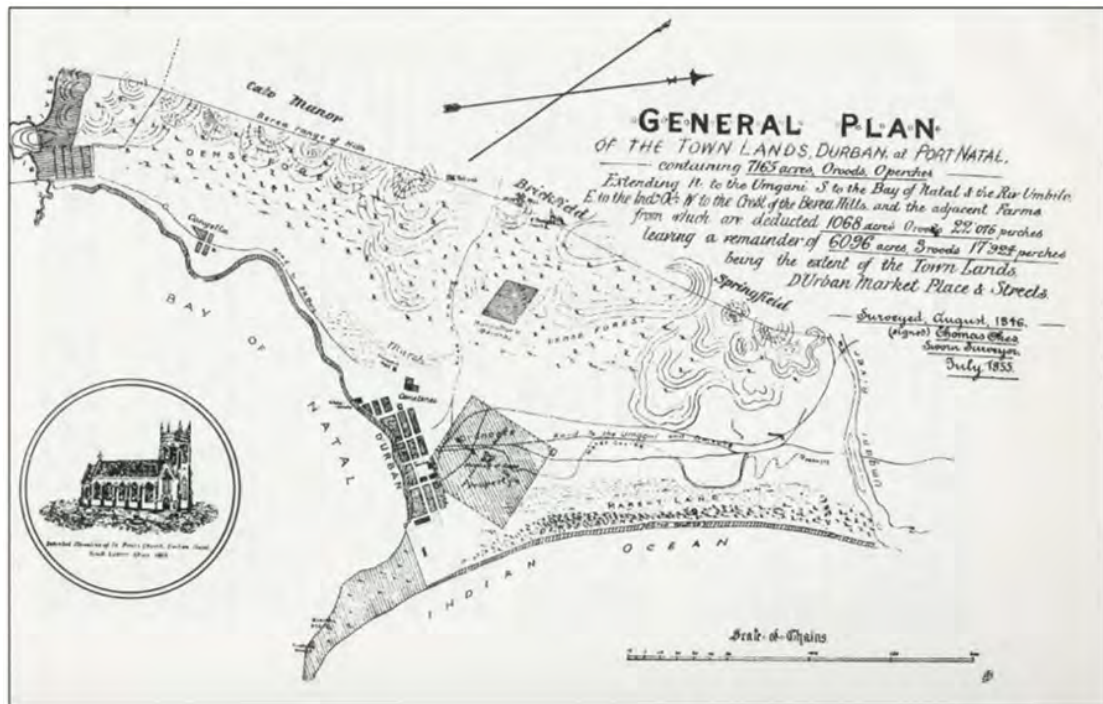


Figure 2. The layout of Durban as mapped by Thomas Oakes in 1846 (Rosenberg, 2020).

By 1860 with the refusal of the local indigene people to labour on the developing sugarcane plantations, as was the modus operandi of the British empire across its colonies, the indentured enslaved labourers arrived from India on five-year contracts of indenture structuring a settler-native-slave triad to meet the economic needs of late colonialism (Desai and Vahed, 2007:8). A necessary presence to toil the land enabling life for settler-colonialists on new land. The relationship between India and Durban would continue over the subsequent decades, with the influx of more labourers arriving, and the ex-indentured, as well as merchants and traders, the ‘free’ and ‘passenger’ Indians, coming to settle, developing what would come to be the largest Indian diasporic community in the world. ‘Native’ labourers would enter the city too, offering a *togt* casual day labour force in the erection of the colonial city. The *togt* system developed out of resistance of the native population to commit to long-term labour contracts like the indentured enslaved, resulting in the implementation of controlling administration such as registration and passes for influx control of Black Africans into the city.

The notion of the indentured enslaved labourer was a temporary measure, assuming that the labourers would return home after their indenture expired. However, this was not the case, as Britain had already plundered India herself, leaving little opportunity for those who entered into

indenture in the first place. The sudden popularity of Durban to the Indian population concerned the city's whites only council and settler residents and thus "The Asiatic Menace" was born in 1875. Expressing their disdain and in order to retain a European cultural identity, challenge the economic threat that was the growing Indian merchant population, and restrain the establishment of home within the city by such Black labourers, the council saw the formation of two cities. The first, an official settler colonial city epitomising European architectural aesthetic and urban appeal, and the other, the spaces containing Black heritage built along the marshlands on the outskirts of the CBD, beneath the more appealing hills of the Berea reserved for Whites only.

"Legislation doubtless will have to be resorted to, to prevent these people thus locating themselves in our very midst, their habits and customs being, as is well known, so totally at variance and repugnant to those of Europeans."

– Mayor's minutes, 1875 in Rosenberg and Vahed (2014:2)

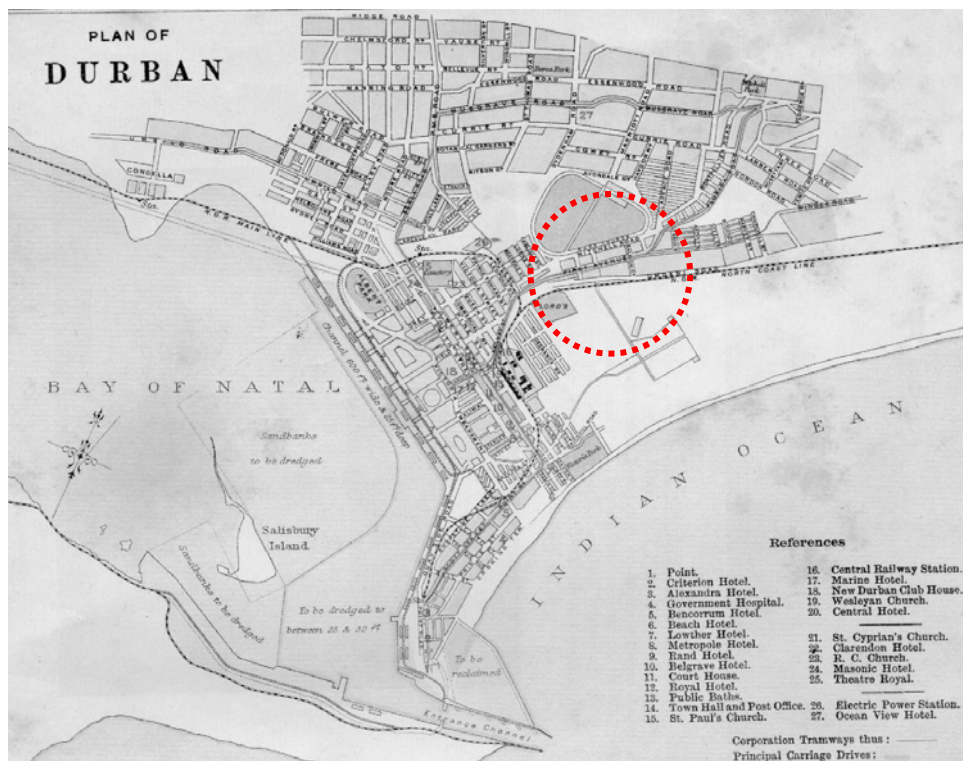


Figure 3. The 1903 map of Durban, illustrating the expanse of the city from the town centre, now principally established. Greyville racecourse, the western edge of the area is highlighted in red by the author (Harrison, 1903).

Between the 1870s and 1930s, Durban would flourish as a colonial replica - the period would serve as the first of three, structuring the [de]cartography of blackness in the city by means of containment. This was structured by segregationist policies that centered the White population and their access to land, amenities, and places; and imposed control over the settlement, trading, and recreational activities available to black communities by illustrating black presence as a threat to the appearance, civility, peaceful order, property value, and public health standards of the city (Rosenberg, 2012).

By the mid-19th century, the marshlands on the outskirts of the CBD, were drained and reclaimed as habitable area. Greyville was named after the Sir George Grey, a governor of the Cape, and housed a White working-class population, not as exclusive as those who settled along the ridge of the Berea overlooking the shoreline, but the area provided a pleasant life, offering amenities and access to the city in an almost village-like environment.



Figures 4 and 5. A postcard illustration of the now demolished Grand Hotel that was located on First Avenue, Greyville, established in 1903, and the RDLI Hall that remains in Greyville (Images found online).

The area encompassed all between the Eastern and Western wetlands – with the Greyville racecourse to the west, and Umgeni Road to the south-east. The land was subdivided, with well-built, quaint wood and iron cottages built from 1873 onward. Within it, lay an apportioned area, technically referred to as Block AK that ran all down Mitchell (now Gladys Manzi) Road and along Kolling Street to Umgeni Road, perpendicularly along Epsom Road edging the CBD and back up around the racecourse. First Avenue became the thriving high street of the area and main route into the city centre. Within, the self-development of the community saw a mix of substantial residential, commercial, and civic buildings on large plots of land arise, including the building of the Church, Greyville Infant school (now Clarence Road Primary School), the

Greyville Government school, the Avenue Cinema, the Queen's Tavern, the Greyville railway station, and the glamorous Grand Hotel.



Figures 6 and 7. Views looking north and south along First Avenue, Greyville in the early 1900s, showing the tramlines, constructed in 1902, along with wood and iron dwellings, and the Grand Hotel, built in 1903 (Images found online).

Black presence formally entered Greyville in the mid-19th Century, as the land was deemed unsuitable for White occupation due to the topography and poor drainage of the existing marshlands. 'Passenger' Indians, and other formerly indentured soon purchased or leased in the area below the Greyville racecourse, making their home in Greyville/Block AK (Chetty, 1998:53). One such recorded purchase was that of Telucksing, a formerly indentured enslaved labourer. After his period of indenture, Telucksing was granted a license to trade in West (now Pixley KaSeme) Street in the central business district (CBD). The council allowed Telucksing to purchase a piece of property between Osborne and May Streets beneath the Greyville racecourse, where he settled.

Black and White photographs of personal archives have given us a glimpse into the life that was - Greyville/Block AK granted access to city life, vibrant and diverse life within, and proximities to affluence up the Berea. Like District Six, South End, and Sophiatown, the life of the residents was coloured by their proximity to the city, their ownership of place, of turning corner cafes into places to be seen, streets into playgrounds and cricket pitches, and facing away, even if for a moment, from the realities of apartheid-colonialism into a community of home. Residents contributed to civic life, conducting their businesses in the area, and establishing cultural and sporting groups that added depth to community life.



Figure 8. A 1957 map of Durban by Brookfield and Tatham, describing the ground condition of the city. The author has highlighted the drained marshland that enabled the establishment of Greyville/Block AK (Rosenberg, 2020).

Greyville/Block AK was cosmopolitan, with those racialised as Indian occupying some of the larger homes along the main streets, the poorest of this community in dense settlements, those racialised as Black frequently lived within as lodgers, along with Whites; those racialised as Coloured, Indian, and Whites occupied shared dwellings and blocks of flats. A small number of immigrant families called the area home too, alluding to the area's cosmopolitanism as an appealing characteristic for the city, including those of Greek, Syrian, Portuguese, and Chinese descent. And so, a flurry of English, Afrikaans, isiZulu, Tamil, Gujarati, and other foreign languages coloured the air of this unique pocket within apartheid-colonial Durban (Huthwaite, 1961).

The establishment of the May Street Mosque in 1920, by the residents, who sought a place of Islamic education for their children in their neighbourhood. was pivotal for affirming Greyville as home for the residents, as well as for the cultural history of the indentured enslaved in Durban. The mosque was known, in scalar comparison to the grand Grey Street and West Street Mosques as “the little mosque”. Land was acquired on the corner of May and Fynn streets, by the organisation of residents named the *Anjuman Esha-A-Tul Islam*. The founding trustees through the establishment of the May Street Mosque indicates the keen wanting to create a sense of community and home therein. The May Street Mosque is the only mosque in Durban to be built by indentured enslaved labourers and their descendants.



Figure 9. An aerial view of the Block AK residential and business districts, above, prior to demolition (Rosenberg, 2020).

The first trustees of the *Anjuman Esha-A-Tul Islam* organisation are listed as: Deen Mahomed Fakir Yusuf, whose parents were indentured enslaved labourers, was an active sportsman and administrator, and represented colonial-born Muslims as a trustee of the Grey Street Mosque Trust; Noor Mahomed, whose parents were indentured enslaved labourers, was a well-known local businessman, as a proprietor of the Orient Cinema and the Radio Record Trading Co. solely distributing Indian film and music in South Africa, he too served as a trustee for the Grey

Street Mosque, and was an avid cricket and soccer player for Greyville; Mahomed Ally Thajmoon, born to indentured enslaved parents, was a businessman and opened the Victory Mineral Water Works, he was a founding member of the Greyville Sporting Club, the Muslim Burial Society, and member of the Colonial Born and Indian Settlers Association; and Shaik Emam Ally, a former indentured enslaved who arrived in Durban in 1882 at the age of four, and was assigned to the Natal Government Railways, after indenture, he worked as a salesman before opening his own store in partnership with Thajmoon, he was a stalwart of cricket and football, and prominent in the Natal Indian Congress, a pioneering community group that fought for the rights of those racialised as Indian in apartheid-colonial South Africa.

The recording of their names and their rich and diverse interests across civic life are crucial to the recording of the place itself. The making of place in Greyville/Block AK was an establishment of cosmopolitan life and blackness in the apartheid-colonial city. According to Henri Lefebvre, spaces are social and defined by the social practice that takes place within it; produced in the dialectic span between perceived and physical space, and as a result cannot be considered as finite or static. Lefebvre conceives a triangular spatial dialectic of conceived, perceived, and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991:73). Where space is conceived by the definitive thought of what it is and is not, perceived through the social relations of everyday life bridging ideology and the everyday, and lived as bodily experience often contesting prescribed notions and appropriating for purpose. If we are to accept Lefebvre's definition, then space is intrinsically tied to society and practice – tying Greyville/Block AK to its residents.

Homi Bhabha's concepts of cultural location tie themselves to Lefebvre's spatial dialectics (Bhabha, 1994:58). His theories of cultural identity through hybridisation – a progressive understanding of culture as an evolutionary aspect of society, that interaction alters our culture and the suggestion that the current condition is one of a cultural hybrid; the interstitial – a straddling between two opposing elements; and 'thirdspace' – the in-between that requires identification as an other with its own cultural identity; all allude not only to the making of place by the residents within Greyville/Block AK, but the making of a place-based cultural identity for the residents themselves. The firm drawing of a community into being.



Figures 10 to 15. The May Street Mosque, left, was one of the few buildings not demolished. Centre, Tourists Garage, and other substantial homes and business premises were demolished. The architecture, community and node within the inner city erased (Vahed in Rosenberg, 2020).

Monumental [de]cartography: The sustaining of erasure

Despite this, Black heritage was a constant threat to the city of Durban as a model of Eurocentric urbanism, the city's council adopted numerous strategies in order to make invisible such presence – new legislation around building standards and sanitation on a Eurocentric basis; the targeting of 'slums'; and once more deploying cartography, extending the boundary of the city to accommodate housing away from the city centre. These strategies manifested formally as the Public Health Act of 1934, The Slums Act of 1934, and the Policing of Slum Zones in 1939 – earmarking areas that had previously been under White ownership between the Berea and the CBD, sold to Black people and populated with older dwellings and properties as 'slums', Greyville/Block AK was thus one such 'slum'. The adoption of these policies began the phase of spatial segregation planning that would span into the 1950s, prior to its implementation between the 1960s and 1980s resulting in what we understand, and regrettably still experience today, as the apartheid-colonial city. Lefebvre comments that the imposition of the norms of modernist urban theory, like those exercised by the architects of apartheid, to city life weakens

the identity of dynamic, contemporary urban contexts, which was no different in the case of Durban.

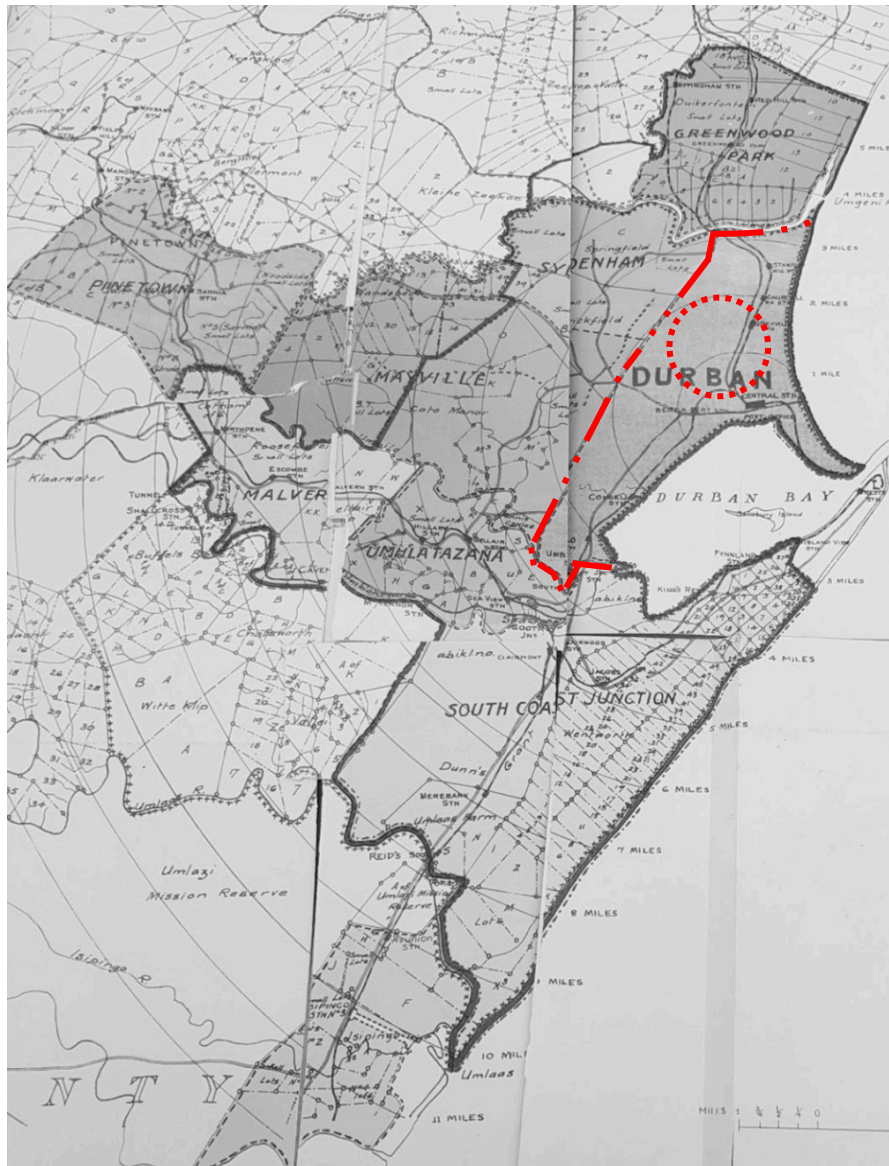


Figure 16. The 1932 extension of the boundary of the city from the original city boundary is highlighted by the author in red dash-dot, to the solid black line including expanded areas north, west, and south of the city centre. The encircled Greyville racecourse is encircled (Mayor's Minute, 1933).

The cornerstone of apartheid, the Group Areas Act of 1950, controlled the transfers of land and immovable property, restricted the sale of property between same race groups only, controlled occupation rights, and gave rise to the controlled areas of relocation. What would come to be

known simply as ‘forced removals’ was first documented in the 1970s, The Surplus People Project in 1983 would expand on it through its record of provincial forced removals. Platzky and Walker preferred the term as it was argued that ‘resettlement’ alone implied some accrual of benefit to those moved, and disguised the coerced nature of their relocations.

The Group Areas Act set a national agenda for segregation, affording the prerogative of where and how forcefully removed people would be housed to the city councils themselves. Durban set the blueprint for the apartheid-colonial city, modelling in great detail across racial and economic lines the bleaching of the city, removing any trace of cosmopolitanism and Blackness from the city centre to the outskirts, and revealing a stratified, controlled, and unjust city model. Affording ‘Whites’, the smallest population group, the largest area, stable topographically and well-drained, within close proximity to the city centre and developed amenities; buffering defined areas for Blacks in strata of those racialised as Indian, Coloured, and Black on the outskirts of the city, creating densely populated townships in underdeveloped and underserved areas that enabled a level of access control and invisibility like never before, spatially reinforcing the dominance of Whiteness. As invisible as possible – invisible, not present, but made to seem as such.

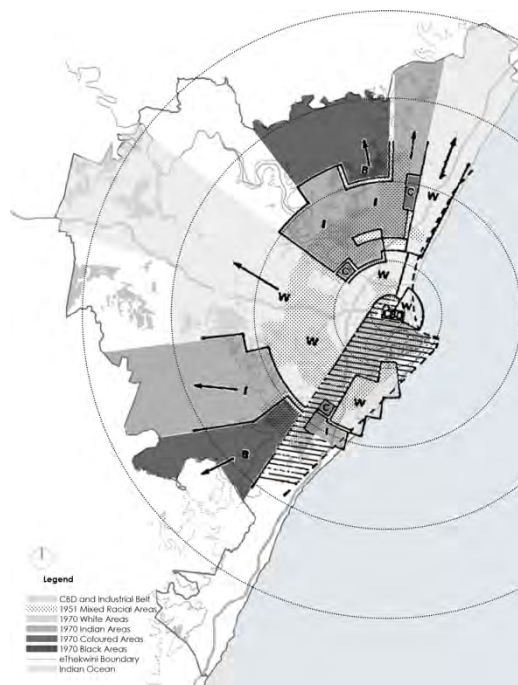


Figure 17. An analysis of the segregated city map of Durban from 1951 to 1970, revealing the relegation of disproportionality, and of invisible racist mentality made visible by Apartheid planning (Adapted from Davies by author, 2023).

By 4 October 1963, the Greyville/Block AK area was proclaimed for Whites only, with approximately 6000 people forcefully removed and scattered across the outskirts over a period spanning 1968 to 1983. In 1969, acquisition and expropriation of properties began, and by 1978, 317 properties were gone, all land expropriated and designated for urban renewal. The process here was more gradual than in other areas, people were paid the market price for their properties at the time of declaration – a form of compensation for the brutality of forced removal. Those who resisted the move to the underdeveloped township areas, found themselves in an unsafe and virtually deserted area between the ruins of what was and eventually sold their properties to the state for a pittance, renting their own homes for a few years before enduring the inevitable move.

“We make no apologies for the Group Areas Act, and for its application. And if 600 000 Indians and Coloureds are affected by the implementation of that Act, we do not apologise for that either. I think the world must simply accept it. The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 and it said it would implement residential segregation in South Africa... We put that Act on the Statute Book and as a result we have in South Africa, out of the chaos which prevailed when we came to power, created order and established decent, separate residential areas for our people.”

– Senator PZ van Vuuren, speaking in parliament in 1977 (SA History Online)

The making of place in Greyville/Block AK by its residents, asserted through the theories of Lefebvre and Bhabha, was disregarded in the implementation of segregation. The council enforced control and containment away from the places that molded the sense of collective identity for thousands of black people, and from the place itself as homes, commercial enterprises were all demolished, erasing the memory of the place from sight and mind. Further the relationship between people and space was ruptured – the township was designed for control, a visceral reminder of segregation, while the city centre promoted access and hope. Black people would still travel into the city centre and affluent areas for work, and across it to reach Durban’s segregated beaches, each passing a reminder of the trauma of removal.

Asymmetrical intimacies describe the reproductive socio-spatial phenomena as observed by South African architecture theorist, Lindsey Bremner, of Black bodies in White spaces as domestic workers, nurses, labourers; while White bodies administered, regulated, and policed Black spaces. These asymmetrical intimacies of the apartheid-colonial era continue into present

day South Africa in new spaces of inclusion after segregation – in particular educational, institutional, and professional environments. Segregation in South Africa today is at once visible and invisible, rendering segregation as a mentality inescapable.

In his moving Roelof Uytenbogaardt Memorial lecture in April 2021, Lucien le Grange - one of the first Black architects and urban designers in South Africa – spoke to forced removals as being “an uricide of epic proportion”, razing places of Black joy and community within the city, leaving only places of worship and schools behind to be repurposed for white use. This uricide, the death of a city, of its places and communities of place, was no different for Durban and Greyville/Block AK.

The true figures of those forcefully removed across South Africa will never be known, an assumption in 1985 estimated that 3,5 million people were forcefully removed, with an additional 2 million under threat thereof by 1983; with an acknowledgement that the true figure could be double this when looking at the scale of the social upheavals post World War II in Europe. An estimation of at least 860 400 of those people – largely those racialised as Indian and Coloured – were moved between 1960 and 1980 from Durban’s inner-city neighbourhoods to townships on the peripheries of the city (Rosenberg, 2020).

Personal archives reveal that unlike the large volume of council records that reported unsanitary conditions, unsafe structures, and overpopulation in Greyville/Block AK, the area was home to a large number of well-built structures, homes and commercial enterprises from the more demure wood and iron, then masonry cottages of the late 19th century, to Art Deco, and Modern architectural stylings that layered the experience of the place.

“The experience and memory of humankind are laid down in layers in the physical environment, concretely and graphically. Every new part exploits ancient forms, materials and ways of making. Building is, at base, a sign of hope, a sign of society’s belief in future, a gesture forward in time.”

– Aldo Rossi, 1996

Rossi’s describes of the layered make-up of a city, with the passage of time as a fundamental to the experience of the place. Contrary to this, the intentionality of forced removals was not just to control and contain black people outside of the city, but it was to erase any trace of organic living, cosmopolitanism, or black heritage in the city, removing any possibility of a sense of

belonging for black people in such a space. Affirming Le Grange's reference to forced removals as nothing short of uricide – a death of the city. By contrast to the making of home within Greyville/Block AK, forcefully removed black people were housed in race exclusive townships with small, uniform and non-descript council homes or low-rise walk-ups. The township of Chatsworth, west of the city was reserved for those racialised as Indian, Wentworth, separated from Chatsworth by a major highway was reserved for those racialised as Coloured, and KwaMashu and Umhlatazana for those racialised as Black. These areas were designed for control with a single entry-point to the city, sub-divisions and roads were numbered, not named, contrasting the well-integrated urban environment of Greyville/Block AK. The non-descript, dehumanising nature, through the reading of Rossi above, sought to contain black society within space and time, without hope for the future.

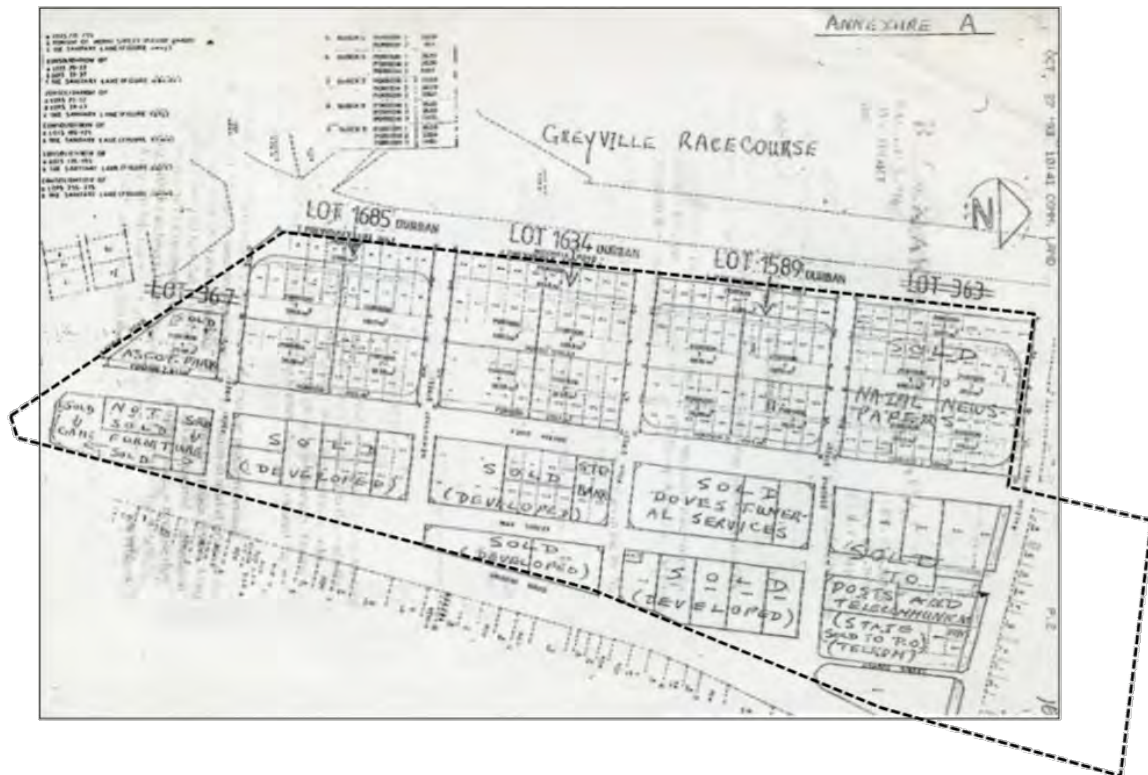


Figure 18. The extent of Block AK indicating properties sold to commercial concerns, below
(Rosenberg, 2020).

Over the next 20 years, Greyville/Block AK would change ownership from varying state and council departments who froze the area for urban renewal, and allowed portions thereof to be auctioned off to businesses, such as The Independent Newspapers, Telkom, and Standard Bank,

who remain in the area to this day. Each of these buildings, in comparison to the reported records of Greyville/Block AK as a slum, were well built, contemporary buildings, contributing to the perceived enhancement of the area. The core remained zoned for Whites only as general residential, yet was untouched largely due to the lack of appeal to the White population who had become accustomed to the views of the city from the ridge of the Berea. As it stood bare, what disused homes and structured remained were vandalised, spaces between the homes filled with illegal rubbish and scrap dumping.

The council strategically froze the untouched area, allowing no further development or occupation, claiming this necessary for large scale, coordinated planning of the city and its major traffic routes, significantly suppressing its market value. When the area thawed, it was found sub-divided, rezoned, and further apportioned with an area available for general business quickly populated by warehouses, light industrial factories, and general stores. (Chetty, 1998: 54-56 and Rosenberg, 2020:219).

Ex-residents objected the council's plans and rallied for a race rezoning of the area, motivating its proximity to other Black areas in the CBD – the Grey Street Casbah and Warwick Avenue, both exceptions to the segregationist rule – but the council refused. A number of proposals for urban development would arise from both the council and public-private entities alike, each overlooking its violent past. Despite concerted efforts, the urban development plans of the council for the area did not transpire, leaving the area technically known as Block AK largely as it was in the late 1980s, devoid of dwelling, character, and urban life. When the White Paper on South African Land Policy of 1997 came to light promising land restitution to those forcefully removed during apartheid in an effort to re-inscribe Blackness into the city, the ex-residents rallied once more to claim what was wrongfully taken from them – community, identity, and land.

The ex-residents formalised as the Block AK Action Committee, a civil organisation formed in 1991 that ran with the sole purpose of navigating the complex unravelling of the land claims within the area, championing the cause of the victims of forced removals, whose presence in the city had all but been erased from sight and mind. The committee sought primarily to quantify the efforts of individual land claimants who sought justice after the promise of land restitution, seeking either to reinstate ownership of the inner-city land to the families who originally resided

within the area, or just compensation for land that had been rezoned and apportioned by the state and council departments prior to 1990.



Figure 19. A view from the south of the vacated and cleared Greyville/Block AK residential district in 1986, with trees the only remnants of the old neighbourhood (Vahed).

Given the auctioning of land to private ownership, only 125 of the original 317 properties are available, despite the known 287 claims made against the property, 58 years after 1963's proclamation that led to the process of the [de]cartography, a large number of land claims to Greyville/Block AK remain open, and the land itself a monument to apartheid-colonialism. The legalities and limitations of both the strategic economic freezing by the apartheid-colonial government and the Restitution Act of democratic South Africa have delayed justice to the majority of victims, perpetuating the making of Blackness within the city invisible, leaving ex-residents and the next generation thereof mapping community and home in other parts of the city.

Topographically concealed, portions of Greyville/Block AK are now covered in massive private developments with its core untouched, invisible, concealed by parked minibus taxis, and refuse dumpsters – the only indication of life being the weekly open air gathering of Shembe churchgoers who worship on the hallowed land; the homeless that find temporary shelter

beneath the African Paradise Flycatchers, and Rose-Ringed Parakeets who make their homes in the trees left behind that suggest the absence/presence of yesteryear's demolished spaces and places between them.

It is vital to continue the trajectory posed by le Grange, and Platsky and Walker, asserting that there was no accrual of benefit for those forcefully removed and that the act itself scarred the urban landscape, removing people from the centre and killing the diversity and choice of civic life. People were extracted from their homes, and the place that shaped their identity was brutally erased, destroying the very culture of the place.



Figures 20 and 21. Views looking north and south along First Avenue in Greyville/Block AK today, showing the Natal Newspapers, and overgrown trees that populate the vacant land (Author, 2016).

The city council was intentional in sustaining Greyville/Block AK as a lost urban space, a leftover, unconstructed landscape between nodes within the city not serving any purpose. The act ensured that the land would be available for future, more profitable development agendas – perpetuating the trauma of forced removals and establishing the area as a monument to apartheid-colonialism.

Re-inscribing intimacies: The reimagining of lost space

‘The pitched battle between remembering and forgetting’ – the body as an historical text, as a contemporary post-colonial literary tool, is defined by author Toni Morrison as an imaginative

entrance over trauma. Referring to her book, *Beloved*, Morrison emphasised her relying on memory over history, with the knowledge that history has been written as a singular narrative by the oppressor and requiring revision, the act of re-membering then allows her, as a Black person, to create a narrative that is infused with authentic and legitimate characteristics of a particular culture or time from her own recollection and lived experiences. In this way telling new truths away from Black erasure, and diminishing any overt debt to the singular western literary and historical perspectives. This act, a sharing of oral history is explored as a mechanism of re-inscribing lost socio-cultural layers of Greyville/Block AK, reimagining lost space, and healing the traumas of apartheid-colonialism.

Oral history, the act of re-membering is an indispensable means of making visible the layers of South African history that have intentionally been erased or made invisible. Memory is complex and fluid, it is refashioned, elevating or romanticizing aspects of particular events or places for a specific purpose – to gain a coherent place in the world, a coping mechanism for navigating the acute knowledge of being unmapped by forced removals – what individuals chose to remember or choose to omit reveals their response to imposed legislation. Giving perspective and understanding beyond the bleached city to a presence of significant scale and validity of Black heritage, and the need for the cartographic process to take on a just lens. The stories then of everyday people, their intimate re-membering of places like Greyville/Block AK are to be read in conjunction with recorded history to create a holistic understanding of the place, a re-inscription of the layers of black heritage to the map.

“The art of memory for the modern world is very much something to be used, misused, and exploited, rather than something that sits inertly there for each person to possess and contain. People now look to this specifically desirable and recoverable past, this refashioned memory, to give themselves a coherent identity...a place in the world.”

– Edward Said (2000:18)

Mohammed Vahed, former chair of the Block AK Action Committee, recalling his family home on First Avenue, next to the Grand Hotel, has played a critical role in advocating for justice for Greyville/Block AK and its residents. Through the former Block AK Action Committee, a number of individuals have surfaced, telling their stories of Greyville/Block AK as home, of the emotional distress of forced removals, of their desire to recreate socio-spatial connections, and of removing the lingering monument of apartheid-colonialism from the map. Vahed shares

his recollections of the dispersion of families across the city due to forced removals, the splitting of households causing trauma, heartbreak, and in some instances, death of family members (Rosenberg, 2020:220).

“It was a very emotional period when the bulldozers started bulldozing homes. Everyone cried together because we all felt like one large family. Many families tried resisting but their belongings were thrown on the street. Neighbours rallied together to accommodate displaced families until they found alternative accommodation. The houses were solid structures and demolition gangs with wrecking ball equipment took days to demolish individual homes. Having rented our own property for the last few years we were one of the last few families to leave in 1980 because the area was deserted and had become dangerous. It was the saddest period of our lives. All displaced families had to relocate to Chatsworth or elsewhere and resulted in family break ups and in some instances death of family members due to the trauma and heartbreak.”

– Mohammed Vahed

The re-membering of home by Vahed forms a part of his present, as he continues to share and rally for those unjustly forgotten in the sustaining of Greyville/Block AK’s erasure from the map of Durban. Nick Shepherd describes heritage as being “of the past in the present”, a notion well-suited to the case of Greyville/Block AK. The equal lack of political will and that of greater public interest has turned the once thriving neighbourhood into a monument to the apartheid-colonial desire for the presence of Black heritage in the city to be made invisible. For reasons speculated and some unknown, Greyville/Block AK remains deeply contested, with a small number of ex-residents consoling themselves with a less than satisfactory financial compensation figure in lieu of land, or the option of land in another area, while others, like Vahed seek meaningful justice. This is in no way aligned with the principle promise of restitution as cited in the White Paper on Land Policy, seeking to restore spatial justice to those forcefully removed during apartheid. Rendering sites of forced removals such as District Six, South End, Sophiatown, and Greyville/Block AK serve as monuments to apartheid-colonialism, with their scarred and barren presence silencing a past enriched by Black heritage within the city, suppressing the heritage of ex-residents like Vahed, at once denying an urban future acknowledging this richness. As invisible as possible – invisible, not *not* present, but made to seem as such.

Further, the drawn out, complex process of land claims and restitution, along with the upholding of architectural heritage on the premise of what physically stands on our contested landscapes denies the victims of forced removals, and our society at large, justice – the opportunity to interrogate a meaningful relationship with space, architecture, and land. In the apartheid-colonial process of bleaching the city, of making invisible Black presence within the city, one can argue that the victims of forced removals when relegated to the outskirts of the city, in spaces designed purely for the reducing of them, their experience of the everyday policed and patrolled, became mere spectral presences in their own lives – and this inescapable, intangible burden of displacement, is passed from generation to generation, embodied trauma as a heritage in and of itself.

Greyville/Block AK is an interstitial space, between the CBD and established residential regions of higher income groups, an area through which one passes between the city and the northern and western suburbs, with the Greyville Racecourse serving as a neat and definitive barrier between it and the more affluent Berea. These boundaries, lines on a map that neatly defined edges, while central to apartheid-colonialism negated the notion that Cato Manor born author Ronnie Govender promulgates in his works conceptualising the edge as awakening a sense of bravery, creativity, and resilience in communities facing dispossession, marginalisation, and social injustice that lived on beyond time and place. In the process of its erasure and sustaining thereof, the opportunity for Greyville/Block AK to be such an edge is unrealised.

Cato Manor, another contested urban space in the city of Durban, is an inner-city victim of forced removal and ongoing displacement, brought to life through the stitching and patching together by familial characters in the work of Ronnie Govender, who like Morrison posited his authorship around re-membering, an essential concept to the contemporary South African literary response to the condition of apartheid-colonialism punting the continuous demand for not only bleaching our South African narratives, but promoting the silencing of Blackness, a Black amnesia. A reconstruction from the archives of the author's own mind of past images of places and spaces born by the dehumanising logic of apartheid-colonialism, is an urban resistance, resisting the [de]cartography of the regime (Tolsi in New Frame, 2021). Such a re-imagining keeps the memory of Cato Manor alive for its community who were forcefully removed, keeping the heritage of such an edge alive – the case made here for Greyville/Block AK.

Vahed re-members Greyville/Block AK as home – a buzzing, dynamic, and diverse home to many, where community spirit thrived and Christmas, Diwali, and Eid were celebrated by all. The streets were alive, with those waiting to be seen, friendly interaction, children playing games like “gillie-danda”, hop-scotch, soccer, and cricket. Greyville/Block AK had everything that they needed, schools, places of worship for all, shops, and even the Greyville racecourse – the unofficial training ground and athletic stadium for budding sport stars. Their skills gained equally there and on the streets, outwitting and running away from policemen who would occasionally patrol and confiscate their soccerballs, drawing an abrupt halt to any communal gathering or joyful engagement of black people. Within the neighbourhood itself, one almost forgot the realities of apartheid-colonialism, felt only when awaiting and boarding segregated public buses to venture into the city centre, or on holidays and long weekends for trips to the segregated beaches. Vahed acknowledges that poverty was very real, however, community prevailed, despite neighbourhood gangs protecting their turf they didn’t harass the locals.



Figure 21. An aerial view in 1953 of the southern edge of Block AK, the Greyville Racecourse and RDLI Hall in centre view, with established dwellings to the south on the plots between Epsom Road, First Avenue, and Mitchell Road (now Gladys Manzi Road), (Railway Barracks Remembrance Association).

These re-memberances colour not only the identity of the individual but the collective memory of a place, significant in the context of the absence of the physical space due to forced removals, as well as the lack of critical record and scholarship of the area –that promotes the simultaneity of bleaching heritage and Black amnesia. In his explorations of identity construction in 20th century South Africa in “The Quest for Malay Identity”, Goolam Vahed tells the story of Imam Sulayman Kirsten, a cricketer and school teacher prominent in the Durban sporting and Muslim communities. Imam Kirsten described his re-memberances of life in apartheid-colonial Durban, with the knowledge of an established Malay community living in Greyville/Block AK that all but dispersed due to forced removals – a dispossession of an entire community, its place, culture, and traditions on the basis of racial categorisation, of which ‘Malay’ was considered only a sub-category of Coloured and thus relegated to spaces away from their religious and cultural centres, like the May Street Mosque, to the outskirts of the city (Vahed, 2004:259).

In 1973 apartheid was deemed a crime against humanity by the global community, showing their support for justice of Black people against the cruelty of apartheid-colonialism, (Ngcukaitobi, 2021) and yet, today Greyville/Block AK remains outside of popular knowledge, outside of the history of the city of Durban, and outside of the discourse of architectural heritage. Perhaps the beginnings of making visible the lost Black heritage of Greyville/Block AK lay in giving light to the re-membering of self, community, and place by ex-Residents toward a just city to come.

Conclusion

“you taught us that a border
is a place of yielding or refusing to yield
for after refusal might lie a new country.
and the line runs through the land,
the mind, the skin.”

– Gabeba Baderoon, 2018.

A tribute to the late National Poet Laureate, Keorapetse Kgositsile, poet Gabeba Baderoon engages the notion of cartography in “I saw you walk toward something”, describing the connection between space, mentality, and the body, entangling the visible and the invisible, the tangible and intangible. The properties of a line, a point in transition, an edge that is part of both

but neither, describing the traumatised condition of both Greyville/Block AK as a site of forced removals, and of Black people in South Africa.

The lack of acknowledgement, neglect, and apathy regarding Black heritage sites in Durban is identified as an opportunity for necessary research in need of exploration, given the trauma and dispossession experienced by so many place-communities across South Africa, the legacy of apartheid-colonial spatial planning and how the remaining tangible sites of heritage could be celebrated and utilised to serve as reminders of the past, so as never to allow ourselves to repeat it, or to be blind to this occurrence happening elsewhere is impressed upon us. The possibility exists here, of re-inscribing Greyville/Block AK as a monument of its true heritage, merging the tangible heritage of physical space with the intangible, the socio-cultural asymmetrical intimacies and navigations of its ex-residents across the city.

For District Six and South End, we find the championing of re-inscribing Black heritage through the work of the community itself, of researchers, and of artists in activism challenging the continued [de]cartographic exercises of apartheid-colonial violence and democratic silence and rainbowism. The District Six museum and the South End museum serve as a voice for the community and place that was, both operate out of the old community churches, rare structures left untouched by the hand of forced removals, telling the rich history of the tangibility lost through photographs, books, cuisine, and art to instill the intangible heritage into the next generation, with the hopes of it fueling a tangible connection to space and land, the past in the present. In post-1994 South Africa with the question of land and belonging ever-complex, the site of Greyville/Block AK remains an urgent social question.

“The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I [sic] want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights”

– David Harvey (2008:1-2).

In the context of architecture of repair, this research, while looking back does so with the acute knowledge of its presence within our current reality, and the clues that it holds toward our future. These scarred landscapes are monuments to apartheid-colonialism, but when you look between at what has been made to seem invisible, you find that it is also witness to Black heritage, witness to community, and witness to joy yet to be told. A call indeed to the profession of architecture, to the public at large, to each of us, at our capacity to unlearn, to reclaim our stories,

to use our platforms to amplify these, and to not shy away from the arising discomfort in engaging with the traumas of our past.

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[Session Overview]

Of other spaces: heterotopias and the strategy of siege

Nuno Tavares da Costa (Chair)

Dinâmia'CET-Iscte; nmtcosta@gmail.com; Lisbon, Portugal

Introduction

In his 1967 lecture, entitled “*Des espaces autres*” [Of other spaces]¹, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) proposes a new kind of spatial figure: the too-well-known heterotopias. These are real places (unlike utopias or dystopias, which are in their essence unreal), characterized by juxtaposing multiple meanings, with and outside all other sites, which are simultaneously represented, contested, and perverted. Heterotopias are different places, other places, places of alterity, that are neither here nor there, at the same time physical and mental, performing as mirrors of the society. The mirror is a paradigmatic device of this idea, for Foucault. It is a utopia, a placeless place since you see through its surface a reflected virtual reality where you are not present in it, aside from your reflected image. But at the same time, the device does exist and counteracts your presence, becoming, as so, a heterotopia. Forward in his lecture (that keeps a remarkable actuality), Foucault speculates on two possible categories of heterotopias – of crisis and deviation – and advances with some examples of those spaces: boarding schools, psychiatric hospitals, prisons, cemeteries, museums and libraries, theatres, fairgrounds, vacation villages, brothels, and colonies, among others. Crisis heterotopias are places reserved for people who are in a state of crisis, while heterotopias of deviation are those in which an individual's behaviour is deviant from society's established norms, customs, and morals.

¹ The text, entitled “Des Espace Autres,” was the basis of a lecture given by Michel Foucault on 14 March 1967 at Cercle d'études architecturales, Paris. The manuscript publication was just released into the public domain shortly before Michel Foucault's death, by the occasion of an exhibition in Berlin.

Sieges

In the colonial context, particularly during war periods, heterotopic places can also be read as predetermined intended spatial and temporal delimitations. They materially configure the conditions for the colonizer's rules and hierarchies to be established in a foreign territory. They contribute to the local identities' displacement, by substituting them with representations of themselves, of their culture, customs, and morals, where space is governed by a logic of oppositions: between good and evil, one and the other, in and out, included and excluded; between those who obey and follow and those who don't. Most of these relations are still fostered by the hidden presence of the sacred. (Cloisters, for example, are monastic enclosed-open spaces that form an architectonic barrier between the profane and the sacred worlds). They have implicit an idea of closure, of siege, which is either established to delimit physically or to pursue diligently and persistently in a psychological sense, but mostly with the objective capitulation of *one* to the *other*. Spaces like labour and refugee camps, military barracks, colonies and compounds, religious facilities, the Brazilian *senzala* (slave quarters) or the outside autonomous room in the house of *Bandeirantes* (flag carriers' explorers), are spaces committed to the ideas of power and struggle, inclusion and exclusion, dependency, or independency. In there, life is suspended as part of a political strategy of occupation, segregation, usurpation, exploitation, and loss of identity. Consequently, one might question and discuss how those colonial politics and strategies of spatial limitation, through these other places (heterotopias), interfered with the development of the colonized countries and with the cultural identity and collective memory of its inhabitants, influencing, and sometimes determining their post-colonial decisions and productions. At the same time, back in the colonizer's Metropolises, one can speculate if the social anxiety of our era, manifested through ethnic and racial radical movements, are somehow reverberations of this shared past in common between oppressor and oppressed. This would prompt us to look at the living spaces not only in a material and static sense – the constructed space where we live – but also to know what sort of affinities they establish, in a dynamic way, in between them through circulation and time. Being heterotopias spatial and time delimitations that represent other places, they stand for something which is in the place of. In the colonial and post-colonial territories, these spaces can be observed through a dialectic binary division between *one* and the *other*, foreigner and native, colonizer and colonized. In many ways, the representation of other dimensions in enclosed

spaces can also be noticed through a displaced perspective in this respect: although alienated, they are not isolated spaces, once they still function within relation to all the space that remains.

Usually, heterotopic spaces are not freely opened, nor illusionary accessible. One enters already excluded. The boxing ring can be presented as an illustration of this condition: the fight happens in a sieged ground, delimited by ropes which are extended through four poles; inside, it has its own rules, where violence is allowed only in that frame; however, the performance is still connected to the real-life spectators that attend to the fight. Another example could be the concentration camps for civilians. Entrance is compulsory and, in a radical sense, meant to deal with individuals whose behaviour or characteristics is comprehended as deviating from the intended standard. These sites wield a subconscious power which, to work, relies on the subjugation of the individuals. Inside them, anything can happen, sometimes contravening the country's penitentiary system, and frequently disobeying international conventions. Nevertheless, in both examples, the sites don't exist autonomously from the rest. It is in fact within that confrontation state that their character is determined. Their existence is only justified with the predetermined crisis or deviation-identified behaviours. Once they are no longer understood as so, because of a societal moral shift or simply because those individuals disappeared or were exterminated, these sites become obsolete.

Some examples

Space is, in some sense, a material support for memories. Material objects, with which one is in constant contact, offer an image of stability and permanence. They contribute to the maintenance of mental equilibrium and the subsequent transmission of the groups' collective memory. Once a group is inserted inside a space, he submits to the things that there exist, and, at the same time, transforms them with his presence.

We know from history that the most extreme form of exploration of man by man is slavery. Claude Lévy-Strauss (1952) wrote it in his essay on race and history. Slaves were reduced to the material state of things and sometimes looked like part of the picturesque landscapes. In colonial structures like the Brazilian *engenho* (sugar cane mill), slaves' quarters (the *senzalas*) were separated from the owner's main house, although usually laid out to facilitate his control and punishment at the sight of all. That is something that we know from devices like the *Pelourinhos*. Colonial territorial occupation is thought of through different kinds of politics:

aside from the expropriation of local natural resources, one can also identify imperialistic rhetoric imposition, commonly due to frustration and cultural superiority complex, with its subsequent forms of apartheid. Here, architecture and infrastructures, frequently using enclosed or sieged typologies, perform as facilitators of the Western man's morality, and as forerunners of the colonizing power.

Later after Foucault's lecture, but before its publication in 1984, Lévy-Strauss's ethnographic studies in the Tropics, particularly in Brazil, lead us to address space as a social morphology. He concluded that there is an explicit bond between the spatial structures and the indigenous collective identities. As an example, one can take his description of the Bororo villages' layout (which already corresponded to a dualist society) and of the Salesian missionaries' strategy for indigenous conversion: by interfering with the Bororo villages' spatial organisation, and changing the huts deployment in the villages, they destroyed the tribe's referential system and, subsequently, affected their social structure and collective memory. This example is interesting as an illustration of siege by psychological harassment. The radial distribution of the huts around the man's house is of extreme importance to their structure of references. The missionaries quickly discovered that the most effective way to convert the Bororos consisted of forcing them to leave their village and replace it with another village where the houses were deployed in parallel rows. Consequently, the Bororos lost their meaning for tradition, as if the social and religious systems could not be separated from the spatial organization. This resulted in violent processes of indigenous identity loss.

In this session, we were interested in studying and discussing how colonial politics and its execution mechanisms, interpreted through Foucault's' other places (heterotopias), interfere with the development of the colonized countries and with the collective memory of its inhabitants, influencing their decisions and creative production. But also, to address the implications of this colonial politics that rebound in the colonizer metropolis, both in the past and contemporaneity.

Session's Articles in this volume:

- Alejandro Carrasco Hidalgo, *Building the Guinean Body. Disciplinary Architectures in the late Equatoguinean colony (1939-1968)*;
- Ehssan Hanif, *Beneath the Ruins: Reading The Impacts of Urbicide on Abadan and Khorramshahr Through Literary Works*.

Beneath the Ruins: Reading the Traumatic Impacts of Urbicide on Abadan and Khorramshahr Through Literary Works

Ehssan Hanif

Cornell University; eh637@cornell.edu; New York, USA.

Abstract

“Naval” began to wipe away the dust. Something was hidden beneath it. Her nails scraped the surface until her fingers started to bleed, revealing the texture of some tiles. Then she calmed down; she was in her own home. She recognized the tiles in their courtyard... She stood up, started walking, and reached a spot that should have been their living room... Ten steps further, she scraped the dust again and discovered the kitchen tiles. Then she stumbled upon the bathroom... With her bleeding fingers, she traced the layout of the rooms, kitchen, and stairs on the ground... (Marashi, 2017, 167).

This passage is an excerpt from the Persian novel *Haras* [Pruning], written by Nasim Marashi (2017), in which the mother of the family, years after the war, returns to *Khorramshahr*, hoping to find their old home. Texts like these, which are so close to first-hand accounts, can greatly assist us in our studies on urbicide. Additionally, utilizing this method to collect information on traumatic events like war does not present the ethical dilemma that Radstone (2007) raises about asking victims “to bear witness to unspeakable sufferings.” By focusing on urbicide in two cities in Iran and examining three stories, I aim to study the impacts of urbicide on people.

Keywords: Urbicide, Iran-Iraq war, Abadan, Khoramshar, geotrauma, Nasim Marashi, Ghasemali Ferasat, Esmail Fassih.

Session: Of other spaces: heterotopias and the strategy of siege

Introduction

The Iran-Iraq war lasted eight years (1980-1988), and during this war, many cities were re/captured by the two countries. The first goal of both sides was to capture the oil cities mainly located in the southwest of Iran and southeast of Iraq to cut off each other's primary financial resources. Regarding that, the two port cities of Khorramshahr and Abadan on the Iranian side of the border were critically important.

Khorramshahr is a port city situated in the oil-rich districts at the extreme end of Iran's borders along the Persian Gulf and very close to the Iraqi border to its west. To the east, a short road (17 km) connects Khorramshahr to Abadan. At the heart of Abadan—and perhaps both cities—lies an oil refinery. As Crinson (1997) describes it: “Abadan might best be described as a collection of urban forms gathered around an oil refinery.... Abadan's refinery was the end of a pipeline, pooling the liquid and passing it through plants for all stages of refining before pumping it onto tankers to be sent around the world.”



Figures 1 and 2. Attack on Khorramshahr in the first days of war (Rashid, 2020: 75); How Abadan went under siege (Rashid, 2020: 70).

Aside from the location and economic significance of these two cities, their social fabric — primarily shaped by Iranian Arabs — led Saddam Hussein, the ruler of Iraq at the time, to believe that Iraqi troops could easily capture them (Woods et al. 2013, 32). Consequently, the initial objective of Iraqi forces “was to take control of the entire *Arvandrood* River and thereby exert pressure on Iran for the new government's downfall” (Malovany et al., 2017). They successfully achieved most of their plans. Iraqi troops seized Khorramshahr in 34 days and occupied it for nearly two years. They also aimed to capture Abadan and effectively laid it under

siege.¹ As a result, the civilians of these cities either participated in the war as “civil soldiers” or were forced to leave their homes. Although we may not find a “survival map” like that from the war in Sarajevo (Mandic, 2018), we can understand how the war affected residents of these two cities in relation to space. In this context, the present study aims to explore how we can trace the traumatic impacts of urbicide on people and places and how urbicide has influenced civilians in Abadan and Khorramshahr—all through literary works.



Figure 3. Borders between Iran and Iraq, Khorramshahr looking towards Iraqi part (Author's photo).

Displaced of City, Trauma After the War

Since any war has consequences for people, one of the most significant being trauma (Nguyen, 2011), urbicide also results in traumatic effects. As Almoshmosh (2016) explains, “the negative effects of traumatic experiences are more likely to worsen when survivors are displaced.” Thus, the displacement experienced in the cases of Khorramshahr and Abadan undoubtedly leads to profound traumatic impacts on the people there.

Studying traumatized subjects, even within the context of war, can represent a piece of research in psychology that utilizes data and analysis grounded in mathematical statistics (see, for

¹ During the siege, two other ways connected Abadan to other cities, both of them still so dangerous: Abadan Airport and Bahmanshir river.

example, Badri et al. 2012). However, many terms and concepts link psychoanalysis to spatial studies. As Bondi indicates, these concepts suggest “a way of thinking about how what originates outside our minds, including... the material entities that surround us, gets inside, and how what is inside gets outside” (Bondi, 2014: 65). In other words, by using these concepts, we can examine the inner trauma resulting from war in relation to the external impacts of urbicide on the city. To establish a clearer connection between trauma and urbicide, following Rachel Pain (2021), I will focus on the term “geotrauma as a framework for spatial analysis of diverse forms of trauma.” This term not only connects trauma to space and may pave the way for the present study but also, as Pain (ibid) emphasizes, highlights collective processes more than individual ones.



Figure 4. Khorramshahr, 30 years after war (Author's photo).

Therefore, this concept will be very useful in mapping the traumatic effects of urbicide on individuals. Accepting Pain's seven “placings” (ibid), which provide a framework for examining the relationship between trauma and place in a city—comprising “memorial places, retraumatizing places, layered places, hardwired places, mobile places, places of repossession, and healing places”—this study will focus exclusively on the first type of placing, namely “memorial places,” and will explore the relationship between geotrauma and urbicide in Abadan

and Khorramshahr. This choice arises from the type of geotraumatic emergence observed in the three selected stories. In all cases, geotrauma is tied to recalling a memory of “the past open in the present.” Furthermore, the characteristics of this “placing” have been developed through studies that closely relate to the situation at hand.

Selected Stories

In selecting these three stories, the primary goal was to encompass different perspectives on wars, specifically texts written during and after the conflict. Additionally, this selection aims to focus on the “traumatic impacts of war on cities.” Naturally, the stories should possess the necessary “chronotopic” characteristics that connect them to this time-space context. To this end, I have selected three works of fiction, which I will discuss during this brief presentation. The first, *Nakhlhay-e Bi Sar* [Headless Palms], was written by Ghasemali Ferasat in 1982 and published after the Iranians recaptured Khorramshahr, although the war was still ongoing. The story starts from the early days of the war in Khorramshahr and extends to the day the city is reclaimed. It centers on a family in Khorramshahr, primarily focusing on their eldest son. *Nakhlhay-e Bi Sar* not only recounts how “civil soldiers” resist urbicide, but also offers insight into the traumatic effects of war on civilians.

The second book, *Soraya dar Eghma* [Soraya in Comma], was authored by Esmaeil Fasih (1984) and is focused on the other city, Abadan. The narrator travels abroad to look after her niece in a hospital. However, he prefers to be in Abadan and always, in a back-and-forth way, remembers the days he spent there during the war. This book is more important for reading about the traumatic effects of urbicide in Abadan.

The third selected book, *Haras*, tells the story of a couple who are relocated to another city shortly after the death of their first son during the early days of the war. Following this relocation, the mother continues to grapple with the trauma caused by the conflict. *Haras* focuses more on Khorramshahr and the traumatic effects of urbicide on civilians. Subsequently, while concentrating on the concept of “geotrauma,” I will discuss aspects of my re-reading of the three chosen stories that reflect different places exhibiting the characteristics of geotrauma for the characters.

Clinical space

In these stories, clinical spaces exhibit the most apparent geotraumatic characteristics. As Leys (2002: 2) explains, “the experience of trauma, fixed or frozen in time, refuses to be presented as past, but is perpetually re-experienced in a painful, dissociated, traumatic present.” This notion applies to clinical spaces as well, where trauma is experienced by characters as a present event, both temporally and spatially. In *Haras*, the mother visits a clinical center every day (Marashi, 2017: 72-77), searching for a boy who symbolizes her lost son. Similarly, in *Nakhlhay-e Bi Sar*, clinical space plays a central geotraumatic role, with the main character, Nasser, spending considerable time there due to his mental health issues. Although some of his symptoms, such as hand tremors, have improved in the hospital, he remains uncomfortable and constantly seeks a way to escape (Ferasat, 1987, 205-212). However, the importance of the hospital in *Soraya dar Eghma* is more pronounced than in other stories. In this narrative, whenever the main character experiences a trauma attack, he recalls the hospital where he was treated and stayed for a while.

... it is strange that even when I am awake, they [the nightmares] come and linger with me. For example, yesterday I was sitting... alone and suddenly, a scene from a day in the hospital around sunset occupied all of my memory, and I was there for one or two minutes... (1984: 86).

Here, on many other occasions, the character revisits his memories of the hospital for various reasons. Even his journey from Iran to France can be summarized as a journey from one hospital to another: bringing a past trauma into the present. This back-and-forth movement, as Ranieri (2021) illustrates regarding trauma and place, could be seen as “an endeavor to reconnect with the [character’s] primary objects.” This suggests an attempt by traumatized individuals to heal by connecting with that space. In the case of a hospital, this may seem like a contradiction: a place meant for healing simultaneously serves as a site of trauma. This contradiction arises not from the hospital's spatial characteristics but from the fact that during urbicide, hospitals are also targeted.

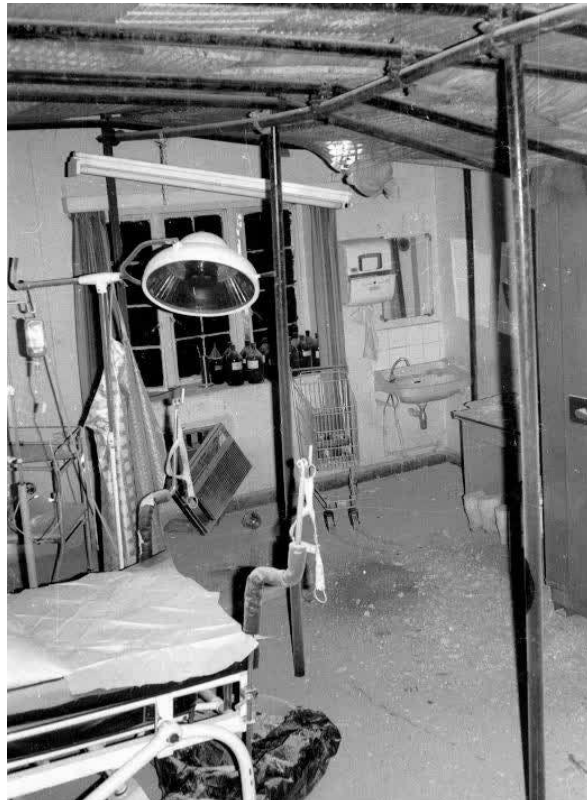


Figure 5. Oil Company Hospital in Abadan (Archive of Iran Petroleum Museum).

Oil Spaces

Oil has established Abadan as a hub for international exchanges. As Hein and Sedighi (2017) have shown, the first exchange of this nature occurred between the British Petroleum Company and the Iranian government. This development has played a significant role in shaping the environments of Abadan and Khorramshahr. Consequently, in this region, any discussion related to space—such as urbicide—also pertains to oil. Furthermore, Iheka, in his research (2020) on Watts and Kashi's (2008) project concerning the oil industry in the Niger Delta, demonstrates how trauma can be a colonial consequence of the oil sector (though with regard to the future) for the local population. These two points suggest we can expect a substantial role for oil-related spaces in relation to trauma in Khorramshahr and Abadan.

Reading these stories, in the first layer, there are no scenes occurring in the oil spaces. However, in the second layer of two of these stories, we observe symbols of oil spaces that bear traumatic characteristics: *Soraya dar Eghma* and *Haras*. In *Haras*, every time Naval (the mother) confronts oil, she recalls the days of war and the city she had left behind. In a striking scene,

when she is returning home, it suddenly begins to rain, but the rain is black like oil and resembles blood for her. Initially, we might think it is an illusion, but then we realize it reflects the harsh reality of life there: the rain is black like oil because during a nearby war in Kuwait, some oil wells were attacked and are now burning—a tragic narrative for the region. (Marashi, 2016: 95).



Figure 6. Abadan Refinery on Fire after an Aerial Attack by Iraqi Army
(Archive of Iran Petroleum Museum).

Similarly, in *Soraya dar Eghma*, the main character consistently associates oil spaces, primarily the refinery, with traumatic feelings stemming from the war. He often portrays the refinery as “a giant monster” from which the smoke and fire of war emerge. Whenever he travels between home and other places, he passes by the refinery and views it as a burden on the city. (Fasih, 1984: 54, 87, 119, 154) In these stories, oil is consistently presented as the root cause of issues such as war, oppression, and colonialism. This also highlights a contradiction regarding oil spaces, as oil, often referred to as “black gold,” is simultaneously seen as a solution to problems like poverty.

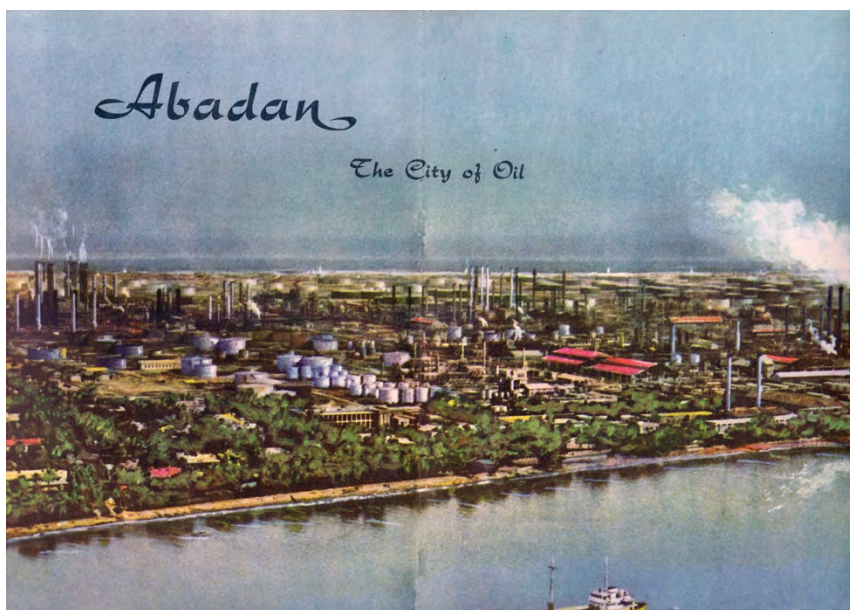


Figure 7. Aerial View of Abadan two decades before the war, 1960
(Iranian Department of Publication and Broadcasting).

Cemetery

In a country where, for most, death in war is viewed as Martyrdom and holds significant symbolic value (Dorraj, 1997), cemeteries as places for burying Martyrs are of great importance. Moreover, the famous slogan “Martyrs are alive,” derived from a verse in the Quran (Gabriel, 2016), emphasizes the enduring nature of cemeteries as “earthy” spaces for Martyrs. Thus, death in urbicide, seen as a traumatic event (Suleiman, 2008: 277), can easily be connected to the cemetery. Similarly, three of the selected stories explore the cemetery as geotrauma: Soraya dar Eghma, Nakhlay-e Bi Sar, and Haras. In all of them, the cemetery exudes an all-pervading quality.

For example, in Haras, at one point, the mother of the family, “Naval,” in her loneliness, grappling with her traumas, remembers all the deceased people she knows (Marashi, 2016: 28-9), and this is something that Naval consciously and unconsciously experiences repeatedly. Similar to Gilmore’s (2001: 82) explanation regarding mass graves after the 1965 events in Indonesia, through this process, history transforms into a “haunting” where the victims “erupt from manageable confines” in the form of ghosts. In these narratives, characters not only embrace this eruption but also acknowledge the existence of geotrauma. For instance, in Ferasat’s story (1987: 110), we learn how they are losing the town, yet the characters are

concerned about the cemetery becoming besieged and finding a new place for the deceased, because “for healing, acknowledgment needs to take place” (Hubbell et al., 2020: 2). Thus, we can say civilians have even discovered a way to heal their trauma in connection with the place during urbicide.

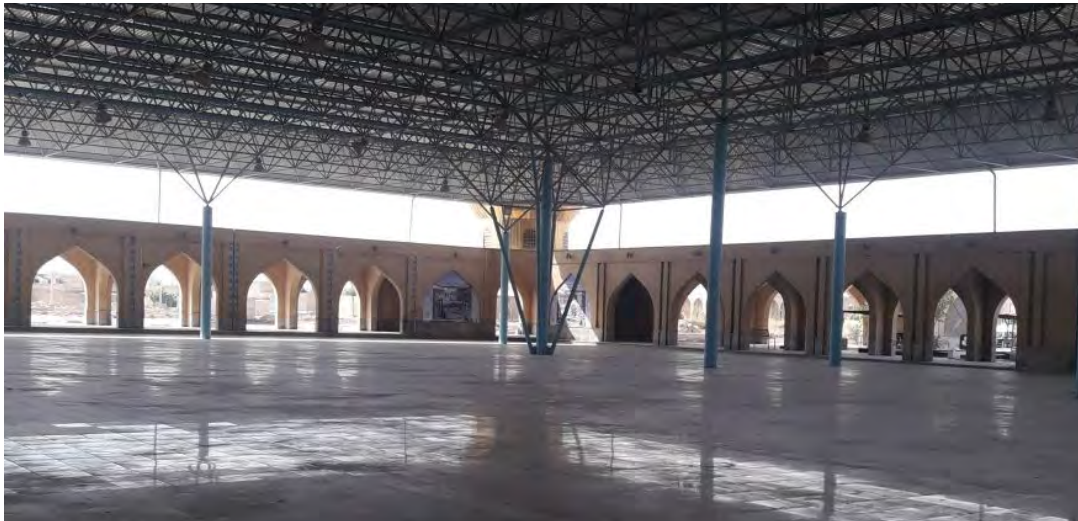


Figure 8. The cemetery especially for people who died during the war in Khorramshahr, Janatabad
(Official Website of Janat Abad Cemetery at: golzarshohada.ir).

Conclusion

The concept of geotrauma directly links place and trauma and, as a result, can be invaluable for studying trauma in the context of urbicide. Re-reading literary works with an autobiographical element as a method can provide us with essential insights into urbicide. Regarding urbicide in Khorramshahr and Abadan, based on our re-reading of the three selected stories, we can identify clinical spaces, the refinery factory, and the cemetery as three memorial sites that exhibit geotraumatic characteristics for displaced civilians. These characteristics are more closely tied to the events that occurred there than to the spatial attributes. However, what defines geotraumata in these narratives are “contradiction,” “presentness,” and the quality of being “all-pervasive.” The traumatized individuals connect with geotraumata not only due to the pain but also in search of healing. Their relationship with these geotraumata is characterized by a back-and-forth movement.

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Building the Guinean Body. Hispanizing Architectures in the late Equatoguinean colony (1939-1968)

Alejandro R. Carrasco-Hidalgo

Universidad de Alcalá, alejandro.carrasco@uah.es, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Spain

Abstract

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) the Francoist Regime inherited a declining colonial project consisting in small and rarely productive territories in Northern and Western Africa: Northern Morocco, Spanish Sahara, Ifni and Equatorial Guinea. Despite the lack of extension and productivity of these territories, specially compared to the former Spanish colonies in America, the country reactivated the colonial project as a way of conducting and expressing nationalist ideas. In order to claim the (cultural) return of the Spanish Empire and the greatness and benevolence of the country, the activity in the colonial territories increased its intensity during the dictatorship.

In the case of Equatorial Guinea the infrastructural and extractive insights dedicated to the obtention of material profit were combined with a series of spatial operations devoted to the subjectification of the Guinean citizen in a Foucaultian way. These urban and architectural operations became the physical representation of broader soft and invisible strategies of social control that intended the assimilation of those bodies. Through them, their visual properties and the activities programmed to take place in and around their spaces, not only the Subject of Race was defined and perpetuated but it was moulded for metropolitan purposes. As repression through physical violence declined, disciplinary initiatives became more important. The process intensified as the possibility of the independence of Guinea approached in the 1960s, involving architectural devices that could be grouped into different categories: territorial occupation, health and education. This proposal aims to explore how these spatial artefacts intended to implement Spanish identity within the Guinean body, colonising its social imaginary, urban landscape and daily routines while instrumentalising it for the interests of the Spanish dictatorship.

Keywords: postcolonial; Equatorial Guinea; Spanish colonial architecture; Hispanizing architecture.

Session: Of other spaces: heterotopias and the strategy of siege

Equatorial Guinea. Nationalism and Francoism, a non-divisible reality

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the relationship between the Spanish nation and its colonial territories was chosen to be one of the main discourses to be developed as part of the Francoist nationalist narratives. The revival of Spain as an expansionist country that played a relevant role in the international scene was one of the dialectical intentions of the new regime. At that time, the former Spanish Empire had experienced a long period of decline regarding both territorial and geopolitical influence. The process culminated in 1898 with the defeat of the United States in the Spanish-American War, a moment when it was supposed to lose control over its last American colonies. As a consequence, once the American and Asian properties were already lost, the development and growth of any Spanish colonial project had to be associated with their African territories, and so it was tried. The result was scarce as the West had already deployed its influence over the African continent during the last decades of the 19th century so there were few available territories to expand the country. The late Spanish claims over the African space remained almost unattended with the exception of France who gave up the Western Sahara and parts of continental Guinea after the Paris Treaty of 1900 and part of Morocco as part of the Treaty of Fès in 1912. The Spanish colonial territories at the moment Francoists took power were reduced to four relatively small locations compared to English or French colonial projects: a part of Morocco (north and south), Ifni, Western Sahara and Spanish Guinea.¹

The role of Guinea within the four named territories wasn't primary before 1939. As Álvarez Chillida points out "Spanish Guinea was during a long time the most marginal colony of an already marginal Spanish colonialism" (Álvarez Chillida and Nerín, 2018a: 15). Displaced in importance behind Morocco and Western Sahara because of their previous military implications, Guinea supposed a small territory (smaller than *Galicia* in terms of surface) with interesting material extractive potential. Divided into two main areas, the island of Fernando Poo and the continental area of *Río Muni* (Fig. 1), natural resources were restricted to coffee, chocolate and wood, whose extraction was relatively profitable but complicated because of the lack of infrastructure, especially in the continental area. Nevertheless, Francoist authorities found in the African territories the possibility of instrumentalising their occupation to reinforce the

¹ The nation now recognised as Equatorial Guinea was back at the time referred as Spanish Guinea or simply Guinea by the Spanish authorities.

rhetoric of an imperial Spain. After 1939 the Spanish view towards the colonies changed and so it started a period of intense and active colonial politics, including growing economic and political investment, particularly after 1959 when the development period started. At the time, Spanish Guinea was directly controlled from the metropolis by *Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias* an institution that allowed a closer and intensive control of what happened in the overseas territories. This direct intervention in the colonies was intensified in the 1940s, completely deployed in the 1950s and the 60s and finally declined by the end of that decade, when international pressures pushed Spain to finally start the effective decolonisation of their African territories (Campos Serrano, 2002: 40-42).

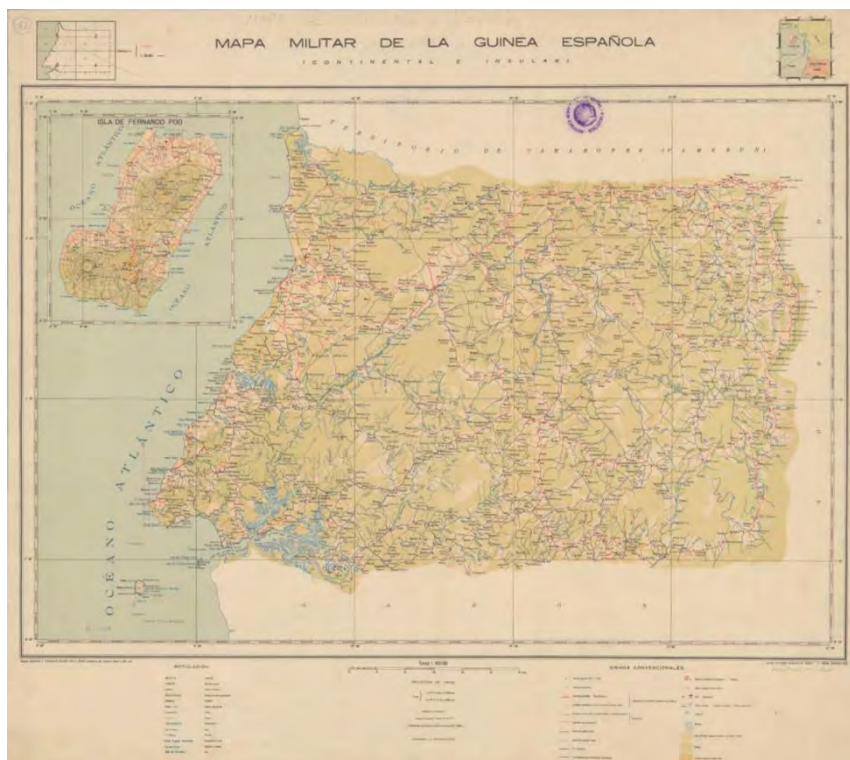


Figure 1. Military Map of Spanish Guinea including Fernando Poo and Rio Muni, 1955. Courtesy of the IGN (National Geographic Institute of Spain).

For Spain, the colonies were important not just because of economic reasons but because of the implications they had in terms of international and inner political relevance. The attitude in Spain towards the African territories after 1939 was guided by the possibility of bringing back the Hispanity period as it supposed the opportunity to take back the past influence and greatness

of the country. *Hispanidad*² as a concept was identified with the moment when the Spanish Empire colonised and Christianised the territories in America (16th and 17th c.) and it symbolised the momentum that the regime wanted to bring back. As formulated by Ramiro de Maeztu in 1934, it represented a nostalgic view into ideas such as the great past of the nation, the possibility of a Hispanic race or the understanding of Spain as a missionary state (Marcilhacy, 2014: 73-102) setting Spain in a position of cultural superiority. The country had a responsibility to its colonial territories consisting of the need to bring them modernity in the form of Spanish culture and manners as supposed superior and truthful ways of life. These *Hispanidad* premises were instrumentalised (Marcilhacy, 2014: 74) to build a new national identity around three key elements: religion, state and family. In this context, Spanish colonialism in Africa also supposed the (intended) connection with the modern civilisatory project that would assimilate the country to the other first-world political powers in terms of international relations and influence. The colonies were then used both as an internal and external propaganda agents that pretended to convince both inside and outside Spain of the adequacy and modernity of the new Spanish state. This two-folded process transforms Hispanic colonisation in Africa into a hybrid project: one of moral and religious transformation and a second one of imperial and material expansion. If the image of the former is the catholic mission, the image of the latter is the material extractive and territorial expansive project. These two heads of the Spanish colonial activities were non-divisible, as the possibility of cultural indoctrination was tightly tied to the one of material and territorial occupation.

Building the Equatoguinean body. Theoretical postulates, spatial consequences.

To favour the project of extraction in the African territories colonising powers required information and knowledge about the realities it would eventually face. Africa presented itself as a territory with enormous potential for material and territorial benefits but also as a largely unknown agent. Western countries then started to build a cultural body to affirm and consolidate their power over the territory, a cultural body that treated blackness as an exteriority, as something on the outside, that required knowledge to be manipulated. This set of artificial

² First formulated by Miguel de Unamuno in 1909 *Hispanidad* symbolised the cultural union of the Latin-American space recognising the common roots shared by colonisers and colonised entities. This concept was deformed and instrumentalised by conservative powers into a vision not of integration but of subordination of the American territories.

beliefs has been described as ‘black reason’, as a set of material and immaterial devices that intended to present blackness as the subject of race (Mbembe, 2017). The representation of Blackness was then an entirely fictional operation to define otherness so it could be objectified and treated through its non-human qualities. Its description, as Fanon postulates, does not depend on reality, but it is created from a white point of view, being the straight result of their prejudices, their fears and their lack of ignorance (Fanon, 2009).

The attitude of Western empires towards Africa (identified as Northern Africa and the Middle East) defined by Edward Said as Orientalism (Said, 1978), worked as a dominating and hegemonic device through intellectual means, an attitude that became also spatial. As Africa was an unknown territory, Orientalism intended to define what it was through Western lenses so it could be properly occupied. The result, a deformed image of what African identities were, served as a means to justify Western presence in the territory. The existence of an Orientalist attitude within Spanish Guinea is remarkable, as Spain, by default, had been an orientalised territory over history because of the former presence of the Muslim culture in the *peninsula* during the Al-Andalus period. The capacity of an orientalised culture to orientalise others is not common and the Spanish case has been described particularly as Spanish Orientalism, a disorientation process in which Spain was located at both sides of the operation, orientalised and orientalising at the same time (Martin-Márquez, 2008:22). Even with its own particularities, the possibility of a Spanish Orientalism after 1939 situated Spain as a coloniser power, not a colonised one. The return of an influential role of Spain in the international context, one of the main desires of the dictatorship, was symbolised by the overseas presence of the country in Africa. The return of a Spanish colonial project resembled previous power periods for the nation and particularly the colonisation of America that took place after 1492. As Spain brought progress and Western culture to America during the 16th century, now the same process had to be replicated in Africa, four centuries later. This relation in between international recognition and territorial influence will be important to understand the behaviour of the Francoist apparatus.

The African colonial project, and the Spanish Guinean one in particular, had to be understood as one of territorial Hispanisation. It was presented by Spanish authorities as a disinterested help in favour of local cultural development when in fact it represented a material extractive process with broader implications. This process actively manipulated the relations between society, territory and space always under the premise of productive optimisation. In this sense, Spain would implement the Western way of life into Spanish Guinea but, as a counterpart,

Guineans had to correspond with their working force. The Spanish active implication with educational, material and moral local affairs had no other objective but the maximisation of territorial (human and material) performance (Álvarez Chillida, 2017: 109). The Guinean body was established as a field of action that could be sculpted to fit the need of the colonising power regarding both material and symbolic approaches, as a biopolitical device. At bureaucratic levels, the control and manipulation of these bodies were executed through assimilationist procedures in counter position with the Indirect Rule methods that were being applied by other Western powers in Africa. Assimilationism supposed the recognition of Spanish and Western cultures as superior and as a desirable outcome a fact that also supposed the negation of local cultures as legit models. Their cultures were considered savage and their systems of organisation inadequate so the metropolis neglected any possibility of these cultures to govern themselves. Then, the transformation of their local inhabitants into *buenos españoles* (good Spanish citizens) became a key factor that can be synthesised into their introduction to Catholicism, the Spanish language and Spanish manners. The more Spanish they became, the better their lives would be and so better and easier would be to administrate the economic and material benefits from their territories. This strongly paternalist attitude introduced a bi-directionality between the coloniser body and the colonised body (cultural offer in exchange for their working force) that is key to understanding the Spanish action in Equatorial Guinea. Colonisers didn't pretend just to take advantage of the physical possibilities of the locals but rather to transform them, adapting their behaviour to Western rule as a way of manifesting their power and capacity of influence. The use of the colonised body as a working force was not enough for the metropolis as it must also present the Spanish cultural expressions. That means that the moral component of the Spanish colonial project cannot be considered non-profit at all but rather an investment with a deferred payment. The possibility of a cultural Spanish Guinea would facilitate the social, productive and political intentions of the metropolis.

This attitude towards local culture derives from the understanding of Western culture as a universalising concept. This universalisation was based on the confrontation of two different cultural entities. On one hand, civilisation was considered as knowledge and procedural means based on the Western tradition that can be conceptualised in three ideas: Christianity, market economy and the scientific method. On the other hand, it is possible to find everything that differs from that civilisation, the outside. The intended introduction of the Spanish-Guinean body into the Western functional system was based then in the eradication of any difference, in

its absorption, in a way that the assimilated body could leave behind its savage manners to welcome the most appropriate human capacity, and reason. This conversional moment that concluded with the adoption of Western thinking and performing methods would be the moment in which the black body would acquire its full citizenship (Mbembe, 2017: 150).



Figure 2. Spanish priest baptizing a Guinean man. Image courtesy of Filmoteca Española, extracted from the documentary *La Buena Cosecha*, Hermic Films, 1946.

The Francoist colonial project in Spanish Guinea included different cultural operations whose common end was the spatialisation of Hispanic power. It was not about extracting materials or taking advantage of the working force present in the territory but rather about transforming that territory into a Hispanised space where actions and agents performed as if they were part of the metropolis. The areas of Hispanic cultural and spatial influence included health control, materialised in the construction of hospitals and spaces of exception such as the leproseries (i.e. Mikomeseng) that permitted to keep away illnesses while maintaining a clean and healthy working force. Education was another point of interest, including buildings for basic and advanced education. There were also built political devices with political intentions such as Falangist educational centers or others such as *Colegio Mayor Nuestra Señora de África*, a center for temporary Guinean students in Madrid to grow up future ruling classes for the colonised territory. Also, other areas such as tourism and media representation were explored

as influential methods to internationalise the Spanish presence in Guinea, in the form of hotels, airports and films.

Every one of these theoretical or moral initiatives to build the Spanish-Guinean body had its architectural counterpart as the representation and materialisation of the ideological Hispanic postulates. Even if these postulates were originally directed towards human conscience to produce a Spanish-Guinean citizen through transformative principles that were not necessarily tangible, their spatial side was fundamental in their deployment. The physical materialisation of Blackness construction made their guiding premises real attaching them to the territory and what is more important introducing them to the collective imaginary of the colonised body. Built space and thus architecture and the city performed as mediums to facilitate ideological inscription, transferring the political plan from paper into bodies. In this context, the role of colonial institutions such as *Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias* or *Gobierno Civil de Guinea* was very relevant as they conducted the architectural and urban projects that may facilitate the application of general moral premises. In a sense, colonial institutions built the stage, while the Spanish-Guinean population inhabited it, performing inside it and giving it meaning. The process that goes from the mental and moral construction of Blackness into its physical and productive consequences contributed as a joint adventure to the transformation of the Spanish-Guinean territory in an operation where ideology became progressively material. The initiative that synthesises better these ideas of cultural spatialisation is the territorial occupation of Guinea and, specifically, the Experimental Towns built in the inner areas of the country between 1963 and 1965.

Experimental Villages. Materialising the Spanish Colonial project

The Experimental Villages were a group of ex-novo villages to be built in Spanish Guinea between 1963 and 1968. Conceived to be executed in two different phases, 1963-65 and 1966-68, just the first group of villages (nine) were finally built: *Basacato del Oeste*, *Sacriba*, *San Pedro Moeri*, *Ruiché*, *San Pedro de Lea*, *Bicurga*, *Biyabiyán*, *Nkimi* and *Machinda*. Their conceptualisation and coordination were strictly coordinated from Spain by three architects working for *Instituto Nacional de Vivienda* also known as *INV* (National Housing Institute): Ramón Estalella, Ignacio Prieto and Alberto Ripoll. These villages would have a primary reason to exist related to colonial interests: the spatial structure of the territory. The presence of these

small urban cores would facilitate the occupation of the inner areas of the country one of the main problems the Spanish administration found in Guinea. It would also order and control the presence of population over space as according to project descriptions it would be founded a village in every existing territorial demarcation³ so a proper bureaucratic distribution would be achieved.

As urban entities, the Experimental Villages were residential devices composed of a variable number of housing units distributed over an almost regular grid. This grid, whose form depended on the morphology of each particular working plot/terrain, organised space and prepared the eventual growth of the village, leaving empty plots for further development. The systematisation of the process through the use of a regular grid allowed the adaptability of the fundamental premises of the project to every possible situation, optimising ideation, and execution processes. Apart from the housing units, the grid included other typologies that responded to communal needs: a church, a community centre (*Casa de la Palabra*⁴), a water fountain, a bus stop and shops. These six typologies, understood as pieces of a bigger mechanism, worked as devices for hispanisation that, monitored from Madrid, intended to facilitate a particular way of life within the villages, a Hispanised way of life.

The implementation of these typologies and not others is very important to understand the real relevance of the proposals, as it was supposed to be a commitment to the Spanish colonial project in a period of intense political and social agitation. Particularly they allowed the introduction of modern life, understood as a Spanish modernity based on ideas of Catholicism, capitalist exchange and territorial extraction. within Guinean space. At the moment these projects were ideated, the future of Spanish Guinea as a colony was not clear. Spain joined the United Nations (UN) in 1955 and that supposed international pressures to regulate the relations with their overseas territories. Spain first tried to declare them *provincias* (Álvarez Chillida and Nerín, 2018b: 51) as a way to assimilate them into the regional bureaucracy of the metropolis. If this happened, those territories could have been managed as if they were equal to any other region in their homeland. As a province, Guinea would have been bureaucratically assimilated to regions such as Madrid or Cataluña. That initiative was rejected in 1960 by the United

³ *Archivo General del Ministerio de Transportes, Movilidad y Agenda Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) fonds, ref. AF-8720, San Pedro Moeri village description.*

⁴ *Casa de la Palabra* refers a traditional local typology of the *fang* tribe, that was reinterpreted and adapted into the Experimental Villages plans, as it will be described later in this article.

Nations and the decision triggered the way into the independence of Spanish Guinea. The statute of independence was signed in 1963, and the effective independence took place in 1968. As stated above, the discussion about the future of Guinea was ongoing at the beginning of the 1960's. As a consequence, Spain decided to increase the economic investment in the colony as a means to convince local populations of the implication of Spain with their material progress (Álvarez Chillida and Nerin, 2018: 19). This change of attitude also intended to consolidate the cultural influence over the colonised body before the eventual decolonisation of the territory. At this moment, architecture was instrumentalised as a device of soft power as political propaganda to keep Spanish influence at the moment a decision about independence had to be made. After the failed attempt to keep the colonies as *provincias*, it started a period in which it was necessary to intensify and to make visible (Fig. 3) the commitment to Guinean progress as a way of justifying the Spanish presence there (Campos Serrano, 2002: 84). At the same time, this propaganda was also useful as a way of sharing the idea of a triumphant Spain back in the country, presenting it as a powerful state with capacity to expand its influence worldwide. Buildings, as visual representations of political actions, recreated the colonial image of Spain in Guinea, an image of cultural and territorial transformation that intended to reach international, Spanish and Guinean audiences.



Figure 3. Image of the inauguration of a social housing complex in Fernando Poo, 1964. *África* magazine.

Having understood the political and international context in which the Experimental Villages were ideated and built it is possible to affirm that the absence of a (recognised as valid) context made possible the conceptualisation of these villages as urban utopias for a new Spanish-Guinean citizen. The proposed typologies and their urban approach synthesised the Spanish view and intentions over Guinea in the context of an imminent decolonisation of the country.

Six typologies and one urban space for the Spanish-Guinean citizen

At urban levels, the Experimental Villages played with the distribution of the six proposed typologies to adapt their spaces to the specificity of each location. The position of the elements shares a common approach to every proposal: the differentiation between central and perimetral elements. The central devices (the church, the community centre and the fountain) were those that had a bigger symbolic presence. The narrative value of these buildings made them occupy a primal visual (and spiritual) position within the proposed grid (Fig. 4). It is not by casualty that they represented the physical presence of three of the main elements to dominate Guinean life under the Spanish dominance: religion, tradition and natural resources. The primal role of these pieces within the urban project is evident. In the written descriptions attached to the plans the church is referred to as the most renowned building in the village⁵ and it is made explicit that *Casa de la Palabra* (community centre) had to be located in a privileged location.⁶

Following these postulates, it is clear that the urban experience of these Hispanic islands had to be dominated by the symbolic presence of institutions in the form of architecture, something that will also affect their singular typological and formal approach, as it will be explored later. Peripheral elements, being important for the village in order to perform adequately, presented a not-so-singular formal language that resulted in pieces that were not as expressive as the central ones. These functional elements (the housing units, the shops and the bus stop), were conceived as orthogonal devices that complete the urban grid, adapting themselves to the morphology of the urban plan fitting its limits, and completing it. Central elements, in an opposite way, detach themselves from the plan and present a differential language: *Casa de la Palabra* and its triangular plan, the irregular plan of the church and the vibrant and sculptural

⁵ *Archivo General del Ministerio de Transportes, Movilidad y Agenda Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) fonds, ref. AF-8720, San Pedro Moeri village description.*

⁶ *Archivo General del Ministerio de Transportes, Movilidad y Agenda Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) fonds, ref. AF-8721, Lea Bata village description.*

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Because of their central position within the new urban experience, it is possible to read them as identitary elements that inscribe new meanings within the Guinean mental imaginary. The urban structure of the villages reinforces this experiential approach to space design, starting from the territorial scale up to the inhabitant view. In the case of Lea Bata village, it is possible to find the origin of its plan in connection with the territorial network. The axis that regulates the design of the plan is not located within the geometrical centre of the village but it rather starts from the intersection between the main road and the village access. This connection, visual but also drawn, shows that the villages were not just conceived to be lived from the inside but also to be experienced from the outside. If the common elements were to be enhanced for the inhabitants because of their symbolism they were also presented as representative pieces for external observers. Communal areas, the ones containing central elements, are always located close to the village access with the buildings grouped in open access plots with public space surrounding

them. The detached character of those pieces enabled the possibility of interpreting them as urban sculptures that pretended to give a (new) character to places that were built into a wild environment with their own local connotations. It is possible that Experimental Villages fixed the image of modernity within Guinean territory, a Spanish modernity that as explained before not only referred to formal and aesthetic matters but also had social and biopolitical concerns.

The deployment of Spanish modernity within Guinean space is also visible on the typological scale. The detailed selection of the typologies to be implemented as well as their inner configurations and characteristics reinforced the idea of spatial Hispanisation also at microscalar levels. The first typology to be analysed is the housing units (Fig. 5). Each village considered the construction of around forty housing units, a number that varied depending on the particular case. Despite the number, the villages were conceived as expandable models that left spaces ready to build new houses if needed,⁷ reinforcing their role as potential urban cores to articulate the territory. These housing typologies correspond to the model of an elementary or nuclear family, as opposed to the local modes of social organisation.⁸ There were designed three cases depending on the number of bedrooms, but the general premises were common to all of them. Every house included a living room, kitchen and an interior patio that facilitated ventilation and access to the different spaces of the unit. In plan drawings, it is possible to observe how the main bedroom included a double bed for the parents while the smaller bedrooms had space for two single beds (two children) allowing a maximum occupation of eight people in the four-bedroom case study. The presence of spaces such as the bathroom or the kitchen inside the house implied the overcoming of tribal systems of urban organisation, where these elements were constituted as independent devices.⁹ The arrival of the understanding of domestic space as a single spatial-productive device for care resembles the presence of Western modernity within the proposals.

⁷ *Archivo General del Ministerio de Transportes, Movilidad y Agenda Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) fonds, ref. AF-8720.*

⁸ Local modes of social organisation where almost eradicated at the moment the model villages were designed as the religious activity in Spanish Guinea fought against them since the 19th century. Nevertheless, housing typologies consolidate that model freezing the possibility of any alternative.

⁹ The most present tribe in continental Guinea at the time, the *Fang* tribe deployed a housing system separated into three different 'buildings'; the building with living room and bedrooms (*Ndé'e-Edjoc o Nña-Nd'ée*), the kitchen building or *kisin* and the bathroom building or *edúk* (Obama, 2018).

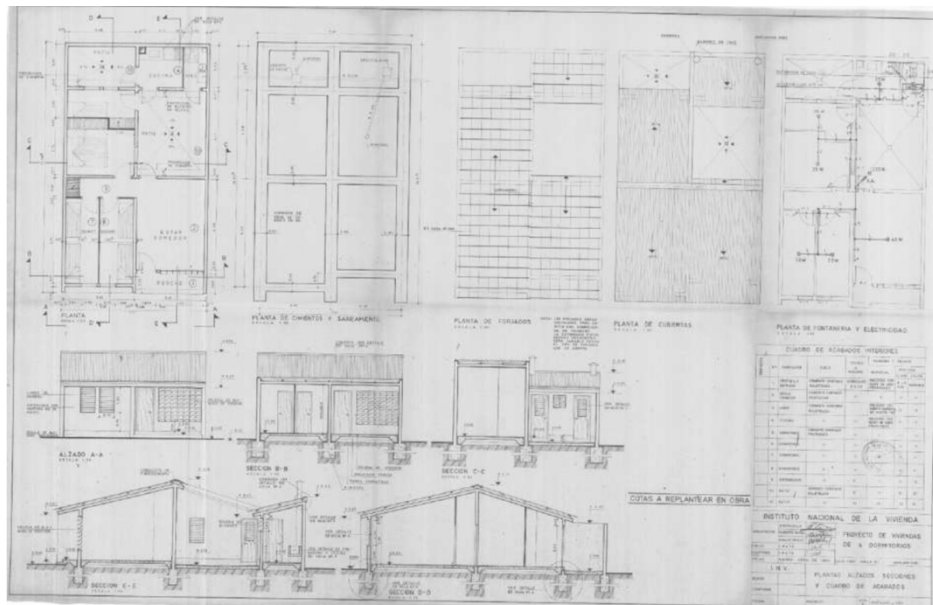


Figure 5. Four-bedroom housing typology plans, 1963. Courtesy of the Spanish Ministry of Transportation, Mobility and Urban Agenda. *Archivo General del Ministerio de Transportes, Movilidad y Agenda Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) fondos, ref. AF-8721.*

As the villages were ex-novo urban proposals, housing had to be complemented with protourban infrastructures. The selected typologies to complete the plans were five: the church, the community center (*Casa de la Palabra*), the fountain, the shops and the bus stop. The use of these typologies and not others is not a casualty and results in a perfect impersonation of the Spanish Colonial project and its intentions. Every device symbolises an element that played a key role in the colonial deployment. If housing experiments are related to the consolidation of the model of the elementary family in Spanish Guinea, the church recognised the centrality of religion in future Guinea imagined through these urban utopias. The fountain was an ornamental element that resembled the presence of Nature within the proposals. *Casa de la Palabra* was a symbolic but distorted reference to local (*Fang* tribe) tradition. The bus stop referred to territorial articulation and movement. The last one, the shop, introduced capitalist exchange within the proposals. These concepts: elementary family, religion, nature, tradition, movement and exchange would eventually guide the Hispanised Guinean life.

If modernity was to be introduced through architectural programmes, it also did it in the form of material and building procedures. Tribal building techniques in Guinea consisted mainly of *nipa* construction, a traditional system consisting of the assembly of palm leaves and stems to build walls and roofs. The Experimental Villages introduced as the main material the cinder

block, a material that was considered inaccessible for working classes in Guinea but was already present in urban areas of the country. In the villages, the cinder block was used indistinctly to produce the different typologies, ideating different compositional assemblies that allowed to fit every function through recombination. Other pieces that took part in this recombination process were perforated blocks used for ventilation, asbestos cement sheets used in roofs and ventilation lattices or local wooden carpentries for windows. Even if they used a closed set of compositional elements, it was possible to generate certain visual differences in devices as different as the fountain, the church or the bus stop, while keeping the notion of integral design. As the compositional origin was common, every device's image was recognizable as part of a single proposal.

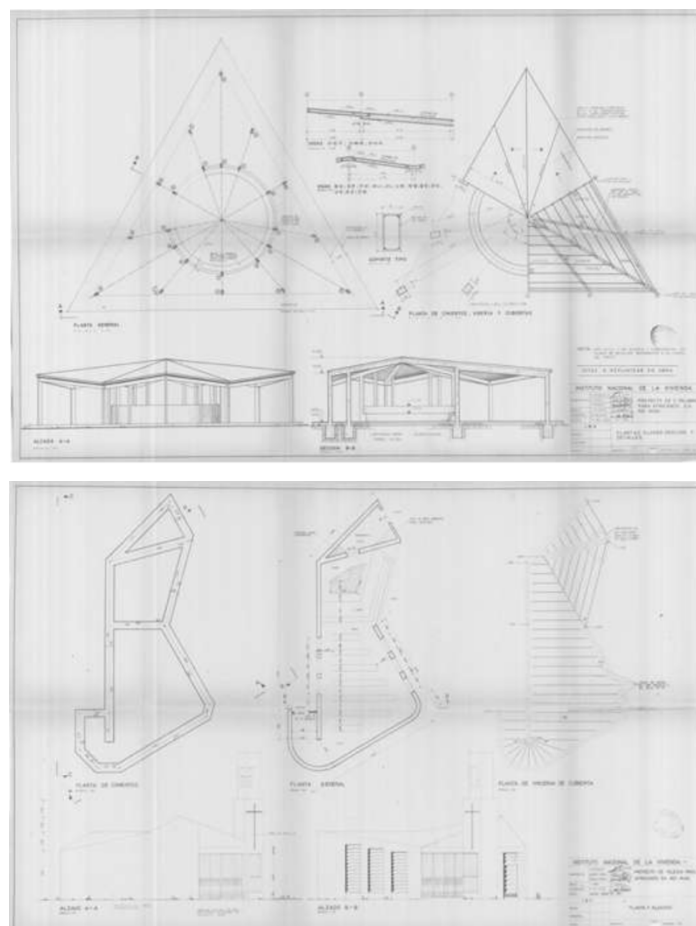


Figure 6. *Casa de la Palabra* and church plans, 1963. Courtesy of the Spanish Ministry of Transportation, Mobility and Urban Agenda. *Archivo General del Ministerio de Transportes, Movilidad y Agenda Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) fondos, ref. AF-8721.*

The constructive and compositional continuity was disrupted just in two cases in order to make a visual difference that permitted to enhance their importance within the plans: the church and *Casa de la Palabra* (Fig. 6). The church introduced the curve within urban design, both in plan and space. Perimetral curved walls were built using the set of pieces described before, but playing with different heights so it was possible to build a parabolic roof sustained by wooden beams. In the case of *Casa de la Palabra*, it was used a new structural material: reinforced concrete. The introduction of concrete allowed a differential language, completely strange in the Guinean context, that resulted in a triangulated roof with a hexagonal plan covering a public meeting space. Innovation in the form of material consolidated the notion of Spanish modernity within the colony making it visual.

Conclusions. Formalising the possibility of a Spanish-Guinean space

The design and implementation of the Experimental Villages denied the possibility of an existing Guinean context. As a consequence, 'context' was integrated as a simple green selvatic background, little material qualities (i.e. *nipa* roofs) or simplistic dialectical references (*Casa de la Palabra* as a reference to *Fang* tribal traditions). Nevertheless, the intentions of Estalella, Prieto and Ripoll (and above them of the Francoist apparatus that supervised the proposal) with their urban and formal proposals went further and proposed to reformulate that context. They implemented a new ecology over the territory, a new way of relation between agents, creating an image of modern life following the Western-Hispanic notion of modernity. Religion and community as images and reference for everything; infrastructural connectivity as the guarantee of territorial mobility and exchange. Housing typologies as the spatialisation of elementary family. As a consequence, and after the finalisation of the decolonisation process that was been undertaken at the time, colonial institutions were no longer visible, they were not there anymore. Village inhabitants were *naturales* or *nativos*¹⁰ and the Spaniards left the country a long time ago. Nevertheless, the Hispanic cultural and social environment that started to be deployed over the Equatoguinean territory in the 19th century was already integrated and assimilated within the urban and architectural form of the Experimental Villages.

¹⁰ These concepts were the Spanish words used by the colonial authorities to refer local population in Spanish Guinea.

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Decolonialising ideas of modernity and the city: forms of urban transition and the concept of norms

Paul Jenkins

Professor Emeritus of Architecture Research, Edinburgh School of Architecture & Landscape Architecture, The University of Edinburgh, p.jenkins@ed.ac.uk; Scotland; Visiting Professor, School of Architecture & Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, paul.jenkins@hw.ac.za, South Africa.

Abstract

The concept of urban norms is usually referred to in terms of how the state regulates urban space and form in a variety of ways – ostensibly for the public good – and this is deeply imbricated with ideas of physical and social order. However, where the capacity of the state to regulate is weak – and the state is to a great extent “captured” by political economic elites – these urban norms tend to operate to the dis-benefit of the wider public. The typical outcome in post-colonial contexts undergoing extremely rapid urbanisation is that the majority of urban space and form is normatively characterised as “informal” and requiring (at best) “normalisation” – which often in reality means social exclusion: dispossession, relocation and marginalisation of the urban poor majority, always accentuated in periods of challenge to regimes of *realpolitik*, such as forms of ongoing insecurity or war.

This chapter argues that we retain deep concepts of the “colonial” in our ideas of modernity and the city – which need decolonisation to reverse the process of marginalisation of the urban majority. In so doing it reiterates previous calls by the author to challenge our embedded concept of urban norms and stress the need for investing in assisting society shape cultural norms to underpin collectively defined good urban space and form for all. The chapter includes a brief historical review of how the concept of order in urban space and form became fundamentally embedded since the Enlightenment and how these concepts have been translated into colonial contexts – such as Brazil – and continue to be “lost in translation” in more recent waves of South-South engagement – such as in Angola. It also draws on decades of research in Mozambique and the way the “urban” has been conceptualised in both colonial and post-colonial eras including in recent trends in urban transition.

Keywords: emerging urbanism; modernity/urbanity; post-colonial norms; socio-cultural transition

Session: Modernity and the city: norms and forms of urban transition in colonial contexts

Introduction

Urban areas have historically developed based on centralization of political and economic power, which has been closely linked to the development and continued expansion of commerce, and in turn required defence.¹ However, there have been two fundamentally different ways that urban space has developed. One in a generally geometrically dominated form, with wider-scale space planning, and the other in an incrementally evolutive form, with local-scale space planning. Both actually co-exist in most urban locations, but one has tended to dominate and be seen to be of higher value as “orderly”, the other relegated to “disorderly” and seen as needing to be “(re-)ordered”. While this is the manifestation in urban space and form, the underlying values have been based on concepts of socio-cultural binaries – with some form of elite (political, economic, professional) decrying the actual urban existence of the wider subaltern and attempting to order this through physical as well as social mechanisms. That process has given rise to multiple forms of urban “norms”.

Early historic urban areas include the predominantly geometrically “ordered” forms of Chinese or Graeco-Roman urban areas, compared to the predominantly “disordered” evolutive forms of Islamic and Mesopotamian urban areas, and also those in the Indus or Nile valleys. However, in reality both forms held a (sometimes precarious) balance between the seemingly “ordered” and “disordered”. In fact, so-called disordered urban space and form is ordered, but primarily by localised and generally accepted socio-cultural norms, as opposed to those of political economic elites. For instance, Islamic urban areas are “ordered” by some seven socio-cultural norms, only a few of which have the backing of any higher order for example in the Quran.² However, while these norms dominated the majority of space and form in Islamic urban areas, they also had their monumental “higher-order” spatial manifestations and forms, mainly for religious but also governance functions. The point being made is that the so-called “ordered” and “disordered” urban spaces and forms have co-existed historically – albeit usually with one dominating the other – and both are underpinned by (different) forms of urban “norms”.

¹ This centralisation is not necessarily at nation-state level – as many city-states provide evidence historically – but since the formation of nation-states and their dispersion as the basic units of politico-military power worldwide from the 19th century, this has been the dominant trend in centralisation.

² Key socio-cultural forms of self-regulation in Islamic cities included: no direct view into internal courtyards from the street, including main doors being offset; houses could be up to three stories, but no view was to overlook another courtyard; street width was to ensure for two-way traffic (e.g. loaded donkeys).

The impact of the Enlightenment on urban space and form

Since the era of expansion of European power worldwide, so-called “Enlightenment” values have dominated ideas of appropriate urban space and form. As detailed in the book “Order and Disorder in Urban Space and Form” (Jenkins; Smith, 2024) these emerged in neo-classical urban design in the 17th and 18th centuries, underpinned by change from dominant aristocratic political economies to bourgeois capitalist political economies, with growth of middle classes and professionalisation of architecture, urban design and urban governance systems. In this context wider concepts of “order” were seen as necessary to deal with rapid urbanisation in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the associated “disorder” of previous urban space and form. The resulting transition subsequently included the emergence of urban idea(l)s such as garden cities and functionalist modernist development, all with various norms for urban space and form – and more so, for urban society.

As the book describes, these new urban ideals of urban order became globalized through capitalist geographic expansion, initially mercantile but then colonial – and through this transition urban “disorder” became ever more associated with the majority of the less well-off and especially colonized subjects. In this process a new stigma became applied to the seeming disorder of wider socio-cultural adaptation to urban life – which latterly, in the growing industry of global political economic “development”, eventually became categorised as “informal” (from the mid 1970s).³ In this (some two century-long) process, the ideals and manifestation of urban “norms” became almost totally associated with the state, which is seen as needing to regulate urban space and form in a variety of ways – ostensibly for the public good – and this is deeply imbricated with (by then) deeply embedded ideals of physical and social order.

However, in many colonial situations (notably in relatively late colonised Sub-Saharan Africa) – where the capacity of the nation-state to regulate is weak and the state is, to a great extent, “captured” by relatively small political economic elites – inherited urban norms tend to operate to the dis-benefit of the wider public. This has led to a typical outcome in post-colonial contexts undergoing extremely rapid urbanisation where the majority of urban space and form is

³ The author of this paper uses the term “non-formal” to indicate areas where the state has very limited capacity to engage – avoiding the negative connotation of the often-used term “informal”. Non-formal settlements are residential areas that develop and operate under limited state control. In reality, there is a sliding scale of state engagement, with complete non-engagement being rare (if indeed it exists at all) through to so-called “formal” areas, where limited state capacity also leads to significant lack of engagement and regulation. As such, the term “non-formal” can include planned and unplanned areas.

normatively identified as “informal” and requiring (at best) “normalisation” or “regularisation” – which often in reality leads to social exclusion: dispossession, relocation and marginalisation of the urban poor majority. This process of disavowing socio-cultural norms of order in favour of physical norms – albeit always with political and economic motives – is even more accentuated in periods of challenge to regimes of *realpolitik*, such as forms of ongoing insecurity. Such periods include the implementation of colonial control over territory, the struggle for decolonization, civil war, and wider social strife.⁴

The above-mentioned book details how urban design and planning idea(l)s developed, but also how these each became initially realized and distorted, examining how the ideals versus praxis of neo-classical new urban space and form, garden cities / suburbs and the functionalist city came to diverge significantly. However, such distortion became even more evident with their translation into very different political economic and socio-cultural contexts in very different geographic locations. Hence, the book examines the process of how normative approaches became “lost in translation” in Brazil – for example in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Brasília. Importantly however, the parallel process that accompanied this evolution and global transfer was one of a growth of professional urban planners and designers who championed the ideas, ideals albeit adapting them when implementing in practice within existing *realpolitik*.

The growth of professionalisation of urban spatial planning and designed form has, through this process, continued to replicate deeply embedded notions of modernity and the city – which were closely associated in global dissemination through colonisation. These ideals not only survived decolonization, but in many ways have become more emphasised by the narrower forms of post-colonial governance. Hence, Brazilian professionals innovated with new urban norms such as state-led private property booms (for example in Curitiba) and large-scale privatised urban extensions (for example in Alphaville, São Paulo). Subsequently, however, with more democratic governance, professionals in Brazil began to enter a wider “socio-culturally aware” phase of urban development approaches at the end of the 20th and into the beginning of the 21st century, with a focus on the importance of urban socio-cultural norms in urban inclusion – although the associated wider understanding of urban rights still tended to embed concepts of physical order in praxis (for example upgrading of Paraisópolis, São Paulo).

⁴ At the time of finalising this chapter for publication, despite heavy-handed state attempts to control unrest, extensive post-election protests in Mozambique have led to growing urban land invasions, especially in Maputo.

More recently, with the advent of additional recent waves of South-South engagement – for example, that described in the book being implemented in Brazil, China and Angola – the importance of socio-cultural understanding of urbanity and its expression in urban space and form continues to be dominated by elite ideals. This is clearly manifested in new Angolan urban elite areas (Luanda Bay waterfront), state creation of large peripheral urban neighbourhoods (for example the Zango resettlement area on Luanda’s periphery) as well as large-scale new city extensions with foreign professional input (for example Kilamba new city, also on Luanda’s periphery – however, there are numerous other examples). Meanwhile the vast majority of the fast-expanding urban areas of Angola (as is also the case more widely in Sub-Saharan Africa) continue with limited state control and structured private sector investment. Furthermore, most urban space and form are developed based on socio-cultural norms, and not state regulation. These norms are in fact changing as new urbanites develop new forms of urbanity as well as new manifestations of urbanism – and the nature of urban norms underpinning this is akin to a form of “emergence” praxis reminiscent of, for example, Islamic cities – albeit without any dominating dogma.

The above is a rather brief and quite broad overview of how urban norms, always associated with ideas of “order”, are changing as extremely rapid urbanisation progresses in relatively weak states and market economies of Sub-Saharan countries – and which is predicted to continue to do for decades to come. The next section of this chapter now looks in a little more (but still brief) detail at the author’s four decades of experience working in urban issues in Mozambique – especially the capital Maputo. Here the process of continuing to embed elite ideals of urban space and form – ignoring or subordinating the wider socio-cultural manifestation of these in the on-going extremely rapid urbanisation process – has been the subject of study and a considerable body of published research by the author and others.

Emerging urban space and form in Maputo, Mozambique

Rather like the post-dictatorship transition period in Brazil, the Mozambican state (while never clearly making this explicit in any policy or urban development legislation) *de facto* initially accepted the reality of urban growth and worked with the emerging urban socio-cultural values of urbanity – shaping this by example and assistance. This was manifested in new urban planning norms and the creation of a middle level cadre of urban development technicians to

work at “grassroots” level. While (as in Brazil), deeply embedded notions of the “good city” still remained – and were manifested in the state’s direct engagement in urban development projects (especially those with foreign aid) – significant areas of Maputo city became ordered in simple socio-culturally accepted ways with minimal state investment – and remain so today, as evidenced below.

Figure 1 shows firstly the original plan of an area in Bairro Laulane, District Kamavota, Maputo – which was planned in 1982-3 and demarcated/allocated by the city council in 1983-5, with occupation from 1984 – and contrast this with the recent occupation as captured from Google Earth. The book chapter examines whether the simplified form of “grassroots” urban planning implemented in the proto-socialist period post-Independence in Maputo city in fact has had long-term benefits despite subsequent urban development being largely unregulated (Mottelson; Jenkins, 2024). The analysis shows that, although 90% of the area originally planned for community / public use was subsequently subdivided for more housing (generally following the format of the original plan), and 10% of the street space had been encroached on, the overall structure of the plan remains.



Figure 1. Planned and actual land use in part of Bairro Laulane, Maputo (Mottelson; Jenkins, 2024)

Importantly the findings highlight that, compared to other recently studied unplanned settlements in the city, the neighbourhood still has more than double the proportion of public space and high access porosity which enhances mobility and increases feasibility of investments in infrastructure. This is arguably so as – in the absence of state capacity when the “proto-socialist” period ended in the early 1990s – popular direct action subsequently replicated these urban norms, as the emerging urban cultural values embedded in the plan – and its grassroots planning implementation process – became socially accepted in a widespread manner and continues to be the basis for societal regulation in the absence of the state.

This phenomenon can also be seen in what has been called “unofficial planning” (Andersen et al., 2015a, b) – as shown below in Figure 2. This area, just north of Maputo municipal limits, was developed in the new millennium without any official plan. The local inhabitants, who continue to live in the unplanned area to the east (right of the photo), agreed to work with some topographers and local officials to cede part of their little-used “dry-land” agricultural area to the west (left of the photo) where the plan was implemented without any official regulation. As can be seen it largely followed the precepts of the early proto-socialist period, albeit without the provision of communal space.



Figure 2. Gwava Bairro, Marracuene District, Maputo Province (Google Earth, 2023)

Needless to say, the nature of urban norms has changed in this process from the proto-socialist urban patterns emphasising neighbourhood “community” with open spaces for communal activity and urban “quarters” and “neighbourhoods” based on the limited policy recommendations of the time⁵, to a much more diversified but individualized urban forms including gated communities (Melo; Jenkins, 2021). This urban form in the “suburban” areas⁶ is in fact not dissimilar from that implemented during the late colonial period.



Figure 3. Bairro Polana Caniço B, Maputo (Google Earth, 2023)

⁵ The recommendations set forth by the 1st National Meeting on Cities and Communal Neighbourhoods, Mozambique government 1980.

⁶ In planning terminology, the areas which are not “fully” developed with urban infrastructure and legal bases, but identifiably “urban” in space & form are usually called “peri-urban” - deriving from peripheral, although now they can represent 90% of the urban area. In the global North the term “suburbs” has been used for generally lower density urban areas outside higher density urban “centres”. This term in Portuguese, “subúrbios”, has tended to be used to describe earlier “peri-urban” areas around the central “cement city” in Maputo. However, both these terms are quite inadequate to describe the nature of urban space and form emerging in Maputo and in urban Africa more generally.

Another example is the area in the centre of the recent Google Earth image above (Figure 3), which shows the neighbourhood Polana Caniço B – planned in a late colonial attempt to provide “sites and services” for the indigenous population. However, it was implemented following the Independence in 1977-8. It is now surrounded by other forms of non-formal development, mostly unplanned.⁷ This has also become an area of non-formal urban development largely regulated socially – as can be seen in the peripheral areas surrounding it (north and west) where commerce is extremely active.

The above examples have been replicated elsewhere in Maputo city, and in fact non-formal planned land is interspersed with non-formal unplanned land in a widespread way. In both, it is generally socio-cultural norms that underpin the process of occupation and development – as state regulation is largely absent (and where it exists it is usually negative and predatory at the interface between residents and low-level officials). These emerging socio-culturally based urban norms have been studied by professionals working with urban development through their direct engagement with the *de facto* urban fabric, and a growing understanding of the processes which produce this has been recorded, analysed and disseminated through research.⁸ This has reinforced arguments for more nuanced acceptance of this “organic” socio-culturally based urban form, as it can self-replicate and can also be managed with new technical methods such as simple geographic identification by low-cost GIS – as well as benefit from existing decentralised small-scale water supply (and potentially also sanitation networks), as well as individual pre-paid electricity connections.

More recently, researchers call for the state to widen its acceptance of alternative forms of urban intervention, which to date have been typically very limited in the city and generally still assume a “top-down” state role⁹. In fact, and on the contrary – in the recent period, with the growth of neo-liberalism in the late 1990s and 2000s – the government has reverted to a quite narrow vision of top-down state control and instituted legal instruments for urban planning and design which do little to assist the majority – and implicitly deny their prior urban rights of land

⁷ Prior to Independence the sister-city of Matola had instigated a more proactive role in assisting lower-income residents get access to land through such “sites & services” schemes, with some assistance for low-cost house construction – as was very much the mode in the 1970s in Sub-Saharan and Latin American cities – but this was not engaged with in the capital city until the last year or so before political regime change.

⁸ Other than this author’s extensive research over the years, see for example (among others) work published by Jorgen Eskemose Anderson; Francesco Chiodelli; Anna Mazzolini; Johan Mottelsen, Vanessa Melo and Morten Nielsen in bibliography

⁹ See fuller evidence-based argument in (Melo; Jenkins, 2020).

occupation in good faith.¹⁰ Not only that, but the state has put most of its relatively limited capacity for urban development into furthering an emerging middle class's urban existence (Melo; Jenkins, 2021), without ever relinquishing a strong continued support role for the political and economic elite. This is also clearly manifested in the new large-scale urban infrastructure of toll roads and bridges (Jenkins, 2023) and the development of state enclaves and reservation of whole new urban areas for these socio-economic groups (Nielsen; Jenkins, 2021) as shown below.

The pre-Independence process of verticalisation of the city centre, begun in the post-Salazar investment building boom of the 1960s (Nielsen; Jenkins 2021), has re-commenced, and more recently begun to spread to areas outside Maputo's city central area ("cidade cimento"), following middle class exodus, in a new manifestation of urban transition.



Figure 4. Costa do Sol Bairro, Maputo (Google Earth, 2023)

¹⁰ The new Land Law of 1992 was focussed on rural and agricultural land but specified that occupants had rights to land occupied in good faith for a ten-year period, as evidenced by local authorities. This aspect of the law was never accepted in urban areas where it was argued by professionals that land had to be “planned before any such rights could be applied. A further ten years elapsed before a Planning Law and Urban Land Regulations were devised. These specified a very top-down planning process which has never been adequately implemented. This is due not only to technical / administrative institutional limitations, but also political will – and economic implications. See (Jenkins, 2013) for more information.

The area in Figure 4 shows new high-rise developments along a narrow road through the sea-marsh (mangrove) area of Costa do Sol on Maputo coastline. To the south, a large new middle class housing area which has developed, again with non-formal planning and limited regulation, and to the northeast a government-sponsored housing development for middle income (upper right of the photo). Both are interspersed with other forms of non-formal urban development, some more “formal” (with some regulation e.g. of construction) and others less so – and significant unplanned areas as is the urban “norm” for the so-called peri-urban areas of the city. Evidence of the physical manifestation of the urban transition processes shown above could be repeated multiple times for Maputo – and not only for Mozambican urban areas in rapid expansion.

Essentially this chapter calls for a need to decolonise concepts of urban state-led / regulated urban space and form in the face of massive urban growth and limited state private sector and professional capacity – and limited interest of political, economic and professional elites. This is especially so in the context of Sub-Saharan African urban areas with the very limited capacity for state regulation where the application of current policies and practices, and their retroverted urban norms, leads in fact to a process of marginalisation of the urban majority from their urban rights. These are increasingly “captured” by the growing (but relatively small) middle class, as most clearly evidenced in the last example above, where the middle-class residents have been able to retroactively apply for land rights by producing and getting approval for an urban “plan” of the area they bought from lower-income groups (Chiodelli; Mazzolini, 2019). In general, however – and counter-intuitively – whereas on the one hand the state is deeply imbricated with governing the wider urban society through dispersed mechanisms at neighbourhood and urban “quarter” level – which entails a *de facto* form of negotiated praxis, this does not impinge on the top-down forms of attempted state land and environmental control. Despite the force of majority has in some cases mitigated these to include more relevant socio-cultural norms. At the same time these socio-cultural urban norms are changing – and in that process they are also influenced to some extent by state and market ideals (Nielsen, 2011).

As discussed by Jenkins et al. (2001) referring to a wide range of urban transitions, some form of local (explicit and implicit) negotiation on norms between the state and society could come to play a core role of state-civil society relations. Hence, this chapter reiterates the challenge to deeply embedded concepts of state-based regulatory urban norms focussed on physical “order,” and stress the need for investing in assisting society shape emerging urban socio-cultural norms.

These norms should serve to underpin collectively defined notion of good urban space and form for all urban residents. It is only through such a process that deeply embedded ideas of modernity and the city can begin to be decolonialised, and norms can be re-conceptualised in a way that are more appropriate and effective to engage with emerging widespread forms of rapid urban transition globally, but particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.

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Almost Modern: Water Infrastructure in British Colonial Cyprus

Stavroula Michael

European University of Cyprus; stavroulamichail@gmail.com; Cyprus

Abstract

Cyprus is claimed to be the most dam-dense country in Europe (Kotsila, 2010, Evangelidou, 2011, Water Development Department (WDD), 2011) which coincides with a diachronic belief that more water meant more economic development, that was shared both by the British colonial and later independent State. However, Cyprus is largely absent from volumes on colonialism and urban history (Home, 1997, King, 1976, Cooper, 2005, Bremner, 2016), colonial technoscience and the natural/rural environment (Beinart and Hughes, 2007, Hodge, 2007), British colonial architecture (Scriver and Vikramaditya, 2007) or even on infrastructure and architecture history from global perspectives (Heathcott, 2022). This paper proposes the study of water infrastructure iconography, planning and socio-political impact on Cypriot society that was co-produced with a British-Cypriot colonial modern identity and territorial constituencies with a clear modernist aesthetic. However, contrary to many other colonised countries with more valuable resources like India, state water development plans were mediated into 'just-enough' schemes to appease the local population so that they would not continue to pursue self-determination under the British, and went into a high modernist water infrastructure construction after Cypriot independence.

Keywords: British colonialism, modernity, water infrastructure, Cyprus

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Introduction



Figure 1. *(left)* Typical village pump-house and elevated irrigation tank used for the Greater Nicosia Water Supply Scheme. Source: Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus, “Water Supply and Irrigation 1950s” folder, 28A-0049-0002, circa 1950s; *(right)* Argaka Dam built in 1964, commissioned to Howard Humphreys & Sons, the same company which designed the Greater Nicosia Water Supply Scheme. Source: Water Development Department, 2009. Dams of Cyprus, Nicosia.

This paper proposes the study of water infrastructure iconography, planning and socio-political impact on Cypriot society that was co-produced with a British colonial Cypriot modern identity and territorial constituencies, with a clear modernist aesthetic. Contrary to many other colonised countries with more valuable resources like India,¹ state-led water development plans were mediated into ‘just-enough’ yet modernising schemes to appease the local population so that they would not continue to pursue self-determination under the British. After Cypriot independence, water infrastructure construction went into a high modernist mode with a renewed faith in the state- and peace-building capabilities of development, as part of the complex geopolitics in the eastern-Mediterranean.

Although Cyprus is claimed to be the most dam-dense country in Europe (Kotsila, 2010; Evangelidou, 2011; Water Development Department (WDD), 2011) making it a highly interesting case for studying water infrastructure and management within a colonial and postcolonial context, Cyprus is largely absent from volumes on colonialism and urban history (Home, 1997; King, 1976; Cooper, 2005; Bremner, 2016), colonial technoscience and the

¹ On modernisation and water development in India, see for example (Broich, 2007) and (D’Souza, 2006).

natural/rural environment (Beinart & Hughes, 2007; Hodge, 2007), British colonial architecture (Scriver & Vikramaditya, 2007) or even on infrastructure and architecture history from global perspectives (Heathcott, 2022).

This paper intends to firstly bring to the fore an under-researched part of British colonialism history and secondly, to suggest a different way with which we evaluate architectural history and its theoretical and geographical limits. I propose a different architectural history, one that recounts a historiographical analysis of water infrastructure as an alternative way of reading the recent history of the built and natural environments. The case of Cyprus is presented as a case where British colonialism was co-constructed with modernising works of water infrastructure which drastically altered the natural and built landscapes of Cyprus, while also constructing a colonial modern identity that was parallel to conflicting national identities, with the latter eventually becoming in a way, the cause of the British colonial state's demise. It is within this socioeconomically turbulent period of the 1940s and 1950s that the basis for what would constitute 'development' was set that largely saw an agrarian economy which in turn raised water demands even more. Despite the increased construction of water infrastructure during this time, the intensity of these schemes skyrocketed during the equally turbulent period of the latter part of British colonialism, hence the serious scaling up of water development which happened after the independence of the island-country in 1960.

Historical framework: In the context of 'conflict'

An important aspect in the attempt to record any kind of recent history of colonial and postcolonial Cyprus is closely entangled with what has been known as the 'Cyprus problem', which is the resulting situation of an intercommunal conflict between the two largest communities of the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, expressed violently in the 1960s and led to the de facto partition of the island in 1974. Specifically, after a Greek-led coup against the elected president and Archbishop Makarios III, Turkish military forces seized an extensive part of the north of the Island which is to this day occupied territory and without legal recognition, with a buffer zone separating its capital Nicosia, and shaky politics in the wider region. Conflict is deemed an essential part of the proposed historiography of water infrastructures and it is examined extensively in this work, as traced in archival material and secondary sources between the state and the local population, between the two communities,

and as expressed within larger geographies and rival ideologies. The findings on the intercommunal conflict however from existing literature², have decisively driven the research to focus on the formative decades of late colonialism, namely the late 1940s and 1950s in order to draw some conclusions for the period after the independence, i.e. 1960 and until 1974. These findings lead to a main hypothesis/argument being that there can be other narratives to history and conflict besides the prevalent ‘ethnic clash³/conflict’⁴ ones, like the ‘unseen’, less obvious processes produced by complex geopolitics and larger historical circumstances, class conflict and solidarity, and processes of urbanising the countryside in the design and construction of water infrastructures, which could offer alternative narratives of the history of the built natural and social environments that do not perpetuate the violence and victimisation of the Cypriots.

An argument pertinent to water in Cyprus specifically, is that it has been consistently instrumentalised due to its symbolic as well as literal vitality, by the colonial state the independent state but also groups of people. This indeed reinforces the argument of the technopolitical (mis)use of infrastructures but at the same time, it goes beyond the paradigm of the (colonial or not) State being the sole actor capitalising on its transformative force.

In the context of water

Water in Cyprus always had a prominent place in both the minds of local inhabitants, as well as in the policies of their rulers. As an arid Mediterranean country-island, the vitality of water was not only embodied in the basic need for drinking and sanitation, but was also seen as vital for the local largely agrarian economy. A typical nineteenth-century colonial developmental plan however, as also argued by Kaika (2006) and in the case of Greece, transportation and telecommunication projects were favoured over water supply and irrigation projects, as the latter were not expected to yield either significant monetary not symbolic capital for the colonial

² These are both the archival research as the primary source of information together with secondary sources on academic and qualitative research on the tensioned history of Cyprus which provide alternative accounts of the inter-communal conflict like (Alecou, 2016, Katsiaounis, 1996, Katsourides, 2014a, 2014b, Michael, *et.al*, 2009, Papadakis, *et.al*, 2006, Peristianis, Faustmann, 2006, Pollis, 1979, 1996, Panayiotou, 2006a, 2006b, Papadakis, 1998, Kızılyürek, 2002, Bozkurt, Trimikliniotis, 2012).

³ Hinting here the “Clash of Civilizations” by S. Huntington which, although a very influential book by an equally influential political scientist, is based on the deterministic assumption that the different cultural, religious and ethnic differences of peoples is the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold war world.

⁴ See these titles for example (Anastasiou, 2008, Constantinou, Hatay, 2010, Heraclides, 2011, Loizides, 2007). Even in publications that actually do follow a different analysis of the conflict that overcomes the competing nationalisms rhetoric, the title still labels it as such (Morag, 2004).

regimes. Still recognising the necessity of water for advancing the local economy to a certain extent, the British commissioned one small dam to be built in Kouklia in 1900, but did not bother to build another until 1945. 1954 inaugurated a postwar period of a colonial policy marked by comprehensive colonial development and welfare projects and was officialised with the Colonial Development and Welfare Act with quite a few dams (mostly small in capacity) constructed in Morphou, Larnaka, Nicosia and Limassol in response to the new '*direction of colonial policy [...] towards an approach that aimed to be interventionist and, innovative and modernising in its pursuit of political, economic and social reform in the colonies*' (Clarke, 2007).

During the first decades of British rule however, the locals suffered greatly from water shortage, which together with the warm weather of the island, scarce rainfall and limited natural water sources created a situation of poor living conditions, with the Cypriots suffering not only from thirst, but from poor sanitation and diseases like malaria (Cyprus Mail, 1936). Water shortage, poor sanitation and irrigation soon led locals to take extreme action and in 1928 local Greek Cypriot villagers from Meniko and Akaki engaged violently with shovels for irrigation rights of the water from the river Serrachis (Neos Kypriakos Phylax, 1928). This led the local British administration to request and finally attain, as they announced in one of their newspapers, a 30,000-pound 'free' grant from the Colonial Development Grant Committee for water research alone (Cyprus Mail, 1936). In their announcement, the British local press invoked opinions of '*the experts*', to state that '*the future policy of Cyprus Agriculture is to be Irrigated Crops*' to tackle the issues of '*most complicated water rights*' and the existence of '*no knowledge nor tradition among the peasants*' on large irrigated agricultural systems (Cyprus Mail, 1936). They continue to accuse the '*Cypriot peasant*' who '*has lost the spirit and the mere idea of cooperation*' which is '*the very essence of irrigation*', and wonder whether '*the Cyprus farmer can be led to cooperate both in the letter and in the spirit*', following the example of Egypt. The word 'led' is purposely emphasised here, since both the overall message conveyed in this article and the use of this certain word, are evidence of the well-known orientalist views of colonialists, where the indigenous peoples of their colonies are presented as backward, uncivilised and even at times dangerous, which need to be 'led' according to the colonialists' 'superior' European principles and knowledge. Furthermore, this report testifies to the ways the British tried to transfer their knowledge on water from different contexts like Egypt, using their colonial network of knowledge and power, such as the construction of the peasant identity

which Timothy Mitchell analysed in 'Colonising Egypt' (1988). In reality, however, recent research disputes this perceived 'backwardness' of the Cypriots in comparison to the British 'expert', like Irene Dietzel's 'The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island' (2014), where she attests to how communities cooperated extensively in their agricultural labor, especially under the Ottoman period (1571-1878). They managed scarce resources together, exceeding ethnic and religious differences, they paid tithes as villages and not as communities, rather than as families or ethnic/religious communities, and they interacted on common land and in fields, held in multiple ownership. Dietzel finds that it was not until British colonisation and, specifically the 1940s land reforms, that the *ground* was literally removed from pre-modern forms of environmental cooperation, eliminating the basis for socio-ecological relations (emphasis by Dietzel). This is why she argues that this period should be included in the chronology of the Cyprus conflict and I would agree, since it is when the natural and constructed landscapes were consolidated under specific schemes as well as constructed identities.

Contested Imaginaries: Constructing the Colonial State

For the construction of an imagined modern colonial identity, the British colonial state in Cyprus employed already known and available mechanisms to it, in its effort to replace the rising nationalist voices already expressed in the 1931 October revolt by *enosist* agitators.⁵ As Anderson (2006 (1983)) analysed for the case of Southeast Asia, these mechanisms were three institutional powers, the census the map and the museum. This assumption is partially valid in the case of Cyprus too, with water infrastructures being the subject of surveys and experiments, the production of maps and administrative territories, making them an essential part of this effort to construct the colonial state during the 1940s, the so-called 'imperial renaissance' (Hodge, 2007) that was explicitly expressed in the Colonial Welfare Development Act of 1945.

Firstly, a census (Census of Population and Agriculture of 1946, 1949) recorded the population synthesis and categorised them in terms of religion, profession, income and locality which was also accompanied by the funding of similar surveys and development schemes for geological surveys and other possible ways for yielding more water for agriculture. The same census is

⁵ Greek Cypriot supporters of *enosis*, meaning unification with Greece.

also important for those interested in tracing the history of the interethnic conflict, since it was the first to adopt the nationalist categorisation of the two major populations which until then, were categorised under their religion, Christian and Muslim and not Greek and Turkish. The reasoning behind this and the relevant debate of whether these nationalisms were imposed, imported or self-generated is not so relevant here, as the undoubted fact is that it is officialised by the local British colonial state in an official document. This again exceeds the rationale based on the traditional ways in which we view colonial histories, since it recognises the coloniality of infrastructures such as maps, censuses and architecture which have a persistent and long-lasting effect in the sense that they help internalise and crystallise power in the form of practical political administration, production, everyday life world-view and an interpretive perspective that have taken the forms of capitalism, the nation-state and eurocentrism. As Kenny Cupers writes about a collaborative project titled ‘Coloniality of Infrastructure’ on e-flux Architecture:

‘the coloniality of infrastructure is more than just a matter of colonial ruins,’ it is the ‘persistent promise of infrastructure today—to deliver progress, modernization, and development—as entangled with colonial ways of doing, knowing, and being’ (Cupers, 2021).

Following the census, the 1946 Ten-Year Development Plan (Harris, 1946) clearly demarcated the two ‘reasonably well-defined parts’ of development which included the Agricultural, Forest, Medical and Education departments. If the census codified resources and identities, then the Development Plan can be seen as what Anderson lists as part of constructing the colonial imagined community, i.e. the map, meaning the *rational* representation of data and the setting of boundaries. The third element Anderson discusses, i.e. the museum, is hereby perceived as the codified cultural forces of architecture to establish an ancestry with a historical continuity and cultural legitimacy through the employment of history and culture. Additionally, it is also understood as other kinds of produced iconography which aims to reinforce a *modern* identity, that is achieved through technological advancements and the improvement of living conditions through water, i.e. the (British) colonial modern (and urban) identity through infrastructure.



Figure 2. (right) Still from “Fragma”/The Dam, in Greek, directed by Dimitris Makris, Greece (1982). Source: Imdb, accessed March 2023; (left) Supervising water tanks in Famagusta. Circa 1950s, Source: Press and Information Office Photo archive, “Water development”, 28A-0012-0003.

Water infrastructure is often depicted as modernity itself, bearing the same kinds of social injustices as Mathew Gandy (2014) notes. In order to support this claim, he makes a reference to Elia Kazan’s film ‘*Wild River*’ (1960) where a young Tennessee Valley Authority official is sent to evacuate the last remaining owner from the valley before the dam comes into operation, where the argument of leaving nature alone is equated with leaving the existing racially-segregated town and other social injustices alone. Similarly, cultural production in Greek cinema has analogous examples: Greek director Dimitris Makris directed the film ‘*Fragma*’/The Dam (1982) featuring it-man Nicos Kourkoulos⁶ in the role of a young engineer who is sent to a small fearful town to assess the damages in a dam which threatens the whole area with flooding. All the cinematic references mentioned, besides having water infrastructure as a common theme, also feature the concentrated power in state institutions, bureaucrats and technocrats who in the process of radically altering the natural landscape of an area, bring about important changes to the local society. Another commonality is this agency bestowed upon the young male scientist to intercept or facilitate these processes, as another Fountainhead where the heroic modernist architect/engineer is tormented by all these moral questions implicated by his professional activities. Many things are going wrong with these depictions which clearly

⁶ Nicos Kourkoulos also starred in yet another film around water, called ‘*Enemy of the People*’ directed by Giannis Dalianidis, which was based on the homonymous play by Henrik Ibsen.

represent what was going wrong with modernism itself, as many postmodernist critiques have pointed out, and indicative iconography of the time studied here indicates the same.⁷



Figure 3. (*left*) The ‘ctesiphon’ shell constructed by its inventor Irish engineer, James Waller, circa 1940s (Hawkins, Will, et al. 2016); (*center*) Cast-concrete grain containers circa 1950s (Georgiou, Costas. 2018); (*right*) Carob warehouse in Limassol built in 1961 by the Tekton Technical office of Foivos Polydorides and Andreas Papadopoulos. (ereos, Stefanos, Aimilios Michael, and Irene Hadjisavvas-Adam, 2009).

As evident in the photographic record of the Water Development Department from colonial times in Cyprus, there has been a consistent technocratic approach to water infrastructure that largely stems from the high modernist approach to water which aimed at taming nature through technology that reinforced the prevalence of a technological aesthetic. The image of the male engineer, the ‘technocrat’ overseeing water flow in the newly- (at the time) constructed water facilities in Famagusta, Cyprus brings to mind how this control over nature was codified in the design of the surveyor’s house by Claude Nicolas Ledoux in the 1780s which had established the ‘canonical example of the emergence of a new urban form’ as Kaika and Swyngedouw (2000) described. However, this revolutionary work coexisted with a deeply conservative classicism and as Harvey notes, from this very beginning, modernity revelled in the complexity and coexistence of a progressive and reactionary force in the shaping of the urban form (Harvey, 1989) with the fear and fascination of technological innovations (Marx, 1964) as those were evident in the catastrophic impacts of e.g. a dam. What all these works have in common is that their technological aesthetics are based on the mediatory capacities of architectural/

⁷ The individualistic character assigned to the very profession of the architect that devised the star-system as Denise Scott-Brown has illuminated, and gender inequalities also traced by Beatriz Colomina, Diana Agrest manifested in the inhuman scale of utopian urban planning projects that caused them to be uninhabited or even worse, to displace and/or exploit vulnerable communities and in the case of water infrastructure, a complete control and efficient utilisation of nature through the built environment that would be facilitated by science and technology that is essentially also very patriarchal.

technological works, between constructed and natural space, where design is based on cutting-edge construction materials and technologies that utilise nature, with modernist architectural history and theory at the forefront of such conceptualisations.⁸

Another example of this technological yet modernist aesthetic from the case of Cyprus is the one observed in Cypriot modernist architecture. Since agriculture was a persistent priority for economic development plans as abovementioned and demanded efficient ways of utilising natural resources, we see technologies available for constructing grain storage like the ctesiphon hut, influencing building construction with a clear modernist vocabulary that is based on structural expressionism, functionality and the use of new (at the time) constructing methods like flexible cast-concrete forms. Perhaps this fascination with science and technology and specifically infrastructure, is more evident in some of the work of modernist architect Stavros Economou who incorporates water towers into many of his public use projects using a similarly modernist vocabulary, including the structural expressionism of cast-concrete such as in the Famagusta Municipal Baths in 1956 and the Nicosia Municipal Market in 1965.



Figure 4. The Famagusta Municipal Baths completed in 1956. Source: Georghiou, C. (2018) "The Architecture of Cypriots 1878-1960". Nicosia: En Tipis Publications.

⁸ Indicatively, see (Banham, 1969, Giedion, 1948).

Additionally, the idea of economic development through the conquering and taming of nature through science and technology that is embodied in water infrastructures and shares the same technological aesthetic with modernism, is an idea that has had a vast geopolitical impact, as it was exported by institutions like the Tennessee Valley Authority -the invisible ‘villain’ in Elia Kazan’s *Wild River*- to developing countries. Although initially tied to the New Deal of the 1930s, the TVAs activities in the 1950s seem to follow the ideopolitical goals of the Marshall Plan to intercept the rising tide of ‘chaos and communism’ as New York Times staff writer Willard Espy writes in 1946. TVA-style projects were hoped by Espy, to be more than concrete engineering; they were meant to be beacons of Western democracy, economic development, decolonisation and eventually ‘*diminish sources of conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, between rival factions in Greece, between the Hindus and Muslims in India*’ (Espy, 1946). Of course, it is difficult to ignore the paradox of American efforts to promote political and economic development in the non-white world measured against the failures in matters of racial equality at their own home during this period preceding the civil rights movement as Robert Rook (2004) has pointed out.

And so, processes of economic development, the taming of natural resources and high modernism as their language of expression, entail complexities and contradictions not as something to be celebrated or promoted in architectural design like Venturi’s manifesto, but rather as realities that need to be addressed historically and systematically. Treating archival material like correspondence, surveys, photographs, press, and maps as evidence can reveal such complexities and contradictions. Such a contradiction for example, can be traced in the historical conditions that drove late colonial water infrastructure construction in Cyprus where even though infrastructure was an integral part of the ideologically and politically-charged modernist construction of the modern colonial imaginary, it also facilitated processes of urbanisation with unforeseeable consequences for the colonialists. One unintended repercussion of these welfare economic development plans was the surge of irredentism and fresh demands for *enosis*, i.e. unification with Greece, on behalf of the Greekcypriots, according to Kazamias and Panayiotou (2018).

Following the election of a Labour government in Britain in 1945, and the rise of the welfare state in the metropolis, there was a post-war welfare policy for the colonies, the Colonial Development Welfare Act, the so-called ‘Imperial Renaissance’ (Hodge, 2007) as abovementioned. The British colonial government in Cyprus proclaimed in the 1946 Ten-Year

Development Plan that it would make use of the Act to secure free loans for irrigation and forestry development, agricultural improvement schemes, anti-malarial and rural health measures and improvement of hospitals, educational development (with emphasis on teachers' training), and village improvement schemes, with provision made for tourism development, in an effort to promote development and modernisation. These produced some of the projects which are exemplary of a kind of modernisation, using a modernist vocabulary in the sense that it followed the principles of a scientific and technological aesthetic that would utilise nature.

It has already been argued that in the case of Cyprus, this development through social housing and education was in fact motivated by the colonialists' aspirations to combat local rising reactionist voices as well as the threat in the wider region through development by re-establishing the colonial State as the overseer of this modernisation process (Sioulas & Pyla, 2015; Sioulas & Pyla, 2018). This interest in the welfare of the local people and their economic development and modernisation however, is proof that like social housing and education reforms, infrastructural development (and arguably colonial development in general), cannot be analysed solely '*in terms of colonial agendas of power and control alone*' as Sioulas and Pyla argue.

This is also argued by Gustavo Esteva (2010) in Wolfgang Sachs' *Development Dictionary*, where he points out that since the 1930s, the term 'development' acquired a new meaning with the new British Law of Development of the Colonies changed in 1939 into Law of Development *and Welfare* of the Colonies, producing as he calls it, 'a dual mandate' where the conqueror economically develops the conquered while at the same time accepts the responsibility for the natives' well-being.

At the same time, Esteva also stresses the fact that the following period of intensive funding for international development launched in 1949 by Truman's Four Points speech made special reference to aiding 'underdeveloped' areas, attributed to the term 'development' a somewhat negative connotation since it assumed that

'For those who make up almost two-thirds of the world's population to think about development -of any kind of development- requires first the perception of themselves as underdeveloped' (Esteva, 2010).

With water often portrayed as the very idea of modernity, the CDWA was utilised to fulfil the aspirations of the Director of the Water Development Department at the time, I. L. Ward, for

large-scale water supply schemes that would not only provide locals with water to drink and farm, but also modernise and expand urban centres, like the *Greater Nicosia Water Supply Scheme* (Ward, RED 58 Letter to Secretary of Natural Resources from Administrative Secretary, 1955). The *Greater Nicosia Water Supply Scheme* conceived in the 1950s meant to water the suburban villages⁹ (Ward, 1954) and was assigned to the British engineering firm, Howard and Humphreys and Sons due to their experience in African colonies. The very scale of the project which involved many minor and major works in creating a network of water infrastructure spanning at least 40km long from Morphou to inland and capital Nicosia, also attests to how water infrastructures become constitutive parts of the urban, where even though these constructions were situated well outside the town they were still an integral part of it during this process of urbanising nature. Also, going back to the institutional components identified by Anderson and their role in constructing colonial identities, a scheme such as this embodies all three, since it is based on a census and the delineations of identity and territory made therein, literally using the same produced maps, promoting a certain plan for development and itself producing architecture and iconography.

However, in researching water infrastructure construction during this period in Cyprus, I discovered imagery that is largely unavailable and unknown regarding Cypriot women that subvert imagery like the one at the Leventis Municipal Museum, depicting women not only gossiping around fountains, but were actually active part of the workforce in very labour-intensive professions such as agricultural labour, industrial production of clothes, packaging, and construction and even mining. The case here is the Pyrgos Tyllirias dam designed and constructed by the Water Development Department in 1957 which is also proof of the contested waterscape that is translocal, since even though this project concerns the Tylliria area, Pyrgos is mentioned in correspondence between the Director of the WDD I. L. Ward and the Administrative Secretary in 1957 reporting the progress of the Kythrea water irrigation channels.

⁹ According to the Director of the Water Development I. L. Ward, his project would follow the ‘successful case of Limassol’, consistent with the urban vision the colonial state had for the modernising of large cities in Cyprus.

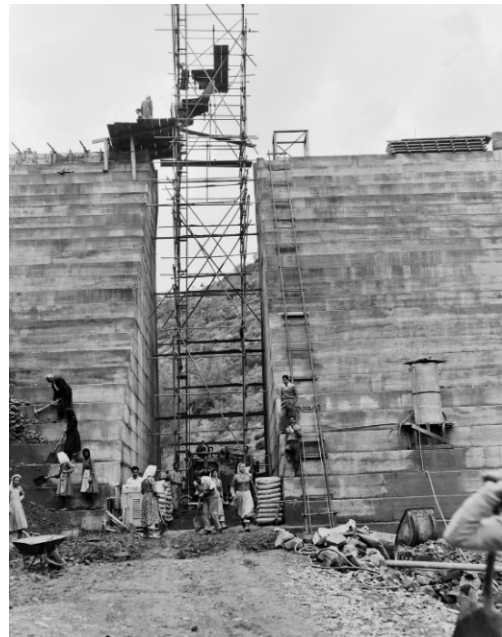


Figure 5. (left) “Kaimakli women at the fountain, for water and gossip” Nicosia 1930, Photograph by Mangoian Bros, ©The Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia; (right) Pyrgos Tyllirias water Dev. Works, completed in 1960, designed and constructed by the WDD, Source: PIO “Water Supply and Irrigation 1950s” folder, 28A-0109-0007.

Ward reported that the progress of the scheme was very slow because the machinery in Pyrgos was sabotaged and in Kythrea two concrete mixers were lost with two bombs that failed to explode placed in two other construction sites. Spirits were heated in the area, because in the process of drafting a wider scheme for the watering of Kythrea villages and chifliks (Epicho, Exo Metochi, Neokhorio, Trakhoni, Palekythyro, Voni, Bey Keuy and chifliks Pedonadji and Neizen) which were not included initially and the consumption calculations were wrong. Other difficulties he mentions seem to be attributed to ethnic reasons *“out of the seven villages, three are purely Greek, two are mixed and two purely Turkish. Greek village Authorities are afraid to co-operate, although they wish to do so, because of intimidation and I consider that the Turks should not be left to suffer as a result”* (Ward 1957). This was quite common since between 1955-59 there was a guerrilla war that Greek Cypriots started in support of unification with Greece, and towards the end of this period, there was increased violence towards Turkish Cypriots and leftist Greek Cypriots, which again attests to how the conflict in Cyprus cannot be monolithically explained through a rival-nationalisms approach.

This project also produced a lot of disagreement amongst officials of the Water Department and the Nicosia Commissioner's office, producing a trail of documents regarding contesting surveys by engineers, power struggles over influence in the municipal Water Board as well as protesting memorandums by locals.¹⁰ The project was put into motion by the end of the 1950s just before the independence, which in many ways was to serve as another sample of the 'beneficial' work of the British.¹¹ This project is an example of how water development in Cyprus during the period of the 1940s-50s goes beyond analyses of typical colonial development, by being part of a larger effort of the colonial state to modernise the island, inspired by welfare policies in Britain, while also being part of a clear ideopolitical agenda to stabilise the rising reactionist voices in colonies such as Cyprus through grandiose schemes such as island-wide electrification schemes, watering the capital by bringing water from Morphou Bay, and later large dams.

Shaping the Postcolonial

This high modernist instrumentalising approach to water management was not limited to the colonial state, but as abovementioned, was passed down to the independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960. By 1960, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean had become central to many transnational plans for socioeconomic reconstruction and this tendency for development was intensified during the Cold War rivalry of the two superpowers over the region (Pyla, 2013). This rivalry was expressed in funding surveys and programmes such as the United Nations Development Programme in the 1960s, which the Government appropriated to launch an extensive program of surveys and dam construction, aiming to accelerate agricultural development, 'the most important economic field' according to the state (PIO, 1962) eventually making Cyprus the most dam-dense country in Europe. The scheme followed here, was the same as before employing the same institutional powers. Surveys conducted by the UN on existing water resources and reports such as the 'Thorp report' (1961) indicating how crucial

¹⁰ I.L Ward's survey of 1954 titled *WATER SUPPLY & IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT, GREATER NICOSIA WATER SUPPLY SCHEME* (1954) versus the opinions of Chief Water Engineer employed by the Commissioner's Office and the Nicosia Water Board, who spotted 'many weaknesses in Mr Ward's design' (Perkins, 1955) and threatened the Commissioner with his resignation when he stated in his letter to him that: "it has been clear to me that any major improvements which I wished to make to the Water Supply would be opposed by the Water Development Department" (Perkins, 1956).

¹¹ Together with other large-scale water supply schemes such as the *Combined Water Supply for villages of Central Mesaoria*, as the Commissioner of Famagusta wrote to the Colonial Secretary, there was an "urgent need for such a scheme" since it was "a reproach that after 70 years of British rule, the women of the villages should, in summer, have to walk miles to fetch home, on their shoulders, a pitcher of drinking water" (Weston, 1949).

‘efficient water management’ was to their development plans are also suggestive of how these water management projects were not merely utilitarian or technical artefacts, but products of larger historical circumstances accompanied by specific ideologies contributing to debates about the modernisation dreams of progress, efficiency and comfort (Pyla, 2013; Bozdogan, 2001; Kaika, 2006). Infrastructural development and dam building in particular during this period, continued to operate on behalf of the welfare state similar to its colonial predecessor, but it was also strongly employed as a modernising effect of the independent state and the strengthening of a national identity that could surpass ethnic conflict and forming larger ideopolitical alliances.

The same company Howard and Humphreys and Sons employed for the Greater Nicosia Water Supply Scheme remained in Cyprus after the British left and continued working with the Government to complete the scheme and built numerous other projects like the Argaka dam in 1964 and the Lefkara dam in 1973, to mention a few. This reliance on experts -especially from the West- and the implied orientalist image of the Cypriots in their reports and schemes, although persistent, came to change after independence during the Cold War period when Cyprus joined the Non-Alignment Movement and re-entered the geopolitical game by drawing connections to the East as well. Due to the intercommunal conflict which had been simmering since the 1940s-50s and violently expressed by 1963, the state had adopted the UN’s technoscientific rhetoric to advance a rhetoric of unity, aspiring to the Non-Aligned Movement’s supra-national claims that offered an alternative (Pyla & Phokaides, 2018). This shift in geopolitical alliances was also embodied in the construction of water projects where even though they were still treated as means to an end, the end was quite different.

Besides British Howard and Humphreys, there was also a Yugoslavian company, Energoprojekt, active in Cyprus during this time which was known for its activities in the developing world and drew connections to the Eastern Soviet bloc. Again, water infrastructure becomes something more than a technoscientific product, and water management more than a tool; water infrastructures become the embodiments of geographical and material imaginations regarding modernisation processes, symbols of modernity’s quest to urbanise nature and the catalysts for reconfiguring the relationship between nature and the city. Perhaps more importantly, popular press at the tensioned period of the 1962-64 intercommunal clashes paints another subverting depiction of the two communities, where in many mixed villages like Lefka, Peristerona, Potamia and the suburb of Kaimakli with a strong leftist presence as well Turkish Cypriots, at

times of water-related tensions, there seems to be a very strong communal feeling in their demands for water. Taking advantage of an existing law granting local authorities a level of autonomy, they were many efforts to self-organise in order to manage water through irrigation committees with what they deemed fair representation. Again, conflict is multi-levelled and complex, and infrastructural construction concerns networks of power that are of course based on the powers of coloniality but also counter-hegemonic.

After the Greek-led coup in 1974 and the Turkish invasion and seizing of the North, there is another important instance of water infrastructure identified as a peacebuilding tool, which clearly recognised and took advantage of its completely metabolised nature facilitated by the aforementioned postcolonial high modernist development. The case here is made for the Nicosia Master Plan which is perhaps the most successful case for this approach of ‘water of peace’, that was the initiative of the then mayor of Nicosia Lellos Demetriades and his counterpart in the North, Mustafa Akinci. Having to navigate incredibly complicated political issues, the capital’s need for a unified and upgraded sewage system, forced the two leaders to move away from the officiality of the central UN organisation and focus on more ‘*down to earth things like funding and technical stuff*’ mainly from the UNDP (Demetriades, 1998), therefore bypassing the political halt their higher-ranked representatives were faced with at the time. Cyprus in a process of ridding its colonial past and constructing a national identity, has been consistent since its independence in 1960 in promoting the construction of numerous dams drastically altering its natural landscape and legitimising the State as the overseer of this modernising project. What we know from architectural history though, is that large-scale modernist urbanism claiming law-like power through science and technology on behalf of the State – what James Scott described as *high* modernism – was heavily criticised due to its claimed superiority over other kinds of knowledge which were viewed as backward, static traditions, as old wives’ tales and superstition as Scott (1998, p. 331) mentions, without which however, it could not have successfully presented itself as the antidote to backwardness.



Figure 6. Mayor of Nicosia and Turkish Cypriot representative of Nicosia on municipal issues. They have agreed on sewage (Σατιρική επιθεώρηση 1978, Μαυρογένης Γιώργος, Apsida digital repository).

Still, when discussing modernism in its highest form or otherwise, the classic examples of Brasilia and Chandigarh pop-up, the iconic figure of Le Corbusier and his round black-glasses, the strict minimalism of Mies Van de Rohe and the Fallingwater house, which makes sense since architecture schoolbooks still have very limited references to ‘other’ modernisms, and if they do, they are presented as efforts that copy western aesthetics in eastern contexts.¹² However, besides Le Corbusier and Oscar Niemeyer, James Scott (1998) also analysed the collectivization of Soviet agriculture and the capitalization of American agriculture to trace their interconnections, as well as postcolonial modernism in Tasmania. Immediately, this reveals that despite the insightful analyses to create a link between the aesthetic response, i.e. modernism, and the techno-scientific,¹³ there is a disparate gap between the two, especially in terms of historiographical as well as theoretical and methodological analyses. To interrogate such a link, is in a way related to the moral question posed by Lukasz Stanek (2012) on whether architectural discourse should just limit itself to buildings, neighbourhoods, squares, streets, parks and landscapes; he then answers that there is nothing wrong with this limitation as long as examples of architecture are not approached as reified spatial typologies, but as constitutive

¹² See for example, Udo Kutterman, Kenneth Frampton which are still used as textbooks in prominent Architecture schools, or from the MIT’s website book titles under ‘textbooks’, “The World as an Architectural Project” which include non-western architectural examples, but are analysed or conceptualised in a way that they appear as imports of Euro- Western-centric modernism, so they are ‘other’ modernisms, instead of being studied in their own merit.

¹³ See for example the edited volume trying to connect architectural knowledge, concepts of materiality and space within the social context that arose from discussions regarding what a sociology of architecture can learn from science and technology studies (Müller, Reichmann, 2015).

parts of the socially-constructed space, operating on many levels including their materiality, use, symbolism, experience. It is within this context that I have tried to approach water infrastructures, as socially-constructed spaces with specific materialities, aesthetics, as part of imaginaries and embodiments of ideologies and integral parts of the urban that are traced in contested state policy and planning, contested geopolitics, contested ideologies and the contested everyday life that might offer alternative narratives to both architecture and ethnic conflict.

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Beira, Mozambique: 1943's Urbanisation Project. The Paradoxes of a Modern Plan in a Colonial Context

Ana Magalhães

CITAD, Lusíada University; anaarezmagalhaes@gmail.com; Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

The history of Beira, Mozambique's second city, is intrinsically linked to the history of the Railways in Africa, as well as to the Mozambique Company. Beira, elevated to a city in 1907, is located on the north bank of the Pungue River, bending over the Indian Ocean. When the pressure of population growth became increasingly significant and with the difficult conditions of salubrity of the city, the first urbanization plans were drawn up in 1932, which valued formal effects more than functional issues, but which, however, were never executed. The Municipality will open a competition in 1943, for a new urbanization project that will be won by José Porto and Joaquim Ribeiro Alegre. This project proposes the expansion of the city, promoting a set of embankments and soil drainage and an urban structure that was intended to be in continuity with the pre-existences, but marked by a design based on orthogonal grids joined by radial centres. The zoning proposal is well highlighted in the plan, differentiating administrative, commercial or tourist areas and distinct residential areas for the European, Asian, and African populations. This paper intends to analyse the contradictions of a colonial plan that proposes the segregation of the population, but at the same time, it intends to refer to the urban design of Patrick Abercrombie or the ideology of the Athens Charter. Far from the formal premises of the Charter of Athens, its design fits into urban models based on the concept of a “Garden City” with a radial composition and proposing the monumentalisation of road axes and main squares.

Keywords: Colonial; Modernism; Urban Planning; Lusophone African Cities

Session: Modernity and the city: norms and forms of urban transition in colonial contexts

Introduction

This paper proposes the critical analysis of the document “*Memória Descritiva do Projecto de Urbanização da Cidade da Beira*” published in 1951, which was the basis of the urbanisation plan developed in this city. The preliminary urbanisation project, developed following a competition launched by the Municipality of Beira in 1943, was won by the architect José Porto in co-authorship with the engineer Joaquim Ribeiro Alegre. The aim is to analyse the paradoxes of a plan that, proposing the racial segregation of the population, refers to the urban design of Patrick Abercrombie and the egalitarian ideology of the Athens Charter. Far from the formal premises of the Athens Charter, its urban design fits into the urban models based on the concept of the Garden City of radial composition and proposing the monumentalisation of the main roads and squares. However, it was along the lines of this plan that some of the most interesting projects clearly linked to the Modern Movement in the Portuguese-speaking African territories were developed. From the early 1950s, young architects arrived in Beira and left the city dotted with public and residential buildings marked by a modern language. This image of a modern city reflects a society where the well-being and prosperity of a colonial city were evident.

Brief history of a colonial city

The history of Beira, the second city of Mozambique, is intrinsically linked to the history of the African Railway and the Mozambique Company. Beira lies on the northern bank of the Pungué river mouth, bending over the Indian Ocean. It is located at approximately 19°50' South latitude and 34°50' East longitude and roughly halfway along the long coast of Mozambique, some 1200 km from the capital Maputo. It has a humid tropical climate, with high rainfall, high temperatures and a high degree of humidity. “The entire African coast, in these parts, is low and marshy, and Beira is no exception. It is defended from the sea by a strip of sand”, which makes this city potentially floodable at high tide. “It is an extraordinarily flat region, almost without relief. The largest topographic accident is the Chiveve, an arm of the Pungué River that corresponds to a narrow depression in the terrain, dry or flooded depending on the level of the tide. The most remarkable topographic accident is the alto da Manga, a small area of land situated 6 km north of the town and whose altitude is 18m” (Beira, 1951: 53). A report by António Enes describes the difficult geographical conditions of the city in 1892: “it was hard for me to believe that Beira was all that, sand and mangrove bordering an enormous muddy

liquid in which the Pungué and the Búzi will dissolve their own margins lacerated by currents that make hippopotamuses lose their feet” (Beira, 1951: 39).

The settlement which gave rise to the town was founded in 1887, when the military command of Aruângua, created by decree on 14 June 1884, was installed near the mouth of the Pungué River. The initial urban nucleus developed in a narrow strip between the Pungué and the Chiveve River, an arm of that river. In 1892 it was declared an urban settlement, “although this designation was merely legal, as the nucleus was intended to serve as support for the penetration and division of plots of land between the State and the Mozambique Company, concessionaire of a vast area around it” (Amaral, 1969: 76) and was granted by the State to the Mozambique Company. The *Companhia de Moçambique* was a Mozambique majestic company that held the concession for the lands covering the present provinces of Manica and Sofala. The first *Companhia de Moçambique*, created in 1890, was composed of Portuguese and English capital for the mining, commercial and industrial exploitation of Manica. The second and last Company, with majestic powers, was founded in February 1891, with a 50-year concession granted by the State. The Company had its headquarters in Beira, where it controlled the public administration and the post office, and even created a private bank. In 1942, the territory of Manica and Sofala came under the direct administration of the colonial government and *Companhia de Moçambique* continued to operate in the agro-industrial and commercial sectors.

In 1893 the Beira Railway Company was created, financially associated with the British South Africa Company, with the objective of building a railway line to Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. The port had its first development in 1896, with the construction of the railway jetty, which would allow Beira to be linked to the railway line connecting to Rhodesia and the interior of Africa, and which would be inaugurated in 1900: “the continuity and development of Beira was definitively ensured, and it became, without discussion, the port of that progressive English colony” (Beira, 1951: 41).

Following this rapid development, Beira was elevated to a city in 1907. The urban population of Beira has been characterised, since its foundation, by a strong cosmopolitanism common to many African cities on the Indian Ocean coast: “In Beira live, side by side, several communities, such as the Chinese, the Pakistani, the Greek, the English, the white and black Portuguese, which, although relatively open, maintain a great cohesion, particularly the former, around their family and religious patterns” (Amaral, 1969: 80).

With the pressure of population growth becoming increasingly significant, increasing about fivefold between 1900 and 1930, and the difficult salubrity conditions of the city, the city administration commissioned, in 1932, the architects brothers Carlos Rebello de Andrade (1887-1971) and Guilherme Rebello de Andrade (1891-1969) to draw up an urbanization plan. "Here are the first steps towards expanding the city to the southwest, over the Pungué mudflats, duly filled in and defended by the extension of the current wall to the sandbank of Ponta Gêa [...]. This plan also considered the urbanisation of the Macúti sea area, as a luxury and tourist zone". (Beira, 1951: 42). The plans will be presented at the 1st Colonial Exhibition held in Oporto in 1934, but will not be implemented due to the "lack of harmony of the layout with the existing urban elements". (Beira, 1951: 45). The Urbanisation and Extension Project of the city of Beira and also the Urbanisation Project of Macúti Beach, "of academic nature, are two examples of the City Beautiful, conceptually within a Beaux Arts urban design, valuing aspects of formal effect and visual composition, more than functional and pragmatic aspects" (Fernandes, 2002: 90).



Figures 1 and 2. Cidade da Beira, *Projecto de Urbanização, Memória Justificativa*, 1951, cover page; Beira Urban Plan. Perspective of residential and commercial areas (AHU).

The urbanization plan of the city of Beira of 1943. Thought and design

On 29 January 1943, the Municipality of Beira launched a public competition for the development of preliminary plans for the urbanisation of the city, "with a view to the best use of the areas to be filled in, the most convenient location and arrangement of the different neighbourhoods and also the urban arrangement of the coastal strip as far as Macuti, with the

essential aim of tourism.” (Beira, 1951: 15).¹ The competition will be won by José Porto (1883-1965) in partnership with Joaquim Ribeiro Alegre. José Porto, an architect trained at the Geneva School of Industrial Arts, and the engineer Joaquim Ribeiro Alegre formed the Sociedade Portuguesa de Fomento and won the competition for the Beira Preliminary Urbanization Project on October 4, 1943. The plan was to be developed between 1944 and 1946. The proposal foresaw a timeframe for the development of the plan for population growth until 1970² and contemplated fundamentally the growth to the north up to the Macuti area, as well as the occupation of the embankment southeast of Ponta Gea. The project was approved in 1951 and partially implemented.

The plan was developed after the consultation of the Overseas Urban Office (*Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial*, hereafter GUC). When GUC was created, the authors of this plan had already signed a contract with the Municipality. In 1944, the Minister of Colonies Marcelo Caetano visited Mozambique, accompanied by the Director and Deputy Director of the Office, Rogério Cavaca and João Aguiar, taking note of the approved Plan. The architect João Aguiar criticised the “geometric layout that was generally adopted for the whole urbanised area, [which] made the city monotonous by the succession of symmetrical blocks and straight streets (...)”,³ outraging the authors of the plan, who published in 1946 a document entitled “Reply to the Opinion of the Colonial Urbanisation Office” in which they stressed that their work had “the merit of being an honest attempt to value the greatest wealth of the Colony – its black population – based on a long study of the gentile customs and persistent enquiry into the needs and aspirations of the natives.”⁴

The project proposes the expansion of the city by promoting a series of landfills and soil drainage (which review the initial projects proposed since 1939) and a layout that was intended to be in continuity with the pre-existing but marked by a design based on orthogonal meshes

¹ Beira Municipal Council set up an Administrative Committee of the Town Hall in order to appraise the proposals submitted, which included, in addition to prominent personalities from the town, a technical team made up of engineers and an architect. Three proposals were submitted to the competition: “Aruangua 20th Century”, signed by Jorge do Rego Antoxi; “Aruangua - Macúti”, signed by the Sociedade Portuguesa de Fomento, Lda, based in Oporto; and “Nau”, signed by Pedro Carlos Alexandre Pezart. (Beira, 1951: 36).

² It was considered a total population (referring to the distribution by race (European, Asian and mixed) between the year 1943 (7964 inhabitants) and the year 1970 (23600 inhabitants). The calculation of the African population was not considered to be necessary, indicating only that in 1970, 65500 inhabitants were predicted (Beira, 1951: 75).

³ Alegre, Ribeiro, and José Porto (1946), *Resposta ao Parecer do Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial, acerca do anteprojecto de urbanização da Beira*, 29 (Almeida, 2013: 63).

⁴ Alegre and Porto, *Resposta*, 111.

connected by radial centres: “The entire layout obeyed the concern to ensure easy transit and reduce to a minimum the points of conflict on the main circulation lines, delineated in accordance with the movement to be admitted between the different urban centres” (Beira, 1951: 137). The zoning proposal is well highlighted in the plan, differentiating administrative areas, commercial areas, tourist areas and distinct residential areas for the European, Asian, mixed and African populations. An industrial zone and the location of the air terminal in the Manga neighbourhood are also defined. They also planned to transform the Chiveve River into a large lake on whose banks a golf course would be located.

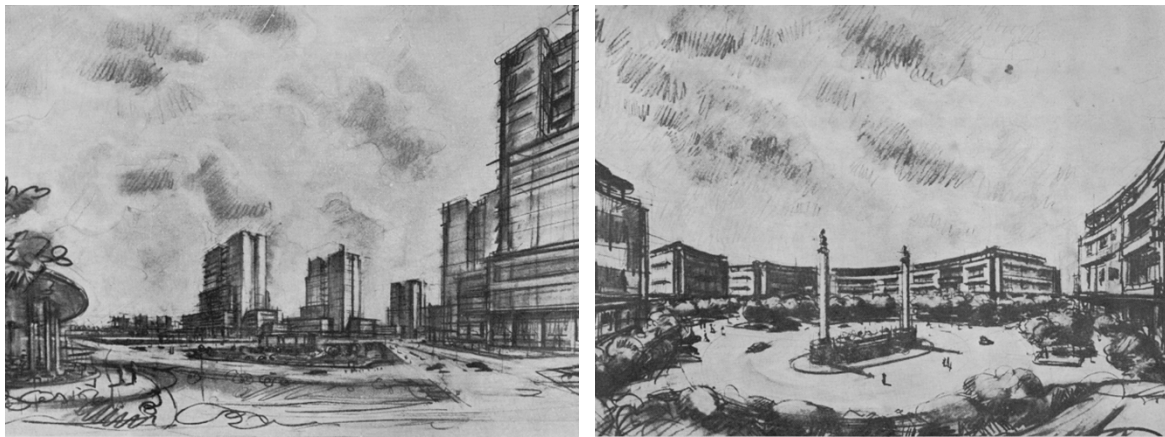
Although they advocate the correspondence of zoning by racial characteristics, their authors list as project references both the urban ideology of Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957), author of the plan for the post-war reconstruction of the city of London, as well as the Charter of Athens itself. Thus they describe the function of urbanism: “Its main aims [...] are [...] unlimited, for they multiply according to the problems to be solved, but perhaps the fundamental factors on which all the others depend may be summed up in the following three-almost a divisional one-salubrity, utility, beauty; and three functions: Dwelling, Working and Recreation” (Beira, 1951: 11).⁵

In contrast with the projects developed based on the Athens Charter cited in the descriptive memory, the urban design of the Beira plan, despite the critical opinion of the assistant director of GUC, fits into the urban models developed by the Overseas Urban Office⁶ during the 1940s, based on the concept of the Garden City of radial composition, proposing the monumentalisation of the main roads and squares and based on rationalist principles of organisation of the city by functional and social sectors, establishing the difference between the colonial city and the indigenous city.

⁵ “It is from the greatest union and fusion of the three factors mentioned that the plan will result best (...) in Hygiene: climate, orientation, reservation of free spaces, street layout, drainage of marshy land (...) In the chapter Utility (...) in addition to grouping and distributing the buildings of general utility, it should also make communications and traffic convenient between the various administrative, working or recreational centres (...).) besides grouping and distributing the buildings of general utility, it should also make communications and traffic between the various administrative, work or leisure centres (...) convenient (...) As to Aesthetics (...) we should improve the panoramic aspect of the city, create more beautiful perspectives, arrange the important or official buildings (...)” (Beira, 1951: 11, 12).

⁶ The *Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial* (GUC) was created in December 1944 by Marcelo Caetano, then Minister of Colonies, with the aim of “studying the problems of colonial urbanisation and promoting the preparation of plans for the arrangement and expansion of cities and towns in the African colonies” (Decreto no 34:173 /1944).

The idea of monumentality, associated with the idea of colonial power during the *Estado Novo* period, is clear in the description of the central element of the plan, the Praça da Índia: "For this veritable noble hall of the city to become a dignified representative centre, it is necessary to provide it with dimensions that allow for a monumental architectural arrangement, where the feeling of the population is mirrored and is, for them, a just cause for pride". (Beira, 1951: 159).



Figures 3 and 4. 1951's Beira Urban Plan: Skyscrapers on the main avenue; View of the Central Square

What is clearly stated in the plan is the relationship between the concept of "zonification" and the "segregation of inhabitants according to their habits", as they underline: "This segregation corresponds almost to the zonification of the city according to different races, because the number of Asian or African individuals with European habits is very small. [...] This means that the division of the city into European, Asian or indigenous quarters is made on the basis of the habit of the residents and not according to their races." (Beira, 1951: 95) The plan clarifies well the mode of distribution of the "different types of inhabitants", specifying the location of the areas destined for the "population of European customs": "At present, the preferences of the different races are already noted in the city. Thus, the white race prefers the land near the sea; the Asians, inland; and the Indians prefer to live far away, isolated from the other races, and, whenever possible, on undeveloped land. The preference of the Europeans for the seaside is due to the fact that this population is more sensitive to the excesses of the tropical climate, seeking refuge in the area in question, which, not only because of its proximity to the sea, but also because it is the most exposed to the prevailing winds, becomes cooler and healthier. [...] Also not strange to this preference is the taste for wide horizons. The location of the district of

the population with European customs south of the Chiveve and in Macúti, obeyed this preference, well accentuated in the white population of Beira.” (Beira, 1951: 130). It should be noted that in the descriptive memory accompanying the project, no consideration was given to the neighbourhood for the African population – the indigenous neighbourhood – which would be located on the city perimeter, next to the airport, to the North of the Manga area.⁷

The project clearly differentiated between the central area, where the commercial zone would be located and where taller buildings could be constructed, with a maximum number of twelve floors designated as skyscrapers, and the residential areas, organised into plots and consisting of two-storey detached houses. The designation Garden-city (sic) was associated with the concept of a low-density residential city whose plot-sizing study was based on cities in South Africa and other British colonies. Thus, the plots intended for single-family housing for this population are located especially in the neighbourhood of Ponta Gea and in Macúti, whose characteristics for “normal isolated dwellings” and for “luxurious isolated dwellings” are explained thus: “For the study of the dimensions of the plots of the garden-city, the construction of two-storey buildings was accepted, as this is the accentuated tendency both in Beira and Lourenço Marques, and also in numerous cities in South Africa and the English colonies. It was found that at more than 12 metres the obstacle to air circulation posed by a medium-sized dwelling does not significantly affect the comfort conditions of the next dwelling. For this reason, all the plots in the European residential area were assigned dimensions that would allow each house to be 6 metres away from the lateral limits of the land. For aesthetic reasons, the minimum distance from the public road was set at 7 metres” (Beira, 1951: 141).

The development of the Macuti tourist area was one of the main objectives of the plan from the outset, with a view to the economic growth of the city, because “Beira, with its beaches between Ponta Gea and Macuti, represents a focus of intense attraction for holidaymakers from landlocked territories, Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and even some areas of the Republic of South Africa. [...] High masses of English-speaking tourists converge on Beira” (Amaral, I., 1969, p. 84). In this area of expansion of the city, collective housing blocks were planned in the context of the city's tourist development. In 1957 Paulo Melo Sampaio, one of the young architects living in Beira, developed a detailed plan for the “Urban Arrangement of the Tourist Area of

⁷ “The work was divided into two parts: one that refers properly to the city and the other to the indigenous quarter. As these areas are completely independent, both in urbanisation and in rainwater drainage and wastewater sewerage, we have brought together in a single project all that concerns the indigenous quarter” (Beira, 1951: 5).

Macúti", which followed the guidelines of the "Project for the Urbanisation of Beira City", but introduced an urban design in line with the formal premises of the Athens Charter and proposed a set of isolated buildings located in the territory in order to favour solar orientation.

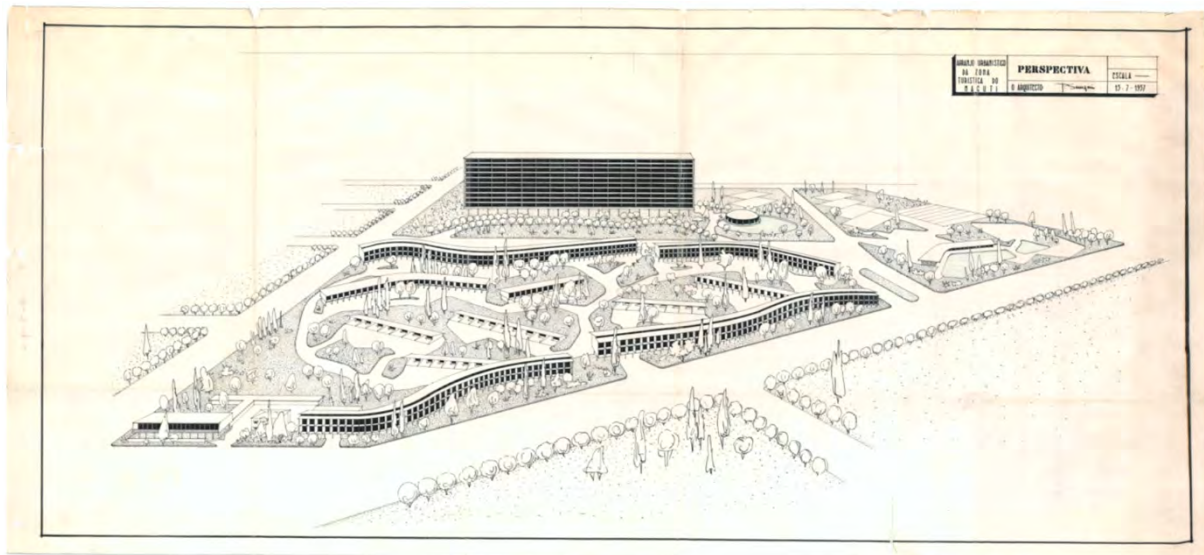


Figure 5. Detailed Plan of Motel Estoril: Perspective (1957-1959). Paulo Melo Sampaio
(Claudia Sampaio collection)

Modern or colonial? Contradictions in the city construction and its architecture

The Beira urbanisation plan of 1943-1951 resulted in a hybrid model, crossing the aesthetic premises of the Anglo-Saxon urban models of the *Garden City* and the *City Beautiful*, valued for a hygienic dimension, with rational and functional parameters proposed by the Athens Charter. If, in a way, the model developed by GUC also crossed the aesthetic model of the garden city with the implementation of a sectorial city organised by functional and social zoning, which was a common model in many African colonial cities (Anglo-Saxon or Francophone), what the authors of the Beira urbanisation plan stated was a direct reference to the Athens Charter.

It is also necessary to consider that José Porto, with an educational background in the Decorative Arts, has a work predominantly committed to single-family dwellings, valuing an aesthetic dimension, decorative and scenographic, in the framework of a modernist language of the 1930s. Indeed, it was this formal imaginary that presided over some of the projects he

developed in the city of Beira during the 1930s, such as the Grande Hotel and the renewal of the Town Hall. With some experience in urbanisation plans in the north of Portugal during the 1930s, the preparation of the preliminary urbanisation plan for the city of Beira is unique in his work. Although the scenographic character is evident in the drawings that illustrate the plan and translate an image of an eclectic and monumental city, of which the arrangements of the main squares are examples, the partnership with the engineer Joaquim Ribeiro Alegre would have allowed him a more technical and pragmatic dimension in the conception of the project. Citing the Athens Charter as a reference shows an epidermic reading of the document or of the examples of urban models already developed at the time. In fact, although the Athens Charter has been widely disseminated since its publication in 1941, its application and impact will only occur in the second post-war period, either with the European reconstruction or in the construction of new cities or urban areas, many resulting from the independence of African or Asian colonies.

In the *Memória Descritiva* of the Beira plan, the interpretation of the urban principles set out in the Athens Charter seems to boil down to a simplistic translation of the four key functions of urbanism – living, working, recreation and movement, without observing the constraints of urban design and the ideological principles that governed them – that of valuing individual freedom in a collective context. Although the plan occasionally admits the insertion of high-rise buildings (the twelve-storey "skyscrapers") in the central area of the city, the proposal does not prioritise the possibility of constructing collective high-rise housing, freeing up the ground as the fundamental structure of the urbanism conveyed by the Athens Charter. The verticalisation proposed for the civic and commercial centre reinforces the idea of monumentality for the city as opposed to the accentuated horizontality in the residential areas. This urban design, as in most cities of the Lusophone colonial territories, valued the city in low density extension where it intended to intentionally establish a continuity between city and countryside. In a way, the urban design of the plan is based more on the 1944's project (the date when the Beira plan began to be developed) designed by Patrick Abercrombie and J.H. Forshaw for the post-war reconstruction of London or on the New Town movement (1945-1950), which also refers in many aspects to the eighteenth-century garden city of Ebenezer Howard, where the low-density city and the single-family dwelling with garden were valued.

The Beira Urbanisation Project is a clear example of the ideological conception of a colonial city. While on the one hand it cites the democratic and egalitarian ideology of the Athens Charter,

the interpretation of the zoning, as we have seen, is more than functional, it refers to social stratification and ethnic and racial segregation. However, it was on the design of this urbanisation plan that some of the most interesting buildings were developed by a new generation of architects seeking to affirm their identity with the aesthetic and constructive values of the architecture of the Modern Movement. Between the 1950s and 1970s, the construction of public and private buildings, equipment and single-family dwellings functioned as a laboratory for the vocabulary of the Modern Movement. But this laboratory of a modern language for a colonial territory and society also reflects the ambivalence of this architectural production within the framework of modernity.

One of the most notable examples is the monumental Railway Station, which today seems to be one of the few elements that preserves the memory of the city's importance. Inaugurated in 1965, the station was the largest public work carried out in this city, responding to the need to build a large facility to accommodate the existing movement of passengers and goods of the so-called "Beira corridor", which constituted the connection between the interior of Africa, namely Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), and the port of Beira.

With decolonisation, the independence of Mozambique and, above all, the development of the civil war, Beira underwent major transformations, caused essentially by strong population migrations. In its geographical location, dividing the country into north and south, Beira became one of the cities most affected by the consequences of the war, not only because of the migratory flows, but also because of the almost total blockage of its main economic infrastructures - the port and the railway lines, which are today, once again, the great focus of development in the region.

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Interrupted Modernity: The 1945 Jaffa Masterplan

Nadi Abusaada

ETH Zurich; abusaada@arch.ethz.ch; Switzerland

Abstract

Throughout the nineteenth century, Jaffa was the primary port city in Palestine and the main link connecting it to the world. In 1909, the colonial city of Tel Aviv was built in its vicinity. The spatial proximity of the two cities shaped both their material trajectories and their perceptions in colonial imaginaries. Tel Aviv, the ‘White City’, turned into symbol for colonial modernity and progress whereas Jaffa, the ‘Black City’, was lost in its shadow. British colonial policies during the Mandate years (1917-1948) exacerbated this contrast. The most vivid expression of this process was in 1936, when the British commenced a planned demolition attack against the city, forcibly cutting ‘good wide roads’ through its historic fabric under the pretence of ‘urban improvements’. Taking the 1936 British demolition of Jaffa’s Old City as its starting point, the first part of this paper investigates the construction of Jaffa’s ‘non-modernity’ in Zionist and British colonial imaginaries in the first half of the twentieth century. In the second part, the paper provides a counter-narrative to this colonial frame, by foregrounding Palestinian visions for the city’s modernity. It aims to show than more than merely responding to the threats of neighbouring Tel Aviv, Jaffa’s population saw the future of their city’s modernity on their own terms. These terms are best exemplified in a 1945 masterplan for the city, prepared by an Egyptian planner for the city’s Palestinian-run municipal council. While unrealized due to the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the masterplan sketched the outlines of a Palestinian modern city oriented towards its broader Arab regional setting. Unlike the plethora of studies on the planning of modern Tel Aviv, including the 1920s scheme prepared by Patrick Geddes, the Jaffa masterplan—and its underlying visions for the city’s modernity—remains absent from historical record.

Keywords: Palestine; Jaffa; Tel-Aviv; urban planning; anti-colonial planning

Session: Modernity and the city: norms and forms of urban transition in colonial contexts

Introduction

In 1949, ten years following its establishment, the Cairo-based Arabic architectural magazine *Majallat al-Imarah* published a special issue on ‘city planning’.¹ The issue included seven contributions by notable architects and planners including Egyptian architect Sayed Karim, the magazine’s founder. It also included an article by Henry Kendall, who had served as the chief British colonial planner in Palestine, which discussed ‘Housing Problems in Modern Town Planning’, albeit not focusing on Palestine but on the development of British planning codes in England. However, this did not mean that Palestine was not represented. The issue’s opening contribution, titled ‘Jaffa: The City’s Planning Project’, was entirely dedicated to a recent masterplan prepared for the Palestinian city by Egyptian planner Ali Miliji Masoud (Masoud, 1949). The contribution was the issue’s main highlight. This was clearly indicated on the issue’s cover image, where a portion of Masoud grid plan appears outflanked by an orange branch, a clear reference to Jaffa’s historically prosperous citriculture industry. Despite the article’s length, it was not sufficient to cover the entire scope of Masoud elaborate masterplan. An entire section in the following issue was dedicated to cover the remainder parts of Masoud’s planning scheme for Jaffa (Masoud, 1949).

The timing of the publication was significant. A year earlier, in 1948, Jaffa, among hundreds of other Palestinian towns and villages, was lost to Zionist forces. Most of the city’s population had been forcibly displaced, with the few remainder families living under the control of the newly established State of Israel. The city’s pre-1948 institutions, including the Palestinian-run Jaffa Municipality that hired Masoud to prepare his masterplan, were entirely dissolved and most of its members had turned into refugees in neighbouring Arab states. Therefore, at the time of the article’s publication, it had been known to Masoud, as for the magazine’s editors, that nothing would come of the elaborate scheme that he had prepared for the Palestinian coastal city. The article made no mention of the events of 1948 nor the masterplan’s impossible fate. It also made no elaborate reference as to why the masterplan was published in lieu of these events. However, a brief statement introducing the additional section in the following issue offers a crucial hint: ‘the magazine wanted to publish the second part of this valuable research due to its immense benefit’ (Masoud, 1949). Given the scheme’s elaborate nature, it is unsurprising that the magazine’s editors saw it as a critical reference and model for the future of urban

¹ *Majallat Al-Imarah* ('Journal of Architecture'), 1949.

planning in the Arab region. In his introduction to a 1945 publication of the same masterplan, Yousef Haikal, Jaffa's mayor at the time, wrote that Masoud's publication 'is the first planning study of its kind for a city in the Arab East' (Haikal 2006). Notwithstanding its exaggerated tone, his statement had a kernel of truth.

Despite its significance, Jaffa's 1945 masterplan has received mere cursory attention in academic literature on modern Palestine and the history of urban planning in the region. This absence is symptomatic of a wider problem with the architectural and urban historiographies of the Middle East during this period, which tend to focus more on the activities of colonial architects and planners with little regard to the parallel efforts of local actors and professionals (Avermaete, Karakayali, and Osten, 2010). This is especially the case with Jaffa, a city that was both historically and historiographically overshadowed by its neighbouring colonial city of Tel Aviv. This historiographical bias is evident when considering the extensive coverage of the planning of Tel Aviv, especially its 1925 planning scheme prepared by Scottish planner Patrick Geddes, compared to the scarce attention granted to the planning of modern Jaffa.² The few critical architectural and planning histories of Jaffa before 1948 continue to focus on Jaffa's constructed 'non-modernity' vis-à-vis Tel Aviv's colonial modernity (LeVine, 2005; Rotbard, 2015). While crucial, such a framing precludes studying Jaffa's modernity in its own right. It overlooks the fact that Jaffa's experience of modernity constituted more than a mere response or reaction to Tel Aviv's development. As the case of Masoud's masterplan illustrates, Jaffa's Palestinian-run municipality envisioned the city's future through a regional modernity that learnt from and extended to neighbouring Arab countries.

Focusing on the 1945 Jaffa masterplan, this chapter probes into the overlooked histories of the urban dynamics and developments in modern Jaffa and their relationship into the broader shifts taking place within their regional and global contexts. It does this through the analysis of a range of unstudied textual and visual archival materials. These include the original 1945 Jaffa masterplan document, the issues of the Egyptian-run *Majallat al-Imarah*, the memoirs of Jaffa's mayor Yousef al-Hakim, and local Arabic newspapers. The chapter is divided into three main

² See for instance: Yossi Katz (1986), "Ideology and Urban Development: Zionism and the Origins of Tel-Aviv, 1906–1914," *Journal of Historical Geography* 12, 4: 402–24; Gideon Biger (1992), "A Scotsman in the First Hebrew City: Patrick Geddes and the 1926 Town Plan for Tel Aviv," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 108, 1 (April 1): 4–8, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00369229218736835>; Liora Bigon (2017), *Garden Cities and Colonial Planning: Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine*. Oxford University Press; Nathan Harpaz (2013), *Zionist Architecture and Town Planning: The Building of Tel Aviv (1919–1929)*. Purdue University Press; Volker M. Welter (2009), "The 1925 Master Plan for Tel-Aviv by Patrick Geddes," *Israel Studies* 14, 3: 94–119.

sections. The first section traces the modern development of Jaffa in the ‘municipal age’, focusing on the role of the city’s Palestinian-run municipal council in leading its urban development since its establishment in the late nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, leading to the 1945 masterplan. The second section situates the Jaffa Municipality’s hiring of Egyptian planner Ali Miliji Masoud within the broader trajectories of the architectural and engineering professions and the transnational exchanges of expertise in the Arab region in the mid-twentieth century. It also traces Masoud’s thought on urban planning in his writings in *Majallat al-Imarah* to understand the conceptual basis of his practical work. Finally, the third section zooms in onto Masoud’s 1945 masterplan for Jaffa, viewing it relative to the city’s existing fabric and analysing its vision for the city’s future.

Municipal Jaffa: Planning the Modern City

Very few cities in Palestine witnessed the extent of material transformation that Jaffa witnessed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although the Napoleonic invasion of 1799 had left Jaffa in a devastating state of destruction, the following decades witnessed a swift and systematic recovery. By the turn of the century, the port city had turned into a primary economic and cultural centre on the Eastern Mediterranean coast. Of the different reasons behind Jaffa’s recovery in this period, three are especially crucial. First, the sizable investment by subsequent rulers of Jaffa in architectural and infrastructural construction following the Napoleonic invasion. This is especially the case with Jaffa’s governor Muhammad Abu Nabbout who ruled the city between 1807-1818 and led a systematic reconstruction campaign to assert his power on the Palestinian coast (Kana’na, 2001). Second, Jaffa’s strategic position as the primary Mediterranean ‘gateway to Palestine’, especially Jerusalem, and the entry point for the merchants, travellers, and pilgrims to whom the Holy Land was a main destination throughout the nineteenth century (Tolkowsky, 1924). Third, Jaffa’s burgeoning citrus industry which placed the city as a primary centre for agrarian production and trade, exporting oranges to both regional and global markets (Schölch, 1993; Abusaada, 2020; 2021). Combined, these three factors ensured that Jaffa would transform from a desolate town as a result of the Napoleonic attack to a bustling centre for commerce, finance, and hospitality by the turn of the century.

The growing prominence of Jaffa as a primary Mediterranean port city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was visible in its changing built fabric. In the 1870s, the city walls

that had surrounding the city were brought down. The moat was filled, and a new commercial and administrative centre was under construction outside the walls. New detached monumental public buildings and spaces were built to fulfil these new functions: a new *saraya* ('government headquarters'), a *qishla* ('prison'), and a monumental clocktower commemorating the jubilee of Sultan Abdulhami II. Residential construction was also on the rise. New residential suburbs were built on the northern and southern shores to meet the city's demographic growth. Unlike the compact structure of the walled city, these new suburbs were spaciouly organised with buildings constructed at clear setbacks from one another. The city's urbanisation did not hinder the growth of its citrus industry. The belt of orchards east of the city continued to expand, resulting in a composite landscape that incorporated plantations, workers' settlements, and elite villas. In 1892, the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway line was built, connecting the port city to the Palestinian interior. The railway project was the first of its kind in the entire region. It accentuated Jaffa's role as the primary link between the central Palestine and the world.

Jaffa's physical transformations toward the end of the century paralleled a less visible, yet equally instrumental, change in its structures of urban governance. Central to this change was the introduction of a central municipality in charge of the city's administrative affairs. Founded in 1872, the Palestinian-run Jaffa Municipality became the sole entity responsible for regulating matters of urban planning and physical development in the city. Its establishment did not take place in isolation. That same year witnessed the introduction of the 1872 Ottoman Municipalities Law, requiring the creation of elected municipal councils in all the major towns of the empire.³ The Jaffa Municipality's establishment was thus part of a broader wave of municipalisation throughout the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century, including the cities of the Arab provinces (Lafi, 2008). From the point of its creation, the Jaffa Municipality played an instrumental—albeit not uncontested—role in guiding the material transformations that the city underwent until the Nakba of 1948.

After the start of British colonial rule in Palestine in 1917, Palestinian municipalities became subject to increased restrictions on their financing and scope of operations. Some historians go as far as suggesting that the British administration in Palestine was actively working towards the 'de-municipalisation' of urban governance, privileging colonial actors and institutions over the locally operated councils (Na'ili, 2008). However, this did not mean that the same rules

³ *Translations of the Ottoman Constitutional Laws, the Wilayet Administrative Law, the Municipal Law and Various Other Laws*. Baghdad: Ministry of Justice, 1922.

applied everywhere, nor that municipality's roles entirely disappeared. Instead, as argued elsewhere, 'Palestinian urbanites, especially elites, continued to view municipalities as the primary channel through which their visions for urban reform (*iṣlāh*) and development (*ʿumrān*) could be materialised' (Abusaada, 2021a, 146). 'They also viewed municipalities as critical platforms for advocating their urban rights and formally delivering them to the central administration, albeit realising their limits' (Abusaada, 2021a, 146). This intermediary position rendered municipalities as politically unstable institutions, oscillating between the interests of colonial administrators, urban populations and, in certain instances, Palestinian national aspirations (Abusaada, 2021a).

The appointment of Palestinian lawyer Yousef Haikal to the position of mayor, serving in this role between 1945-1948, exemplifies these overlapping influences over the municipality's operations. 'I was sitting in the Nablus Court investigating a criminal case', Haikal recalls in his memoirs, 'when I was told that Sir John Shaw, the General Secretary of the Palestine Government, wanted to meet me in the government offices in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem' (Haikal, 2006, 37). During their meeting, Shaw reportedly informed Haikal that Jaffa's municipal council had been resolved and that they wanted to offer him the mayorship in recognition of his 'legal and administrative' abilities (Haikal, 2006, 38). The offer was a clear indication that the British continued to hold the upper hand over the leadership of municipal councils. However, Haikal's response was equally telling. He accepted the offer under the condition that a municipal election would be held in Jaffa one year following his appointment.⁴ Far from a simply ethical gesture, Haikal's response was also pragmatic. Given the turbulent political context of Palestine in the 1940s, he likely understood that whereas the British may have had the power of granting him the position, the legitimacy of his mayorship primarily derived not from the colonial officials but from the city's Palestinian population.

The years preceding Haikal's mayorship witnessed remarkable changes in Jaffa's built environment. These changes were a result of both systematic destruction and construction. As one of the principal sites of the 1936-1939 Great Revolt, Jaffa's Old City experienced one of the most ruthless assaults by the British colonial administration. In June 1936, British forces demolished large swathes of the Old City, resulting in the opening of 'good wide roads' in its dense fabric and the displacement of hundreds of Palestinian families from their homes

⁴ An election took place in Jaffa the following year and Haikal and his team won it (Haikal, 2006, 39).

(Abusaada, 2020a; Abusaada, 2021c). However, the 1930s and 1940s also witnessed a ‘construction boom’ in all major Palestinian cities. For both Palestinians and the Zionists, construction activity became synonymous with the realisation of nationalist aspirations. In Jaffa, this was most visible in the new constructions on Jamal Pasha Boulevard (renamed King George Avenue during the Mandate and today known as Jerusalem Boulevard) east of the city. Acting as the main buffer between Jaffa and its eastern belt of orchards, the boulevard was the primary site of investment for Palestine’s nationalist bourgeoisie classes during the 1930s.⁵ The boulevard became home to key public institutions and modernist constructions including the Dajani Hospital and the al-Hambra Cinema designed by Lebanese architect Elias al-Murr. In 1937, the municipality itself had also moved its headquarters from a nineteenth century building outside the Old City into a new international style building on the same boulevard.

Upon taking up his position, Haikal realised that Jaffa’s infrastructural conditions did not meet up to the standards of a ‘modern town’ (Haikal, 1946). He saw that the city’s needs were overlooked as a result of the events of the Great Revolt as well as the subsequent Second World War. He notes: ‘Hygiene was almost absent which resulted in the painful widespread of flies. Several primary and secondary streets in the city were unpaved. Sewage networks are missing from many urban quarters, resulting in several floodings due to rainfall’ (Haikal, 2006, 45). Importantly, Haikal did not position himself as a mere observant of these problems. He understood that his mission was to radically improve the city’s conditions. During his term, with the help of a team of local engineers, he initiated several projects for maintaining urban hygiene, the construction of new sewage networks, and the pavement of roads (Haikal, 2006, 45-52). However, it was another much grander undertaking that he wanted to mark his legacy in the city: hiring Egyptian planner Ali Miliji Masoud to prepare a comprehensive masterplan that would propel Jaffa’s future into prosperity. This, in turn, would have placed the Jaffa in what Masoud described as its natural position as the ‘true capital of Palestine’ (Masoud, 1946).

Transnational Connections: The Mobility of Concepts and Expertise

The overwhelming focus on colonial actors and experts in the historiography of urban change in the modern Arab region has obscured the emergence of a new class of local experts in the

⁵ On the emergence of the Palestinian nationalist bourgeoisie in Mandate Palestine, see Sherene Seikaly (2015), *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine*. Stanford University Press.

region. To this day, little is known about the first and second generation of Arab architects, planners, and engineers who led and organised these professions in their countries during the late colonial and early postcolonial eras. By extension, also little is known about the rich history of the transnational exchange of professional knowledge in those fields within the Arab region. The hiring of Egyptian planner Ali Miliji Masoud to prepare a masterplan for modern Jaffa offers a crucial historical instance of these exchanges. It demonstrates that besides the well-documented efforts for political, cultural, and economic exchange between Palestine and the Arab region in the 1930s and 1940s, architecture and urbanism constituted yet another stage for asserting modern Arab regionalism.⁶

Conceding that Jaffa's municipal engineer was 'unfit' for such a large-scale endeavour, Mayor Yousef Haikal turned to the Egyptian government for assistance in hiring suitable experts to prepare the Palestinian city's masterplan (Haikal, 2006, 52). The news of Haikal's trip concerned the Arab Association of Engineers in Jerusalem, who lamented Haikal's circumvention of consulting the matter with local engineering associations.⁷ Haikal's choice of Egypt was not entirely surprising. By the mid-1940s, it was the leading Arab country in architecture, engineering, and city planning. This is exemplified in the issues of *Majallat al-Imarah*, established in 1939, which reported on the development of these professions at the global, regional, and national levels. In 1945, Egypt hosted the first Arab League conference in Cairo. That same year, it also hosted the first Arab Engineering Congress in Alexandria. The event was the first of its kind in the history of the region, inviting engineers from all over the Arab world to discuss the present and future of the profession and potentials for transnational exchange. A Palestinian delegation attended the event, led by Jerusalemite architect Rushdi Imam Hussein who headed the Arab Engineers Association in Jerusalem. Therefore, at the time Haikal travelled to Cairo to seek expertise for Jaffa's new masterplan, transnational channels for the exchange of technical expertise were being forged between the two countries.

In Cairo, Haikal met with Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha who served during the reign of King Farouk. In turn, the Prime Minister agreed to appoint an Egyptian engineer and city planning specialist to lead Jaffa's urban improvement project. The first was

⁶ For examples of these exchanges, see: Seikaly, *Men of Capital*; Nadi Abusaada (2019), "Self-Portrait of a Nation: The Arab Exhibition in Mandate Jerusalem, 1931-1934," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 77: 122-35.

⁷ Arab Engineers Association in Jerusalem, "Meeting Minutes of the Board of Directors on 3 August 1945" (Jerusalem, 1945), Israel State Archives (ISA).

Othman Rifqi Rustum, the Head Engineer of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. The second was Ali Miliji Masoud, a member of the Town Planning Association in London and the Head of Municipal Town Planning in Egypt. Othman was assigned as the Chief Engineer in Jaffa whereas Masoud was tasked with preparing a comprehensive masterplan for the city. A week later, the two experts arrived in Jaffa. Haikal recalls that Othman came with his family and stayed in a villa in the affluent Ajami neighbourhood whereas Masoud came alone ‘because his task did not require a lengthy stay in Jaffa.’⁸ Upon his arrival, a Palestinian assistant engineer was hired to work with Othman along with a group of municipal engineers. Othman remained in charge as Jaffa’s Head Engineer until 1948. Among the different projects that Othman led in the city was preparing architectural drawings for a monumental municipal library, which was never realised. He also prepared the drawings for new houses which were to be built on the sides of the main Jaffa-Jerusalem Street. Othman also prepared a historical study of Jaffa’s urban development from antiquities to modern times which supplemented Masoud’s masterplan.⁹

Little is known about Masoud’s life and career besides what can be traced in the issues of *Majallat al-Imarah*, where he was a regular contributor. These publications are useful for a closer understanding of Masoud’s conception of modern city planning which informed his Jaffa masterplan. Especially revealing are two articles he published in *Majallat al-Imarah* in 1940 where he translated and outlined the main principles of ‘planologia’ (Masoud 1940a; 1940b). At the start of his first article, Masoud begs the pardon of his readers for directly borrowing foreign term for his article instead of an Arabic one. He then explains that the Arabic terms *tanzīm* (‘organisation’) or *takhtīt* (‘planning’) did not sufficiently communicate his desire to ‘move beyond merely addressing urban organisation or the literal meaning of planning on paper or on the ground of a building, street or a city’ (Masoud, 1940b, 16). Instead, Masoud explains, ‘planologia’ is a ‘practical science that aims to benefit society and to organise everything that surrounds it in a comprehensive manner.’ Over the next pages, Masoud explains that ‘planologia’ is based on ‘the sociological analysis of life’ (Masoud, 1940b). This analysis, he elaborates, can be set according to four distinct elements: housing, work, transportation, and recreation. This division, as will be shown later, was quite evident in his masterplan for Jaffa.

⁸ Ibid: 52.

⁹ Ibid: 53.

While not mentioned by him, the source of Masoud's understanding of 'planologia' is evident. In the interwar years, Dutch town planner J.M. de Casseres (1902-1990) published two books and an article where he introduced 'planology' as a means to 'integrate the sciences which impinge on the spatial design of town and country into a new science' (Boosma, 1990). As Koos Bosma explains, 'De Casseres realised that town planning had been based until that time on artistic and rarely on sociological principles' (Boosma, 1990, 138-139). De Casseres' ideas were particularly influential in the Dutch context. In 1937, a translated version of his article on the *Grondslagen der planologie* ('Principles of Planology'), originally published in Dutch, appeared in English-language *Town Planning Review* (Casseres, 1937). This was likely where Masoud encountered De Casseres' ideas. His 1940 Arabic articles on 'planologia' in *Majallat al-Imarah* was a near-verbatim translation of De Casseres' 1937 article in English on the *Principles of Planology*.

Masoud's translation the principles of 'planologia' to an Arabic speaking audience was a testament of his profound interest in partaking in the transnational exchange of professional expertise between the Arab region and the world in the early twentieth century. For him, as well as other Arab architects, engineers, and planners, *Majallat al-Imarah* was a primary arena for these global and regional exchanges. Importantly, the magazine was not only a space for disseminating theoretical principles and ideals. City planning and architectural projects—both implemented and elapsed—occupied an equally significant space in the magazine. As one of the most comprehensive examples of a modern city plan in the Arab region, Masoud's masterplan for Jaffa was granted a generous space within its 1949 issues (Masoud, 1949). The republication was a clear indication that Masoud understood his Jaffa masterplan as part and parcel of a broader landscape of transnational exchange that entailed the transfer of ideas, imageries and concepts within the Arab world. He saw his plan for Jaffa not as a standalone example but as a model for the future of urban planning in the region.

Haikal shared Masoud's sentiment regarding the regional relevance of the Jaffa masterplan. As a result, they worked on turning Masoud's extensive urban study of Jaffa and his proposal for the improvement of the city into a book entitled *Jaffa: A City Planning Project*. Haikal writes: 'We handed the manuscript, maps, and photographs to Dar al-Ma'arif' which at the time was the most important publishing house for books in the Arab world. In turn, Dar al-Ma'arif printed the book at the Cairo-based Matba'at Masr. The book constituted of 80 pages in large-scale

format. It is considered, until the moment, the first planning study of its kind in a city in the Arab East' (Haikal, 2006, 54).

The Jaffa masterplan was thus inasmuch a product of the transnational networks of architectural and urban planning knowledge and expertise in the Arab region as it was an expression of the significance of printing culture in enabling these networks. It also attested to the fact that although they were not unchallenged, regional exchanges were no mere afterthoughts to the building of modern Arab cities, but an instrumental force in shaping them. Furthermore, these exchanges were viewed as part and parcel of a broader vision for the region's political future. 'This scientific and practical cooperation between Arab nations', Haikal wrote acknowledging Masoud's efforts, 'is a blessed step towards the desired Arab unity' (Haikal, 2006, 54).

The Masterplan: 'A Constitution for the City'

The global and regional underpinnings of Masoud's masterplan did not hinder its responsiveness to Jaffa's local context and conditions. Significantly, Masoud was interested in understanding this context not only in contemporary terms but also historically. The first section of his masterplan was dedicated to a historical survey of 'The Emergence of Jaffa and its Architectural Development' (Masoud, 1946, 1). Masoud's interest in the historiography of the city was not unique among his contemporary practitioners of urban design and planning around the world. In their recent book on the histories of urban design, Tom Avermaete and Janina Gosseye explain that 'in the long twentieth century, the project of urban design and its historiography were closely intertwined' (Avermaete and Gosseye, 2021, 13). The authors distinguish between what they term 'operational histories' that focus on informing design practice and 'heteronomous histories' which relate the emergence and evolution of urban design more strongly to contemporary social, cultural, economic and political developments (Avermaete and Gosseye, 2021, 13). On the one hand, Masoud's historiography of Jaffa was blatantly 'operational', in the sense that it directly informed his own urban improvement scheme for the city. However, his strong interest in 'planology' rendered his historiography of the city equally 'heteronomous', with an explicit reference to the role of 'geographical, economic, and military influences', among others, on its built forms and spatial layouts (Masoud, 1946, 1). In his own words, more than a proposal for mere technical solutions, the masterplan was intended to serve as a 'constitution for the city' (Masoud, 1946).

Masoud organised his section on the history of Jaffa chronologically, tracing the city's history across its successive rules: Canaanite, Pharaonic, Roman, Arab, Crusader and Ottoman.¹⁰ In the last part of the section, Masoud surveyed some of the key developments that took place in Jaffa following the Napoleonic devastation of the city in 1799. To him, the 1810-1820 years were Jaffa's 'golden age', ushering in the city's rapid development in the nineteenth century (Masoud, 1946, 8). Towards the end, he briefly mentions the city's architectural state since the First World War. He explains that although the First World War halted construction activity, the following years witnessed a return to the status quo (Masoud, 1946, 10). He also notes the development of Jewish colonies in Jaffa's outskirts and the shift of the weight of the city's activity to the boulevard east of the city. As for the city's present state, he notes that 'despite the difficulties of the Second World War, Jaffa is rapidly developing.' He finally notes, commenting on municipal plans for a new housing project in the sand dunes south of the city: 'I see in the horizon an entire suburb or a city with a sense of independence that is subordinate to Jaffa in the sands of Nabi Rubeen south of the city' (Masoud, 1946, 10).

Masoud's commentary regarding the future of the city's southern sand dunes points to key element that was present throughout his masterplan: his great awareness of and consideration for regional planning. To him, Jaffa's urban improvement was not an isolated project but one that is embedded in the city's broader regional environment. He believed that these broader connections were key for securing the city's administrative position and economic development. The first section of his masterplan was dedicated to the 'Jaffa City Planning Area'. In it, he outlines the existing conditions and challenges of Jaffa's regional situation within its environs. A main concern for Masoud were the main restrictions on the city's future expansion. 'Given Tel Aviv's location north of Jaffa and the Mediterranean Sea to its west', Masoud writes, 'the potential for the city's physical expansion is limited to its eastern and southern borders.' But even on these other fronts, Masoud realised, Jewish colonial establishment posed additional hurdles. On the one hand, Mikveh Israel, a Jewish agricultural school established in 1870, limited Jaffa's potential for eastern expansion. On the other hand, the southern Jewish colonies of Bat Yam (originally as 'Bayit VeGan') by the sea and Holon¹¹ to the interior blocked the

¹⁰ Some of the historical details included in Masoud's book were directly borrowed from an earlier 1924 book on Jaffa by Zionist author Samuel Tolkowsky who worked as an agricultural engineer in Jaffa. However, it did not share Tolkowsky's biases against the Ottomans and the Arabs. Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine*.

¹¹ Masoud refers to it as 'Agrobank'. The AgroBank neighborhood is one of the first and major neighborhoods established in the city and is named after the Bank for Agriculture and Building in Israel Ltd., founded in 1931 in

city's southern expansion. Therefore, to him, an urgent task for the Jaffa Municipality was to utilise the small corridor between these two southern colonies as a vehicle for its future southern expansion.

Besides his concern for the Jewish colonies, Masoud saw Jaffa's connection to its surrounding Arab villages and cities as equally imperative. As for the villages, including the *sakināt*, suburban concentrations that housed the families who worked on the city's surrounding belt of citrus groves, he saw that they must be included within the planning zone of the Jaffa Municipality. He even suggested that the municipality should undertake its works in tandem with the mission of the Arab Development Society (ADS). Established earlier that year, the ADS intended to rehabilitate and modernise Arab villages throughout Palestine.¹² For Masoud, municipalities like Jaffa's were the most fit institutions for realising a task of this sort. But Masoud's vision was also much broader than Jaffa's immediate surroundings. His masterplan included a comprehensive section on regional transportation links. In it, he proposes the extension of three concentric streets (surrounding the city's inner, middle, and exterior zones), intersecting four radial arterials that connect Jaffa with its surrounding regional transportation routes and nodes (including the Lydda Airport and the Cairo-Haifa Railway line). He thought that such a plan would solidify Jaffa's embeddedness within its broader regional setting but also its internal connections within its future area of expansion.

Masoud's concern with the Jaffa's regional planning did not preclude his attentiveness to the city's internal planning issues. The remainder parts of his masterplan included seven elaborate sections: industrial and commercial areas, the waterfront, gardens and parks, housing projects, the Old City, public buildings, and cemeteries respectively. Despite this division, Masoud did not approach these elements as distinct parts but as interrelated aspects of his urban design. Furthermore, his approach echoed his earlier influences by the 'principles of planology', which he translated for *Majallat al-Imarah* five years earlier. His desire to transform Jaffa's built environment was not isolated from his deep interest in the sociology of the city. He saw the two tasks as interdependent. Nonetheless, this did not preclude him from putting forward some

Tel Aviv by two pairs of brothers from the Mirenburg family and Yavets, who began acquiring land in the area as early as 1932.

¹² Proposed by Palestinian Jerusalemite Musa Alami to the Arab League, the ADS was a scheme to rehabilitate Palestinian villages with the aim of modernising their living standards and convincing their inhabitants to turn their properties into family *waqfs* to prevent their loss to Zionist organisations. See Nadi Abusaada (2021), "Consolidating the Rule of Experts: A Model Village for Refugees in the Jordan Valley, 1945-55," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 10, 2 (July 1): 361–85.

radical schemes that would transform the face of key parts of the coastal city. Two cases of improvement projects proposed by Masoud are particularly pertinent in this regard: his plan for Manshiyyeh, a northern Jaffa neighbourhood bordering Tel Aviv, and his scheme for the improvement of Jaffa's Old City.

At first glance, Masoud's proposals for the two districts seem analogous. In both cases, Masoud advised the destruction of large parts of the existing fabrics and their reconstruction according to modern standards of building and hygiene. However, a closer look at Masoud's scheme reveals a sense of consideration to the local conditions of each district and sensitivity towards the fate of its inhabitants. In the case of Manshiyyeh, a primarily working-class neighbourhood, he proposes the destruction of the existing urban layout to replace it with a more orderly grid. He also suggested the extension of Manshiyyeh's waterfront into the sea, allowing for the construction of interim housing to compensate for the lost properties. Meanwhile, his plan for the Old City, which was already half-destroyed in the 1936-1939 Great Revolt, was of a different nature (Abusaada, 2020a). He divided the Old City into two zones: one that ought to be preserved (mainly religious buildings) and others that ought to be destroyed and rebuilt (commercial and residential buildings). Interestingly, he proposed planning the new zone not according to a grid system, as was the case with Manshiyyeh, but according to a 'special planning scheme that is in line with the planning known in similar old walled cities' (Masoud, 1946, 58). 'If my proposal for the Old City's planning is to be followed', Masoud suggests, 'we will get a more regulated version of the old planning that will preserve the special character of cities with a long history which we cannot ignore if our renewal project is to be successful' (Masoud, 1946, 58).

Masoud's sensitivity to the city's social conditions, topography, and history was reflected not only in his ideas for city planning but also its architecture. In his scheme for the Old City, he dedicated an entire section to the 'style of construction'. In it, he states that 'it is known that Mediterranean coastal cities have their own style of construction'. 'There is no excuse', he argues, 'to ignore this style in modern construction.' He further suggests that 'it is possible to tame this old style and to infuse it with an Arab spirit without additional expenses or elaborate detailing' (Masoud, 1946, 58). Importantly, Masoud's pronounced affection for these older building cultures was an explicit lamentation of their disregard in contemporary construction. His analysis of old architectural patterns is followed by a critique of newer ones: 'it is hard to deny that the modernist architectural style is not suitable for this city (Masoud, 1946, 58). 'A

short survey of the few remaining old building in Jaffa, built in stone with tiled roofs, in comparison with the newer buildings [...] reveals the latter's departure from artistic sensibility.' 'If this modernist style were to overtake Jaffa,' he finally suggests, 'Jaffa will gradually turn into a poor quarter in any late European city.' 'It will destroy Jaffa's character and national belonging, depriving it from the glories of the past and what it could give for future generations' (Masoud, 1946, 58). In short, despite his seemingly radical proposals, Masoud's masterplan saw Jaffa's project of modernity not as a complete departure from its history and fabric, but as rooted in these existing traditions. To him, modernisation was not about the mimicry of Western standards but the utilisation of modern building and planning knowledge to suit the preoccupations and needs of Arab societies, environments, and cultures.

Conclusion: A Masterplan's Afterlives

In the early months of 1948, Jaffa's mayor Yousef Haikal received the earliest copies of the masterplan book from the printing press in Cairo. At the time, Jewish militias had already commenced their attacks on the city, foreshadowing the events that were yet to come. Grasping the graveness of the situation and the imminent turbulences that would hit the entire nation, Haikal recalls ordering Dar al-Ma'aref in Egypt to retain their one thousand copies of the book, until things had calmed down. But things never calmed down. In the following months, nearly a million Palestinians, including the majority of Jaffa's Arab residents, were ethnically cleansed from their homes in the Nakba of 1948. All existing Palestinian institutions and associations, including the Jaffa Municipality, were dissolved and the city and its remainder Palestinian population became subject to the colonial policies of the Israeli state. The destruction of the city's institution was coupled with the destruction of their archives. Jaffa's municipal records, as with thousands of Palestinian public and private documents, were either looted or destroyed. Within a few decades, with the nationalisation of Dar al-Ma'arif in Cairo, even the Egyptian copies of Masoud's masterplan were scattered or lost. Today, very few copies of the original masterplan could be located, including one at the National Library of Israel where it sits next to thousands of looted Palestinian items from 1948.

The lost memory of Masoud's masterplan for Jaffa is, in a sense, symptomatic of the greater sense of loss of Jaffa's history before 1948. Today, despite the numerous books about Jaffa and Palestine prior to the Nakba, little remains known about the city's architectural, economic, and

cultural development in those years. The few accounts that address this issue attribute many of the modernisation efforts in Jaffa and its surroundings to the activities of Zionist colonists and the British administration. Meanwhile, local Palestinian institutions and actors are often ignored or relegated to their status as colonial subjects. Jaffa's masterplan is an example that invites us to transcend this narrow framing. It shows us that more than merely reacting to colonial threats, Palestinians in Jaffa were planning the future of their city in relation to their preoccupations and visions. But it did not stop there. It even exceeded these visions by situating itself within a regional Arab vision of urban modernity.

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Hauntings: Marooning in the American South

Sydney Rose Maubert

Cornell University, srm322@cornell.edu, 129 Sibley Dome, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA

Abstract

This research is interested in examining Miami as a (post)colonial territory. Miami is deeply steeped in mythic lore, where Bahamian and Seminole investments in intersectionality, solidarity and oppression made in the entire racial project of Miami. The Seminoles, meaning “seceders”, would build an alliance with the Spanish in resisting English forces seeking to dominate Florida, migrating down from eastern Alabama and Southern Georgia since the 1700s. The Spanish missionaries would build a fort on the edge of Biscayne Bay and Miami River, in 1743 populating its periphery with housing and farms. Florida would garner a reputation as a safe haven for freed slaves and maroons through Spanish land grants, rumors of lost treasure and limited offers of freedom would draw in Bahamians along the Miami River. Seminoles and blacks would also join forces to resist slave wranglers from West Oklahoma, aiming to re-enslave freed people. Some Seminoles in cooperation with the British were gifted slaves. Finding the whole concept alien, Seminoles treated their slaves as additional labor, by giving them tools and materials to build their own houses, corn to raise, and asking them to produce no more than ten bushels of corn for their own keep. This ownership and solidarity would yield a creole culture, renaming the group Black Seminoles. Indigenous people were often remarked as marginal, leading lives unconcerned with the dictates of Great Britain, Spain or French colonial rule. They would embrace more freedoms through this miscegenation, upending racial and sexual myths. In many ways, Black Seminoles were marginal, through their queerness, miscegenation and protection of blacks. The refusal to participate under European respectable dictates or “Enlightenment” deemed them demonic. This work aims to see how marginalization refracts within this modern dialectal framework; to see how marginal lives and ways of being differ from or lend insight to Christian ethics.

Keywords: Black Seminoles; Marronage; Slavery; Religion

Session: Diasporic Imaginations and Alternative Futurities

Freedom in the Spanish Colony: Miami's Black Seminoles

State-sponsored Miami's genesis is deeply steeped in the lore of black, marginal figures, where African and indigenous investments in intersectionality, solidarity and oppression were made in the entire racial project of Miami. Our ensemble includes the Gullahs, the Seminoles, and Bahamian rice farmers sailing within a day to South Florida. The indigenous Tequesta people solely protected and governed land from Fort Myers to Naples pre- 1500s, descendants of paleo-indigenous people dated over 10,000 years ago, subsisting off the land and sea with much ease. Miami's etymology stems from the Tequesta word for the Miami River, meaning "big water". Spaniard Pedro Menendez de Aviles would have Tequesta contact dated to 1566, creating missions at the mouth of the Miami River by 1567. The Seminoles, meaning "seceders", would build an alliance with the Spanish in resisting English forces seeking to dominate Florida, migrating down from eastern Alabama and Southern Georgia since the 1700s. The Spanish would eventually build a fort in 1743 and continue to populate the edge of Biscayne Bay and Miami River with housing and farms. Several factors prompted Florida's earned reputation as a haven for freed slaves and maroons: first, the Spanish offered land grants to Bahamians along the Miami River, second, rumors of gold and wealth lost in the Great Florida Reef would attract the attention of Bahamians interested in these limited offers for freedom. Some would migrate from Eleuthera, Bahamas, as plantation workers and some would travel north from Key West, where they worked as carpenters and coral laborers (Florida Center, 2002). There, they would be met by Seminoles, an offshoot of Gullahs who were migrating south from the Carolinas and Georgia. The Spanish intended to manipulate their daunting black and indigenous presence to scare off the white American expansion into Florida, though this ultimately would not come to pass. Black and indigenous alliances would lead to escalating tensions as time went on.

When the enslaved escaped to South Florida, the early 16th-century Spanish colony, the Black Seminoles, a term used for the African descendants who forged an alliance with Seminole Indians in the American South. This alliance was thought to be a problem, yielding new laws and religion. Spanish Florida's economy was shaped by competing slave systems of comparable development, through chattel slavery and the forced imposition of colonial culture. The patterns of black society in Florida evolved during Spain's first tenure in the province, (1565-1763), shaped by interethnic relations and international politics. The earliest documentation of Black people in Florida dates to the early 1500s, during the Spanish exploration and occupation of Hispaniola (Dixon, 2020). Like the Spanish Caribbean, Florida suffered from Indigenous

genocide and a shortage of European labor, creating a dependence on black labor and the military. The Barbadian colonization of Carolina in 1670 created a 150-year battle between Spain's southeastern and Caribbean occupation over imperial control of southeastern America and created an international border that enslaved Africans and Native Americans alike, though it would provide opportunities for freedom. This geopolitical competition created leverage for slaves in Florida and greater Spanish dependence on free black and native people. Great Britain's tenure in the colony, (1763- 84), temporarily eradicated the international border and transformed the landscape into one of possibility for black freedom (Howard, 2008). However, the Spanish resumption of power in that area (1784- 1821) would reinforce St. Marys River as the geopolitical, religious and legal divide, from which a new group of black and indigenous folks would cross the Gullah people. The Seminoles would also build an alliance with the Spanish in resisting English forces seeking to dominate Florida, migrating down from eastern Alabama and Southern Georgia as early as the 1700s. In October 1687, the first recorded fugitives from Carolina arrived in St. Augustine. Governor Diego de Quiroga recorded that eight men, two women and a three-year-old nursing child escaped by boat. Black and indigenous alliance threatened the expanding capitalist economy and the preservation of Spanish order in Florida. Quiroga oversaw the fugitives' Catholic instruction, baptism and marriage, refusing to return them to Captain William Dunlop, the Carolina Indian trader who arrived to recover them in 1688 (Landers, 2013).¹

The *Siete Partidas*, a code of thirteenth-century law prepared by King Alfonso X, held that slavery was an unnatural condition under God, and established ways in which enslaved could become free and maintain protection of slave marriage and family, under Catholic conversion (Parsons, 1931). This would inspire the fugitives of Carolina to seek refuge, and God, in Florida. Thus, the issue of paternalism is framed by religious law's negation of the slave's will, their commodification and violent domination of black and indigenous relations. King Alfonso fashioned himself the "King of Three Religions", as the state governed Christians, Muslims and Jews; Title XXIV, Title XXV, and Title XXVI concerned the Jews, Moors and Heretics respectively. Las Partidas recognized the limited rights of black slaves, and despite its racist language, the doctrine was mainly concerned with conversion. The law would have also been effective in distinguishing races, the pliable nature of race and the construction of blackness effected through religious affiliation. Title XXIV, Law X designated penalties for Jews holding

¹ African Americans in St. Augustine 1565- 1821. National Park Service. April 20, 2022.

Christians as slaves, and Law XI designated that Jews should bear certain marks so that they may be known. The law put forth that people of different faiths dressing and living together in cities led to “violence and evils”, and so the social rights of Christians depended on a kind of self-fashioning, which the Black and native populations took advantage of (Hasall, 1997).

The Spanish missionaries would build a fort on the edge of Biscayne Bay and Miami River, in 1743 populating its periphery with housing and farms. Florida would garner a reputation as a safe haven for freed slaves and maroons through Spanish land grants, rumors of lost treasure and limited offers of freedom would draw in Bahamians along the Miami River (Florida Center, 2002). Seminoles and blacks would also join forces to resist slave wranglers from West Oklahoma, aiming to re-enslave freed people. Some Seminoles in cooperation with the British were gifted slaves. Finding the whole concept alien, Seminoles treated their slaves as additional labor, by giving them tools and materials to build their own houses, corn to raise, asking them to produce no more than ten bushels of corn for their own keep. This ownership and solidarity would yield a creole culture, renaming the group Black Seminoles (Dunn, 1997). Indigenous people were often remarked as marginal, leading lives unconcerned with the dictates of Great Britain, Spain or French colonial rule. They would embrace more freedoms through this miscegenation, upending racial and sexual myths. In many ways, Black Seminoles were marginal, through their queerness, miscegenation and protection of blacks (Capo, 2017, 27-30). The refusal to participate under European respectable dictates or “Enlightenment” deemed them demonic. This work aims to see how marginalization refracts within this modern dialectal framework; to see how marginal lives and ways of being differ from or lends insight to Christian ethics.

Veiling God: Gullah Geechee and The Middle Passage

It is thought, though these numbers are impossible to ascertain, roughly 388,000 African people were shipped to North America, with 210,000 being brought to the Carolinas and Georgia in the early 1500s (Gates, 2021, 22-23). At this time, the Spanish declared absolute sovereignty over land extending from the Florida Keys to Newfoundland and west to Mexico. In 1526, the Spanish settlement San Miguel de Gualdape (near Sapelo Sound) is speculated to be the first colony with several African slaves (Dixon, 2020). Of the entire import, nearly 50% of the enslaved were taken to the port of Charleston. Many of the people taken were initially rice

farmers from West Africa, particularly Sierra Leone, taken as slaves to the Low Country of South Carolina and Georgia, and made contact with the Seminoles, diffusing through Florida, Oklahoma, Mexico and Texas. Many of the enslaved taken from Senegambia were practicing Muslims. Today, traces of this past are maintained off the Georgia coast, in Sapelo Island, where Islam has permeated the Black Church, creating a kind of creolized Black Christianity. Melissa Cooper, a descendant and scholar of the Gullah Geechee people, would emphasize that fetishized attention turned on Sapelo Island's Gullah people during the 1920s and 1930s Modernist "voodooism craze" (Gates, 2021, 22-23). The writings of Alicia DeRocke O'Brien would explain and complicate the origins of the Gullah people, that the Lowcountry's enslaved peoples of South Carolina and Georgia were drawn from the "Windward, or Rice, Coast of Africa" until the abolition of chattel slavery (O'Brien, 2006). At this time, there was also a religious mixing of Muslim, Jewish, Christian and African practices, which in Georgia is reflected in root, hoodoo or voodoo (Gates, 2021). This different geographic story offers a more generous, intimate lens of black movement, rather than the marginalization of indigeneity and religious practice we see within academia. The religious and cultural miscegenation explains the role of fungibility, domesticity and fugitivity in the long tradition of involvement in black spirituality, elides the boundaries of sexual and sacred, home and church, god and lore.

In an interview titled "Haints", an "unidentified" woman recounts memories of hauntings in order to recontextualize spirituality within the morality of slavery in South Florida and trouble distinctions between the quotidian and the spiritual. She tells us her name was Josephine Anderson before she married Willis Jones, and for this reason, I'll refer to her as Josephine Jones. She details the materiality of her life in Sanderson, in Baker County, Florida. She describes her mother and grandmother spinning all of her clothes in their spare time. She never remembered seeing her mother wear shoes, even in the winter "since the cold didn't hurt her feet any more than her hands and face". Jones' wedding dress was blue, and she was married in a courthouse, which was exceptional since "most folks those days got married laying a broom on the floor and jumping over it". She explains "brooms kept the haints away", that when mean people would die, "the devil sometimes don't want them in the bad place", "makes witches out of them and sends them back". Folks would place a broom in front of their door to protect their homes. She explains some of her family can see haints better than others. Her daughter Teeny

was born with a veil, or a caul, over her face as a baby, and those babies could see spirits and tell what was going to happen before it came true”.²

Although Jones conceded she couldn’t “tell nothin’ ‘bout slavery times” except what was overheard, she nonetheless rendered the spiritual pulse of domestic life during this time. Haint, or haunt, is a term that originated in the beliefs of the Gullah Geechee people of the Carolinas, Georgia and North Florida. In this sense, Jones becomes the surrogate witness to pliable connections to the global south and Middle Passage. She illuminates the ways that domestic life is spiritual, through terms such as “haint”, “veil” and “natural”, and more importantly that the setting, most of her stories take place in her bedroom or her daughter’s bedroom. The inhabiting capacities are disclosed through the reiteration of her accounts of her daughter’s hauntings, and her grounding quarters as a site of possibility and ritual.³ Her husband would say he was going to cure their daughter, by taking a grain of corn and putting it in a bottle in her bedroom overnight. Then, he’d plant it and after three years of cultivation untouched, he’d roast them and feed them to Teeny. Teeny still saw haints, but was not bothered by them. She drew the hoodoo of the Gullahs close, staging at least four more stories of haints dying or disappearing, but in the last story she told, she had met a haint in her quarters, it hung its skin up on her bedroom wall and it rode her to near death. She claimed she knew it because she was sweaty and out of breath, that anyone who didn’t believe her certainly hadn’t encountered a witch before.⁴

“On’y oncet. soon's I wake up, I light a lamp an' look on de flo'
An' dere, side o' my baid was my dress, layin' right ovah dat flaxseed,
so's she o'd walk ovah on de dress, big ez life. I snatch up de dress
an' thow hit on de baid; den I got t' sleep, an' I ain't nevah be'n
bothah no mo'.
Home folks read de Bible backwards t' keep witches f'm ridin'
em', but dat don't do me no good, 'cause I caint read. But flaxseed
wuk so good I don't be studyin' night- ridin' witches no mo'.⁵

² Frost, Jules A and Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Florida (1937). “Haints: [slave interview,] Tampa, Florida, Oct. 20, 1937”. *Narratives of Formerly Enslaved Floridians*. 40.

³ What is a Haint? *Tales of Southern Haints*.

⁴ Frost and Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Florida (1937). “Haints”.

⁵ *Ibid.* *Floridians*. 40.

The nature of her stories is complicated. She uses her bedroom and body as a phantasmic vehicle (Hartman, 1997, 19) for home, capable of being captured, is unsettling, frightful and slippery. Haunting advances Jones' efforts to identify the spiritual with the quotidian because of the making of the haint-tales, she recovers kinship in African and Indigenous contact in the Americas. The latent sexuality of capture, of a body being stolen, or mounted, speaks to an aesthetic disfigurement, due to her Christian influence and the influence of hoodoo and the fungibility of the captive body. I am interested in the implications of haunting in her story, the connections between hoodoo and Christianity, between African and Indigeneity, and the tracings of geographic connections between the Gullah and Seminole people.

Seeing Spirits: Slavery in the American South

This paper is about geopolitical pressures and the feel of spirits, about lettered dictates and hauntings of colonial life in the global south. It is about the politics of looking elsewhere, the constitution and the performance of humanity in religion. It examines Miami as a site of hauntings— as a (post)colonial territory—as it has been shaped by imperial rule, incapable of solving two major problems of its existence: the problem of memory and the problem of the colony; that Miami neglects its memory as a landscape of marronage and takes refuge in its appeal as a racial- sexual laboratory, which is hypocritical because of its long tradition of racist hegemonic violence (Césaire and Robin 2000). It also aims to recover vital geographies between the Middle Passage, Spanish missionaries, Bahamian colonialism of Carolinas and indigenous fugitivity in the global South in the early 16th century. In short, it is a paper about the depth of domesticity in a place thought uninhabitable, and the possibilities haunting might offer.

Though scholarship relegates indigenous life to a kind of “pre- history”, often citing wars and genocides with ease as the inaugural scenes of civilization or creation, this work aims to untether black and indigenous souls from Miami's great lie and better understand what domestic, spiritual or geographic terrains were formed when Miami was a landscape of possibility. What interests me is how we stop the casual circulation of histories of slavery and genocide as illegitimate lore, but rather think about how intimate our histories are and what former knowledges are embedded in Miami's land. How did Black Seminoles subvert Miami's lines of racial-sexual, religious and geographic divisions? How do these intimate histories reveal the

ways that black and native people moved away from and towards God, in pursuit of humanity within the institution of slavery? How did black and native people subvert the tool—religion—that was meant to enslave them? What is the place of fungibility and movement in the role of black Christianity? What did domestic, economic and religious life look like within American marronage? Tensions rise as we try to discuss the relative severity of slave systems, the transition from slavery to freedom in the Americas and the deterioration of slave life in Spanish Florida. It opens us up to the possibility of seeming indifferent to suffering, a prevalent problem within architecture, history or sociology, which is the challenge I take to task here in this paper.

Miami is morally and spiritually unsound. Indefensible in its erasure of its black and indigenous lives, which speaks to the often-observed history of colonization and genocide of millions of African and Native American people; this erasure also veils black and indigenous investments in intersectionality, solidarity and oppression in Miami's entire racial project. The history of black and indigenous life in Miami is a geographic story, of material and invisible architectures, segregations, integrations, migrations and displacements. The text is a journey through the Middle Passage, American South and the Caribbean, to remember how Miami was laboriously built upon black and indigenous souls, and the ways that ideas of racial-sexual difference are translated into space. Though this racial project is haunted by the leery shadow of slavery and genocide, I aim to adopt haunting, or memory, as a form of healing. This method affirms there is power in the tongue, offering haunting as an act of refusal (King, 2019).

Therefore, rather than try to speak of the horrors of colonization, imperialism and religious explanation for suffering, I intend to recover heritages of the global South that can't be easily described—the rice farmers of West Africa deposited to Sapelo Island, Georgia, the exodus from Carolina lowcountry to Florida's dense swamps and hammocks, and their relationships to Alabama, Texas and Mexico—as well as the ways the eroticism of spirituality and the multiplicity of black beauty. In examining heritage, I hope to illuminate the ways people used religion for exploitation or humanization. What interests me here is the movement of violence disseminated under practices of pleasure, worship and property. This work examines black and indigenous modes of fungibility, under the sign of gender, and the processes of humanization.

Capturing God: The Creation Story in Miami's Everglades

For those forced into slavery and captured, the spectacle of the romantic love in slavery was used to veil the violence of the slave economy and deny the pains to those sold or freed into nothingness. This was the case for Rose Forrester, the wife of Samson Forrester, a man born into slavery, stolen by Seminoles, recaptured and restored to his master. Samson was enslaved, belonging to a man named Forrester. Some years before the Seminole War of 1835, he was a small child stolen by Seminoles. When he was recaptured and restored, he was “tall and well-built”, skilled in “the secrets of woodcraft”, and “familiar with the haunts of the Seminole”. His mother tongue returned to him, and he was perceived as an asset to the officers at Fort Brooks, where he operated as a scout and interpreter of the government. He was bought as a slave by the government and later employed at a good salary. At the end of the second Seminole war in 1842 he was given his freedom, retained by the government. He was responsible for deporting Seminoles to Louisiana and Arkansas. He would eventually fall in love with a woman named Rose, an attractive maid who belonged to Mrs. Kendrick, the wife of Captain William H. Kendrick. In a newspaper interview in 1883, Captain Kendrick was convinced that his courtship was something of possession, and that the captain sold his maid for \$1400 with the consent of his maid. Upon being told the offer, the maid burst into tears and was willing. She was purchased in gold and the pair left for Fort Brooks.

These extravagant displays omit the distinction between surrender and willfulness in the strategic denial of pain. The interview of Samson Forrester was penned by an interviewer more concerned with seducing the reader than committing his spectacular life to paper. The terms of this seduction are shown in quotes like “lingered under the delicious influence of a pair of languorous dark eyes”, “possession rather than pursuit of happiness”, “strange performance of a previously normal heart”, “figure of a Venus in bronze, who, according to her master, was the most beautiful colored girl he had ever seen”.

Personhood is typically what we turn to archives for, though the quotes within the state-generated archives are loaded with so much myth and paternalism that there's no easy way to untether their own self-definitions cleanly. When the Works Progress Administration attempted to document the Seminoles' folklore of South Florida's Everglades, they couldn't help but preface their creation story with some paternalism. Declaring the author's distance from the Seminole subject, the author declares that the Seminole Indians “are a primitive race who still

live in the Everglades of south Florida”. The author then explains that the lore of the Seminoles stems from their reliance on animals.⁶ In this regard, the author locates the animal in the introduction of the Seminole’s episteme, but also within a larger discourse of humanism. The Seminole person is reduced to chattel- subject, becoming the irrational buttress to the rational humanity of European modernism, drawing upon Platonic definitions of “sensual animality and philosophic godliness” (Wynter, 2003, 286). “The primitive race”, reaffirms the rationale of racial hierarchies and the exclusion of black and native people from certain rights or protections. Thus, the native is cast outside of humanity, in the wild, connoting the terrible eroticism of creation; confirmed by this imposed definition prefacing the creation story.

However, the Florida Writer’s Project offers probably one of the most robust anthropological documents of native life in Miami. The Miami Seminole creation story, according to the archival documents, parallels many stories of the Bible, examining nature, where the world was largely water without a single moving object outside of the water. The crawfish of the sea dove to the depths of the ocean and eventually uncovered fragments of the earth, bringing the fragments to the surface and stacking them up, at the beaver’s observation. The beaver, calling on the East Wind, levels the fragments into an island, where the Great Father comes down from heaven, bringing with him three humans. The Great Father creates a break in the earth between Coconut Grove and Coral Gables, flooding the hole and forming a well. The Great Father would break from the people and take flight from white people, trying to capture the Great Father and use him to make trees and rain for them. Instead, he makes a boat out of a tree, stealing away.⁷ You can’t help but hear the flood story of the Old Testament, at the appearance of the Great Father, a colonial overtone, an episteme constantly reconstructing the whole story. In some respects, this language moves away and simultaneously towards the paternalism of Spanish Florida by conflating this primal story with the demonic explanations of indigenous existence, though Castilian law allowed slaves some notions of humanism. Rather than lamenting over what was not written, or what was soiled with paternalism, I’m interested in the spectacular nature of marronage, dimensions of slavery in the American South which engendered black and indigenous fungibility and its aesthetics.

⁶ Writers’ Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Florida, Florida State Department of Public Instruction, 1940. “[Florida: Writers’ Project] Seminole Indian legends”. [Jacksonville? Federal Works Agency. Work Projects Administration], 1-19.

⁷ Ibid.

The dispute over the origins of the Seminole is in full swing. In exploring these tensions, I don't wish to offer a comprehensive account of the Seminole history, or to recover their resistances but to critically examine notions of visibility, humanism, worship and its aesthetic. Etymologically, a maroon— Seminole, or Black Seminole— is defined as a “wild, untamed, unruly fugitive”. The term is attributed to the fugitive slaves of the Great Dismal Swamp, the maroons of the Caribbean or the Black Seminoles of Florida's Everglades. The untamed or unruly definition is attributed to the people rather than the unimaginable horrors of existence under slavery and genocide. In French, the term maroon, or Seminole, is thought to be derived from the Spanish word *cimarron*, stemming from *cimarra* (meaning thicket) and *cima* (meaning summit or peak). The Creek would reappropriate *cimarron* as *simano:li* (Eddins, 2020; Snorton, 2018).⁸ While the term *cimarron*, in all its meanings, signals a movement towards escape, it also indexes a particular porous ground and (in)visibility, through the logic of the thicket. The thicket is productive in that it also conjures a kind of rhizomatic, nonlinear process. The maroon, then, operates on a rhizomatic schema; it is about a particular kind of movement with no clear entries or exits (Snorton, 2018), with no clear space of escape, but rather is an ongoing process. Fugitivity here can be read as both an epistemic project and as a mode of fungibility, temporarily finding spaces of reprieve and terror outside of the logics of property. The escape, or act of marooning, yields new “possibilities of transport”, to echo Hartman, and alludes to the captive bodies' fungibility through amending the body's status of chattel to pleased or tortured body. Capture and evasion allowed the Seminoles a new critical knowledge of the land where places thought inhabitable could be thought of as home. Marooning also taught challenged notions of ownership, surveillance and capture, and approaches place making for black and indigenous folks.

Staging Seduction: The Latent Sensuality of Involvement

In an interview with preacher D. Davis, who at the time was 90 years old, recalls the drama of daily life under slavery in South Florida. He emphasized modes of capture, and the ways black people were treated during slavery putting the conditions of living plainly. D. Davis, alias “Sap-Sucker” was born in Quitman, Georgia, February 10th, 1948, was 90 years old when he was interviewed by the Federal Writers Project on his farm in Brooksville, Florida. Davis had

⁸ *Cimarron*, Real Academia Espanola. Asociacion de Academias de la Lengua Espanola.

married 7 times, with 32 children, of which 9 were illegitimate. He explained he divorced them for “broadcasting”, which he explained meant flirting. He had been preaching for 18 years and would open 7 African Missionary Churches.⁹ He spent a great deal of energy explaining the superstitions his mother taught him:

“My mother said that when your left eye jumps you will
get angry, and when the right one jumped you would cry for joy.
Another, it is bad luck to sweep after sundown; bad luck to buy a
women a pair of stocking; bad luck for a child to be born on Friday
for all of the children would be girls; a boy born March
third will prosper; One born on Saturday will have bad luck.”¹⁰

His father was a freeman from Baltimore, Maryland and his mother was indigenous from Oklahoma. He claimed that his hair showed “his mixture”, “that his right side was like Indian hair and that his left was unruly like African hair”. This split also applied to his mustache, that his right side “grew faster and of better grade” than the left. He recalled his early days of slavery working on a 40-acre farm, raising potatoes with a mule. “The custom of dressing for the young men of that time was to wear long tail shirts and the married men wore breeches. In this makeup I plowed behind a mule all day long. With a hearty laugh he told of how they had to have a pass to go from one plantation to another.” He describes being whooped for tying up his mule. Two slaves would frequently run away from the plantation. Upon capture they would be hung by their thumbs and whipped. Davis describes a memory of a haunt at a mill on the plantation. The man and wife who owned the mill had died and were haunting the new owners. The wife, who frequently haunted the mill, was known to wear diamond rings. The wife’s body was unearthed, and her ring finger was caught off. This would lead to a lawsuit as an award was offered to whoever caught the haunt. Davis recalled soldiers stealing corn from his plantation, to which his master responded by storing corn in cribs. The houses were “built of mud bricks, the floor was bare clay, and the top of which was moss that was covered with homespun covering”. Upon

⁹ Davis, D., Diggs, Paul, and Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Florida (1938). "Slave story of D. Davis, ninty [sic] years old". *Narratives of Formerly Enslaved Floridians*. 28.

¹⁰ Ibid.

his freedom, he would request he keep his mule and he remained on the plantation, working for his former master.¹¹

The maroons of South Florida generally lived in isolation from white people, other slaves or indigenous people and primarily focused on their original African traditions. Though the maroons made exceptions and joined forces with indigenous folks to protect the peninsula from additional colonizers or threats. Seminoles and blacks would also join forces to resist slave wranglers from West Oklahoma, aiming to collect and re-enslave freed people. Some of the Seminoles who were in cooperation with the British were gifted slaves. Slavery would bear a distinctly different appearance under indigenous people, finding the whole concept alien. They more so treated their slaves as additional labor, by giving them tools and materials to build their own houses, corn to raise, asking them to produce no more than ten bushels of corn for their own keep. This slave ownership and solidarity both would yield the creation of a creole or miscegenated culture of Black Seminoles (Dunn, 1997). They would intermarry, have children, create shared dances, material and aesthetic cultures, and linguistic changes all informed by this new creole culture. Colonial writings from the journals of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca observed “a devilish thing” of “one man married to another” (Capo, 2017). Seminoles ruptured gender roles often by sharing responsibilities and embracing their feminine and masculine energies during rituals. This gender equity was inherent to their culture, and their partnerships were not characterized by the subjugation of their partners under the violence of white hegemony, though they had gender roles. They provided shelter for runaway slaves and had largely no intentions of relinquishing black people to white domination and violence. This group would be considered different from freed blacks and maroons, but their social stance was closer to that of an indigenous person. Indigenous people were often remarked as marginal, leading lives unconcerned with the dictates of Great Britain, Spain or French colonial rule. They would embrace more freedoms through this mixing. In many ways, they were marginal, through their queerness, miscegenation and protection of blacks. The refusal to participate under European respectable dictates or “Enlightenment” deemed them demonic.

¹¹ Ibid.

Those who Chose the Ocean

Shoring up onto Biscayne Bay, a pirate ship of West African fugitive slaves was led by a villain protagonist named Black Caesar. Prolific scholar Marvin Dunn points to him as the first account of black people in Miami. Biscayne Bay, only 60 miles of the 1200 miles gulf coast, would become the setting for many unimaginable stories of unruly, unscrupulous and audacious fugitive actors, lifetimes apart. The tale of Black Caesar is one of violence, forced prostitution, harems, and fantastic feats of seamanship, tactfully charting new the Florida Keys, evading shoals. Though there are undetermined mythical elements to the story of a great, large black pirate who led hundreds of slaves fatally to the shores of Biscayne Bay, it is now speculated that multiple real Black Caesars existed with over a century of distance between them, a second Black Caesar, (Henri Caesar), supposedly participating in the Haitian Revolution, in 1804 and separately an American Black Caesar so tactical he had to be taken down by former President Andrew Jackson's administration. The first Black Caesar was tricked into capture, along with 20 other fugitive slaves, and once the threat of a hurricane came into view, he and a sailor he befriended onboard would seize control of the ship, navigating the 1200-mile length of the coast. He would amass wealth through harrowing means of acquisition: jewels, women and any other entity he deemed luxurious or valuable. He would set up harems and prisons on Elliott Key, now thought to be haunted by the spirits of surviving feral children, creating their own language and subsisting off berries and creatures of the island until their death. Black Caesar would meet a death equally as violent as his life upon his capture by a Virginia colony, hung and set aflame in an unimaginable voyeuristic horror in Williamsburg in 1718. This narrative begins in an ocean, no place, in an infinite expanse, open and unbounded charted by speculative characters, also tasked with being the origin source for existent communities of Miami today (Dunn, 1997). The story of Miami leaves much room for differentiation or specification of boundaries for a reputed monolithic diasporic community, which will hopefully be untangled through highly localized storytelling. This diaspora understands its organization across a multitude of places, open and unbounded, despite its dependence on putative claims of a single origin.

In the expanse of Key Biscayne's waters, came a different landscape of refusal, an untamed, unchecked landscape and people, with marginalized agents sailing through demonic grounds trying to escape the fate of capture, physical, sexual and psychological mutilation, of unimaginable terror. Specifically Key Biscayne would become a landscape of liberation and solidarity for black and indigenous people; though generations apart, this beach would become

the entry point for black and native imagination. Seminole and black contact and alliance would continue for nearly a century before the founding of Miami in 1896. Key Biscayne was an escape from slavery as the exit of a Saltwater Underground Railroad. In 1804, the first black slaves were taken to Key Biscayne, and later to plantations in what is today present-day downtown Miami. By 1840, 40% of territorial Florida was enslaved. Between 1821 and 1837, picture scenes of Black Seminoles, or Seminole Maroons, living together in harmony with black runaways in South Florida. Seminole etymologically comes from the Creek word “separatist” or runaway”. The two groups living together would collectively be called Black Seminoles, eventually leading to some intermarriage, along with the creation of a creole culture involving hybridized dances, language and foods specific to Black Seminoles. Together, about 200 Black Seminoles journeyed from South Florida, boarding ships at Key Biscayne beach headed towards Andros Island in the Bahamas, where chattel slavery had been outlawed. The Saltwater Railroad would continue to survive into 1861, solidifying the Caribbeans’ reputation as a site of self-emancipation. These stories begin to skim the surface of the multiplicity of blackness in the Americas, through indigeneity, Africanity and its new expressions post-displacement. This would be captured by the work of ethnographers such as Zora Neale Hurston, who would study the Seminole people in the Everglades, and Gullah people, relatives of Seminoles, of Florida and the Carolinas.

The new, mutating, racial orders were further emphasized during military battles, seeing the way black and indigenous folks would fall under different leadership, as well as the requirement of different linguistic translators when dealing with Americans. This unfettered movement would threaten the federal government, in 1821, Florida’s boundaries would be closed, and the government would wage violent wars against these black and indigenous communities. In 1898, America would wage a war against Spain in efforts to free Cuba, opening doors to America and Miami for Cuban sexual tourism. The purging of blacks and Seminoles, the perfection of American imperialism and the assault on the Everglades would lead to the advancement of Miami as an urban frontier.

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Neither one nor the other. The [socially] inadequate public housing policies in colonial and postcolonial Luanda

Paz Núñez-Martí¹; Roberto Goycoolea-Prado²

¹ Universidad de Alcalá; paz.nunhez@uah.es; Madrid, España.

² Universidad de Alcalá; roberto.goycoolea@uah.es; Madrid, España

Abstract

As in other African countries, the construction of social housing in Angola has had two major stages, each one with particular urban and architectural designs. On one hand, the colonial administration promoted the period after World War II. On the other, the first decades of the 21st century were supported by the economic boom experienced with the end of the long civil war. In both cases, the inhabitants were enthusiastic about the new homes. But, over time, disenchantment has gone hand in hand with the appearance of different types of social, spatial, and environmental conflicts. In our proposal, we develop the following thesis: in both cases, the problems arise from their inadequacy with the lifestyles and social aspirations of the addressees. In the Portuguese period, a model inspired by the modern movement whose objective was the imposition of a colonial order based on European standards. In the post-colonial period, an Asian model of satellite cities where accounting objectives -number of dwellings versus costs- prevailed, with little interest in urban space and its inhabitants. The objective of our contribution is to develop the raised thesis by studying the social inadequacy of two paradigmatic examples of the housing policies discussed: (a) Prenda Housing Unit, designed by Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho, 1960-63 and promoted by the Portuguese administration and construction companies, which is today a socially and physically degraded enclave; (b) Kilamba, developed by the Republic of Angola, during the MPLA government, and China International Trust, 2008-2011, set up as a satellite city (or new centrality) which does not finish to fit or convincing residents. The analysis of the disciplinary aspects of the study is based on a literature review and previous research by the authors; the social assessments have been collected in interviews, press studies and networks. With this communication, we hope to contribute to a critical and prospective reflection on what colonial and post-colonial housing policies have been.

Keywords: Luanda, Housing Policies, Prenda Neighborhood, Kilamba.

Session: The role of large construction companies in housing through colonial and postcolonial perspectives

Introduction

The colonial-postcolonial opposition we are dealing with here, as well as those of dictatorship-democracy or theocratic-secular, confronts forms of state organisation loaded with ideological assessments. Depending on the perspective on these phenomena, each term of the dichotomy is considered as either absolute goodness or absolute evil, and in pairs, they are presented as irreconcilable options: one redemptive and the other condemning. In the European context, the fall of colonial regimes and military or theocratic dictatorships is encouraged and celebrated as the beginning of new stages of prosperity where the evils of the past will be instantly erased. If it were easy and immediate, we would be much better off. However, history insists on reminding us that social phenomena are (never) unequivocal. To name just a few close cases, what has become of the democratic awakening of the Arab Spring (2010-12), the imperial promises of Brexit (2015-2019) or the world peace we would experience after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Kosovo, 1999; Syria, 2011; Ukraine, 2022)?

In practice, this vision of decolonisation processes (and related ones) leads to maximalist readings and claims. This is not a trivial issue because it concerns identities and, as such, atemporal offences. Examples of these are plentiful and close at hand. Despite the 500 years that have elapsed, Spain and its former American colonies have entered into a drift of claims and blame that are difficult to sustain and are alien to the historical contexts in which they developed. For example, in Santiago, Chile, during the 2019 demonstrations, many statues of Spanish conquistadors were torn down. That same year, the president of Mexico formally demanded from the Kingdom of Spain a *mea culpa* for colonial excesses, which received a dismissive response.¹ Even the major cultural institutions, so unwilling to engage in identity debates, have become involved in the task of revising the established hegemonic narratives, as evidenced by recent exhibitions in landmark museums: “Black Models: from Géricault to Matisse” (Musée d’Orsay, 2019), “Slavery” (Rijksmuseum, 2021), “Tornaviaje. Arte iberoamericano en España” (Museo del Prado, 2022), among others. These initiatives are undoubtedly on the right track since they represent a sort of reparation for an unedifying past.

¹ "In March 2019, López Obrador sent a letter to the King of Spain, Felipe VI, to "definitively overcome the disagreements, grudges, blame and reproaches that history has placed between the peoples of Spain and Mexico, without ignoring or omitting the illegalities and crimes that provoked them. "The Spanish Crown responded that it regretted "deeply" and rejected "firmly" the arguments of the Mexican president." Both the comments to this piece of news by former president J. M. Aznar ("What is his name? Andrés on the Aztec side, Manuel on the Mayan side...") and those of the readers make clear the validity of the debate. (García de Blas, 2021).

However, these revisions of hegemonic historical narratives are usually based today on cautious discourses, where political correctness takes precedence over the contextualised explanation of an uncomfortable inheritance, “aware that the issue has become a minefield in the current political debate” (Vicent, 2021). The academic world is no stranger to this circumspect view. Indeed, at the congress in which these reflections are framed, great care was taken -in most papers presented and more clearly in the interventions of the audience- to avoid conclusions from which a positive evaluation of the colonial or a negative evaluation of the post-colonial could be drawn. As we noted, this has the virtue of compensating the victims, but, on the other hand, it makes it very difficult to bring to light the structural continuities and mutual influences underlying historical processes.

In a recent study we are carrying out on the suitability of public housing policies developed in Spain during the dictatorship (1939-1975) compared to those of the subsequent democratic period, we were able to confirm the importance of considering structural socio-political continuities. This analysis is part of the multidisciplinary research project URBS, “The Just City. Exclusion, Belonging and the Commons within an Urban Approach to the Theories of Justice”.² In short, the aim is to evaluate the impact on justice in terms of space, understood as the territorial balance of facilities, services and opportunities of investments in public housing during the last century in the Autonomous Community of Madrid. We started from an idea that is well established in Spanish urban studies: to consider that the inequalities of the country’s large cities have their origin in the class-based urban planning of the dictatorship, which the democratic governments would be reversing. Ramón Betrán (2002) synthesises this shared thesis in the accurate title of a reference article: “De aquellos barro, estos lodos. La política de vivienda en la España franquista y postfranquista”.³ However, the application of social criteria of urban vulnerability enables us to conclude that, in general terms, the housing complexes of democracy have not helped to achieve greater spatial justice, although they have substantially improved the quality of housing and the urban environment. Moreover, in the pilot study carried out on Alcalá de Henares (220,000 inhabitants), we have found that the urban housing policies

² PR+D+i Project /PID2020-120021GB-100, reference: AEI/10.13039/501100011033, of the State Program for the Promotion of Scientific and Technical Research of Excellence, funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation, Government of Spain. Duration: 1/9/2021 to 30/8/2024. Principal Investigators: Francisco Colom González (IFS - CSIC) and Ana López Sala (IEGD - CSIC).

³ “From those muds, these muds. Housing policy in Franco’s and post-Franco Spain”.

of democracy have deepened spatial segregation due to an underlying continuity of established real estate practices (López, 2021).

These results encouraged us to determine whether the similarities and relationships observed between the housing policies of the dictatorship and democracy in the Spanish case studies could also be seen in the context of decolonisation. We understood -and we understand- that, in case they were somehow assimilable processes, the usual distinction between colonial and post-colonial cities should be replaced (or at least qualified) by a vision that would allow us to understand the different structural continuities (political, economic, disciplinary, among others) that underlie the way of understanding, configuring and managing the habitable space, allowing a better understanding of the spatial justice and injustices that the analysed cities present.

The choice of Luanda as a case study has a practical reason—it is a city we have lived in and studied—but also a disciplinary one: it is a city where both the colonial and post-colonial governments have developed ambitious public housing policies, albeit with characteristics.

Luanda. Colonial and postcolonial public housing policies

In a process like that experienced by other sub-Saharan capitals, Luanda has had two great periods of demographic explosion in the last century. The first, after World War II, under Portuguese domination, when the population grew from 61,208 to 159,000 inhabitants between 1940 and 1954; the second, already as the Republic of Angola, at the end of the long civil war (1975-2002), increasing from 2.57 to 5.17 million inhabitants between 2000 and 2011.⁴ In both cases, population growth had one of its most visible manifestations in a parallel increase of *muçeques* -as informal settlements are known in Angola- and the adverse social, economic and political consequences that this phenomenon entails (Klopp and Paller, 2019). Supported by good economic situations, the respective governments undertook ambitious programs aimed at mitigating housing shortages and pacifying social demands. In the colonial period they opted for the creation of housing units and in the post-colonial period for new centralities. The Prenda neighbourhood (1960-63, 1st phase) and the satellite city of Kilamba (2008-2011, 1st phase) can be considered paradigms of each stage. Although they started from particular socio-political

⁴ The metropolitan area, which extends over the entire province of Luanda, had a comparable demographic growth: 2.83M in 2000 to 5.65M in 2011, estimating a current population of 9.29M (PopulationStad).

contexts, both projects were presented as ideal solutions to solve the lack of housing and improve the quality of urban life. Expectations were high, at the height of the investments.

Following the theoretical principles contained in the Athens Charter (CIAM 1933) and post-World War II European urban planning practice, the *Unidade de Vizinhança do bairro Prenda* (1963-1965) was designed by a group of architects led by Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho.⁵ Located 5 km from Kinaxixe square, the neuralgic centre of Luanda, on about 30 hectares "vacated" from the *muçequê* of the same name, the *Unidade* was conceived as a neighbourhood where families of different social classes and races would live in harmony. Once completed, it would consist of 22 housing blocks (1,120 apartments), which would share space with single-family homes for the colonial bourgeoisie and self-built semi-detached houses for the former inhabitants of the place (Milheiro, 2013:11). The proposal has a great quality in terms of conceptual clarity and urban and architectural design, and has been widely studied and valued by the discipline (Milheiro, 2013; Tostões, 2008; Rodrigues, 2011, among others) [Fig. 1].



Figures 1 and 2. Prenda Neighborhood Housing Unit (1960-63, 1st phase) and New Kilamba Centro (2008-2011, 1st phase), paradigms of colonial and postcolonial housing policies respectively. Facebook, Luanda do antigamente! and Casa KiAnda: KILAMBA a nova cidade.

⁵ With Luiz Taquelim da Cruz, urban planning; and with Fernando Augusto Pereira and José Pinto da Cunha, architecture.

Half a century later, in 2008, the Angolan Government promoted the construction of the *Centralidade do Kilamba*, 30 km from Kinaxixe. The declared objective was to decongest the capital and satisfy the reasonable living aspirations of the middle classes that emerged with the political stability and the economic boom brought about by the end of the war and the high prices of raw materials, especially oil. The project has a huge, metropolitan dimension: 82,000 apartments in 710 buildings to house 400,000 inhabitants. The construction of the first phase (3,800 apartments in 115 buildings for about 120,000 inhabitants) was rapid, and it was put on sale only three years later (11/07/2011). When it was inaugurated, the urbanization and some basic facilities (stores, schools, and sports areas) were completed, while health centers, garbage collection facilities, water treatment, among others, were still pending (Angop, 2011) [Fig. 2].

With the passage of time, neither colonial nor post-colonial policies have achieved the expected results. This is yet another example of the failure of "total architecture" to reorganize society according to efficiency parameters (Wilson, 2022:364).

A few years after its inauguration Prenda, spearhead of colonial metropolitan planning, began a process of informal occupation of the interblock space - intended for squares, gardens and sports - which, added to the lack of maintenance of the complex, has ended up turning it into a slum with living conditions equal to or worse than the *muçequê* that was demolished to build it [Fig. 3]. In Kilamba, a decade after its inauguration, the promises of the new metropolis backbone had vanished (African Business, 2015). The forecasts did not add up from the start, the sale and rental of the first phase, intended for the new and (apparently) solid upper middle class was considerably lower than expected. The government was forced to act to save the investment, firstly, with a considerable reduction in the sale prices,⁶ and finally abandoning the idea of concluding the project by proceeding to sell the vacant lots of the phases pending construction (Silva, 2020b). But, above all, Kilamba has become an enclave with all -and known- dormitory cities problems; a soulless city, in which its inhabitants spend more hours on transportation than developing activities that give meaning and quality to life [Fig. 4].

⁶ In the first stage of Kilamba, apartments of the type T3 (100 to 120 m²) and T5 (150 m²) were built. Initial prices, from US\$120,000, were prohibitive in a country with a GDP per capita of US\$4,080 in 2012. (Country Economy, 2021) Given the lack of occupation, due to prices and lack of support services, in 2016, the real estate company lowered prices and the new centralities took advantage of a National Housing Plan to facilitate their acquisition, especially by public officials (Portuguese/Verangola, 2016).



Figures 3 and 4. Prenda, 2019. Xé-Agora Aguenta; Kilamba, 2022. Sheila, Airbnb Kilamba.

To explain the social and spatial problems of both neighborhoods, one usually refers to unforeseen political and/or economic situations: the upsurge of the war of independence and the subsequent civil war in the case of Prenda and, in the case of Kilamba, the economic crisis of 2018, when Angola's GDP fell by half in a few years: from 108,053 M€ in 2017 to 50,930 M€ in 2020 (Country Economy, 2021). Undoubtedly, these two extreme situations have influenced the degradation of both interventions, but they do not consider the heart of the problem. In our understanding, the failure of both housing policies is not (only) due to these unforeseen circumstances, nor to the lack of resources of their inhabitants, but to erroneous political, urban and architectural approaches, no matter how well-intentioned they may have been. In short, both the colonial and post-colonial governments acted with a reductionist vision of life, housing and the city, without considering the social characteristics and aspirations, or the changing dynamics of these social processes.

Based on the studies developed by the authors a few years ago in Angola (Goycoolea and Núñez, 2012) and the mentioned works on social housing in Spain, we proceed to develop the proposed hypothesis, focusing on four aspects that, for us, would explain the scarce contribution that colonial and postcolonial public housing policies have had in achieving greater spatial justice. These aspects, in turn, show that there are more socio-political similarities between the two regimes than political discourses, academic studies and social imaginaries tend to assert. These are: (a) understanding the city, and especially housing, as products that are projected, built and distributed - sold - as generic objects; (b) using public housing policies as instruments to promote - impose - new ways of life; (c) considering, with the support of construction

companies, the housing problem - only - as housing provision; and (d) deepening, in the name of functional efficiency, social segregation and spatial inequalities.

The city as a product

The first common element of the policies we are dealing with is to conceive the habitable space and what happens in it as products, as beautiful, finished objects in which everything will be built and function as planned. From our perspective, both housing policies reflect the same "Fordist" conception of the city. A fairly widespread way of conceiving the city, which, regardless of the quality of what is built, tends to end up far from the objectives set by not considering the ever-changing economic realities and social transformations. Significantly, despite being promoted by different governments and at different times, the Prenda and Kilamba projects were presented to the public -to future users- by means of large-scale models, always more striking and easier to understand than blueprints. In Prenda's wooden model, the volumes of the buildings emerge in the midst of an abstract space [Fig. 5]. The Kilamba model, of a more realistic and commercial character, also has no reference to the surrounding space [Fig. 6]. They are ideal representations of an unchanging final situation. Although Prenda and Kilamba were intended to be built in phases, they do not seek to learn and amend from lessons learned. They reflect stages set by budgets and construction companies. There are no contingency plans that would allow them to be redirected if something does not go according to plan. In Prenda, it was not foreseen that the large inter-block spaces could be occupied with informal constructions. In Kilamba it was not foreseen that the houses would not be sold or that, for some reason, the project could not be completed, which is what has happened, forcing the authorities to take a decision so alien to the planning as to sell the "infrastructural" plots, those where it had not been possible to build what was planned.⁷ This was the expeditious way found by the administration to complete the desolating landscape of the dreamed-of centrality. Criticism points to a disfigurement of the urban planning approach because the standards for new construction are minimal; but the most serious aspect of this privatization of public land is

⁷ The sale was made by registration and raffle. In 2020, 468 "infrastructured" lots (parcels) of 15x25 m were put up for sale for single-family homes and 61 for buildings with up to five floors. 55,000 candidates presented themselves to the event organized by the Kilamba Infrastructure Land Management Company (Silva, 2020b).

that nothing has been said about the commitments made regarding the infrastructure and facilities awaiting development (Silva, 2020a).



Figures 5 and 6. Model of the Prenda Housing Unit. Fernão L. Simões de Carvalho Archive; Nova Cidade de Kilamba Model. J. Kearney

Imposed models

Behind the conception of housing developments as products lies a formal and normative vision of the city or, if one prefers, an academic and bureaucratic conception in the most restrictive sense of the term. Once "those who know" decide what is to be done, it can only be executed. Thus, ideal neighbourhoods are being built but they rarely materialize as they were designed. These are well-intentioned chimeras that fail to recognize that a city can never be a model. The city means process, dynamism, change and, of course, also planning, but not in a unilateral way. If this is not acknowledged, the works, regardless of their scale, end up somehow failing or, at best, altered by their inhabitants to make them habitable.

This lack of recognition of the complex processes that shape society and its space underlies the urban and housing models developed in our case studies. Both colonial and postcolonial housing policies are based on a basic assumption of modern urbanism: to consider that the morphology and zoning of space transforms those who live there in the desired sense. A new architecture for a new society would be the basic maxim to follow in both cases. These are slogans that look very good on paper, but that practice insists on contradicting them, showing that when design is based on ways of life that are alien to those who will live there, the expected changes are not likely to happen. In the housing units and in the new centralities of Luanda,

there have been unsuccessful attempts to impose new ways of life through the same mechanism: the configuration and directed use of living space.

Prenda, like the other housing units promoted by the colonial administration, was conceived following a structure of high-rise housing with large open spaces where modern life would grow. "Cada uma destas unidades [wrote Simões de Carvalho, architect of the project], bairros, células ou sectores, serão lugares em que o "Espaço, o Sol e a Verdura" dominarão, provocando a calma, e ajudando ao equilíbrio psíquico do indivíduo" (Milheiro, 2013:12).⁸ The result was far from this idyllic image, nor did the well-intentioned political and architectural will to erect in Prenda a neighborhood that would mix people of different social classes and races in harmony.⁹ The segregated colonial society took care of contradicting all this, remaining -except for some "assimilated" Angolans- as a redoubt for settlers surrounded by muçequês. Finally, it was considered (or was it really an imposition?) that this new architecture should lead to a modern, "American" society. The publicity of the time insists on promoting a lifestyle as innovative as it is alien to the values of the Estado Novo, which allowed it in its material aspect but not in its democratizing background [Fig. 7]. Kilamba, on the other hand, takes the Chinese repopulation strategy as a reference. The city is conceived as an undifferentiated totality of autonomous entities, limiting the common to the infrastructures. Even the singular elements are built without any relation to the surrounding environment, such as the 11th November National Stadium, the Sports Palace, and even the church and the shopping center, among others. These facilities, the meeting places *par excellence*, are not an integral part of the project. The housing also responds to this individualistic and consumerist conception, with a design strategy focused on the *petit bourgeois* aspirations of family life. To support this new model of life envisioned for the emerging middle classes, the authorities have developed an extensive advertising campaign emphasizing the idea of property, car and shopping malls as the axes of a happy, successful social life [Fig. 8].

⁸ The quote, in English version: "Each of these units, neighborhoods, cells or sectors, will be places where "Space, the Sun and the Greenery" will dominate, generating calm, and helping the individual's psychic balance".

⁹ "[...] The density and proportion of settled "indigenous" and European population should be 1/3 and 2/3, respectively, with 1,150 dwellings planned. The architect hoped that, over time, this proportion would be reversed, contributing to the multiracial society he planned." (Tostões, 2008)



Figures 7 and 8. "A new way of living", advertisement of the American House, Luanda. 1961-62. Facebook, Luanda. Images dos velhos tempos; Current Xyami Shopping Center advertising image, Kilamba.

‘Housing activism’ and construction companies

The will to solve immediate deficiencies usually leads to neglecting the root causes and these need solutions. In the cases studied, the implemented policies focused -beyond the discourses- on the provision of housing, neglecting or postponing the provision of public spaces and equipment. Faced with these deficiencies, the neighbourhood had to move to be attended, to buy what they needed or to find a way to solve these lacks in the way they could.

In Prenda, almost from its inauguration, small shops and local services began to appear, locating first in the houses or on the blocks’ ground-level floors. Then they would begin to occupy the inter-block space with self-built shacks, just as they continue today, albeit with more permanent but equally precarious constructions. In Kilamba, a similar process can be observed, anticipating a possible *museçefication* (slum) -in case this process cannot be reversed- by providing the neighbourhood with the services it requires and the inhabitant demands.

Attending the topic of the panel in which this communication is inscribed, it seems opportune to emphasize that these "housing" policies are only possible through the participation of

construction companies that have the size and technical capacity to build the projects at once and in a short time. It also leads to influencing the constructive rationality of the proposals in order to optimize systems and deadlines, aware that the dilation of time tends to break consensus and homogeneity. Furthermore, the existence of powerful construction companies is a basic condition for large public housing policies to be carried out, especially if they are intended for sale, as the cases concerned here.

Even though the Urbanization Plan for the Prenda neighbourhood was a municipal initiative, the design and construction of the housing buildings were a direct commission to the company PRECOL, Predial Económica Ultramarina, also responsible for their marketing (Rodrigues, 2011). In the design and construction of Kilamba, a similar "coexistence" is observed, although on a larger scale, between public policies and private companies. The main construction company for Kilamba was CITIC Construction, China International Trust and Investment Corporation, a state investment group of the People's Republic of China, founded in 1979. The project was part of the Sino-Angolan agreements for the exchange of goods, including real estate, by raw materials, mainly oil (Luso/Verangola. 2017a). Despite this institutional background, they are free-sale apartments, promoted and marketed by SONIP, Sonangol Imobiliária e Propriedades Limitada – that is, a subsidiary company of the National Fuel Society of Angola, directed at the time by Isabel dos Santos, daughter of the president of Angola. Moreover, coinciding with the end of the long term of José Eduardo do Santos as president of the Republic of Angola (1992-2017), there is a majority privatization justified by a "reduction of the weight of the State in the economy" while at the same time a "realignment and reorganization of public sector companies" (Luso/Verangola. 2017b).

Socio-spatial segregation

Few elements influence the success or failure of housing development as much as the type of relationship it is established with the existing city. Key aspects of this relationship are location and accessibility, but functional, occupational and symbolic ties also play a role. When these relationships are positive, the new neighbourhoods become part of the city, thus contributing to its development. However, when the new is conceived as autonomous units, they end up presenting varying degrees of socio-spatial segregation.

Despite the relative proximity to the centre of Luanda and the project's desire to integrate (integration of classes and races), Prenda should have been an example of urban integration. In practice, as we pointed out, the classist colonial society denied urban and social inclusion, and the lack of facilities, public spaces and work transformed the operation into a kind of metaphysical dream. Photos of that period show magnificent and shiny modern buildings but surrounded by substandard housing and improvised constructions that would end up colonizing the complex. The degradation of the housing ended up with a stigmatization process, which led to increasing the socio-spatial segregation of its inhabitants [Fig. 9].



Figures 9 and 10. Prenda, Luanda. Paz Núñez-Martí, 2013; Angola's Chinese-built ghost town, Kilamba. r/UrbanHell, 2020.

Kilamba, due to the distance and magnitude of the intervention, generated -and still does- a more tragic situation. As there are no services or sources of work nearby, a large part of the population -many of them civil servants who have their workplaces in the centre of the capital- must spend several hours daily to travel the 30 km that separate them from the urban centre, since traffic jams are continuous. The authorities did not foresee this or were overly

optimistic.¹⁰ Only last 07/23/2022 did the bus terminal come into operation, which, according to official sources, "will alleviate urban and interprovincial mobility" (Luso/Verangola, 2017b). Probably, the bus hub will make transit more comfortable for users, but that does not solve the underlying problem. In the absence of efficient mass transportation -a commuter train, for example- daily life revolves, for the lucky ones, around the car and, for the rest, daily transportation is solved inside overcrowded *candongueiros*.¹¹ The system is ecologically and economically unsustainable and, in the city, the "public space" has become a large parking lot for cars and people, in a dormitory city without the dynamism and vitality characteristic of the urban. [Fig. 10]

Conclusion

Prenda and Kilamba reflect two historical moments and two different models of housing policies. The formal differences, both in terms of urban planning and architecture, are evident, as are the political motivations behind them. However, in terms of the social consequences and, in particular, the achievement of the right to the city, both the colonial and postcolonial government's proposals have ended up far removed from the proposed ideals. So much so that one can speak, with few nuances, of failed policies, which have ended up generating more problems than they were intended to solve (as also happened in public housing policies during the dictatorial and democratic eras in Spain, as we have pointed out).

From a more general perspective, Prenda and Kilamba set up a situation that can be generalized beyond the colonial and postcolonial contexts presented. We refer to the widespread practice of developing housing policies from the offices of politicians, technicians and real estate developers. On many occasions they not only ignore the culture, possibilities and aspirations of those who will live there, but also ignore the inevitable processes of urban transformation. Releasing projects designed for immutable users and cities where everything is perfectly in its place is a common practice. This operation mode is repeated over and over again without paying

¹⁰ For the inauguration of Kilamba, expectations were different: "Access to the new centrality is facilitated by the first ring road of Luanda, a road with two lanes in each direction and a central separator that may give way to more lanes in the future" (Angop, 2011).

¹¹ Spontaneous vans, a sort of informal buses that pick up passengers on demand with no entry control and no limit on the number of people.

attention to the (bad) lessons learned, probably because this procedure is more comfortable and beneficial to power, in a broad sense of the term.

In the light of all this, three profound transformations in the way of understanding, conceiving and managing public housing policies seem essential: (a) To place the real demands and aspirations of the city and its inhabitants -not those inferred by politicians and technicians- at the centre of action: "it is the interaction between the environment, determined by buildings, and humans that makes up the heart of urban life". For this reason, it more important "the connective tissue that holds the organism together than its external appearance or its vital organs" (Wilson, 2022:19). (b) To understand society and its space -the city- as a dynamic entity, in constant transformation and adaptation, where any immutable project is doomed to failure: images of idealized cities do not work; we must implement processes that allow informal neighbourhoods, as well as suburbs and peripheries, to develop form and function, diversity and density, as well as the social and spatial dynamism characteristic of the urban issue. (c) To stop understanding real estate developments as a market good, supporting a construction of the city in which the neighbours participate, whenever they want, through cooperatives and small companies, ensuring that the benefits that the construction and management of living space bring benefits to society and to the common good, which is something impossible to achieve if we try to build the city based on large radical projects, requiring the participation of global¹² companies. Without doubt, there are other (many and better) ways to act to improve the quality of life in the slums.

These are not easy changes because they require transforming established practices, procedures and imaginaries. However, we must try because, as we have stated, neither the one nor the other, neither the colonial nor the postcolonial, can give lessons in this matter.

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¹² Asked about the inauguration of Kilamba, sociology professor and renowned writer Pepetela, as Artur Pestana is known, insisted on this idea: "This foreign presence in major works is not to be admired, since there were no nationals with the capacity to do them. The Chinese are faster to build, they work in shifts non-stop and offer almost interest-free financing at very long terms, but they employ few Angolan workers" (Osava, 2012).

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Urban planning in Angola. The model adopted for Luanda in the colonial period and post-colonial times

Maria Alice Mendes Correia¹; Inês Lima Rodrigues²; Hélder José³

¹ IPGUL; aliclarajessi@gmail.com; Luanda, Angola

² Dinâmia'CET-Iscte; ines.rodrigues@iscte-iul.pt; Lisbon, Portugal

³ IPGUL; helderjose65@gmail.com; Luanda, Angola

Abstract

This paper aims to show how the city of Luanda was managed in the colonial period (1934-1975) through the model adopted for planning the urban management of the city of Luanda, from land distribution to public-private partnerships and the model of the town that was intended for a city colonised by the Portuguese. The main objective has always been to best manage the city's space with strict approval of urban parameters. Little by little, the outstanding contribution of the private sector to the development of the city of Luanda became evident. How the city of Luanda was managed in 1934/1975, the period between the creation of the Eighth Division and the culmination of Angola's independence, can be seen as decisive for the growth of a city under urbanistic rules that intervened in spaces. Here, the private sector's intervention stands out in some unique moments, such as real estate and the City Council of Luanda (CML) action. In short, the State was represented by the CML, which ceded the land to a potential buyer; the project was prepared by CML technicians who collaborated in the execution of the projects and the real estate agents in order to facilitate and guarantee the process of gaining agility and quality of execution. This partnership resulted in guidance/advice on land regularisation, ceiling height approved for a given location, façade conditioning, other conditioning, and construction depth, including sun protection elements —a way to meet customer satisfaction and the best for the city. On the other hand, it outlines a post-colonial reading and how the Angolan Independent State, from 1975 onwards, managed public policies in the field of construction and promotion of collective housing.

Keywords: Architecture; Modern Movement; Neighbourhood Units, Radial structure; Urbanism; Urban Planning; Urbanisation Office.

Session: The role of large construction companies in housing through colonial and postcolonial perspectives

The urban context of Luanda in the 20th century

Approaching urban planning for Luanda in its development path is very challenging, and it becomes more complex when defining a period for its evaluation. The implantation of this Portuguese colony to the south of the equator dates back to the distant year of 1575 when, after having settled on Ilha das Cabras, Captain-General Paulo Dias de Novais received authorization from the Angolan King N'Gola Kiluanji and settled on the old hill of São Paulo, where he founded the town of São Paulo de Loanda, and then the Church of S. Sebastião on Morro de S. Miguel, around which the town developed, taking the city charter in 1605. The territory evolved and aroused the greed of other colonial powers, so Holland tried to occupy it, but it failed and was defeated in 1648. The city suffered the first effects of a belligerent action, having been partially destroyed. The image registered from the 17th century reflects a modest development town registered in religious, military, and public buildings.

Growing without clearly obeying a classic plan, the first paths connecting the city's lower part to the upper part only much later gave rise to streets. These streets began to have design and expression, such as Direita and Mercadores Street, and the squares acquired character and shape, from which Pelourinho and Feira Grande Squares. Such a development will lead to the obligation to apply toponyms to these streets that have evolved so much, acquiring a very particular configuration due to the proximity to the sea. It was in the century. In the 19th century, the names of the streets became official with their publication in the Official Bulletin of the General Government of Angola, following a toponymy marked by *Quimbundu*.

The 20th century took a significant leap forward in the history of Luanda's urban evolution. In this period, the lower city followed the radial structure, and in the plateau a regular structure was applied in an area where there were no limitations topographically. It is necessary to consider that the evolution of urbanism in Africa is very much related to the European influence, and with the principles and systems that originated some settlements that currently exist. Thus, the model adopted for Luanda also fits, given that the strategic occupation network of the African occupation facilitated its administrative organization, generating cities that today stand out on a world scale. The 20th century marked a significant leap forward in the history of Luanda's urban evolution. During this period, the lower city followed the radial structure, and in the plateau, a regular structure was applied in an area where topographic limitations were not present. Must be looked that the evolution of urbanism in Africa is very much related to

European influence and the principles and systems that originated some settlements that currently exist. Thus, the model adopted for Luanda also fits, given that the strategic occupation network of the African occupation facilitated its administrative organization, generating cities that today stand out on a world scale.

The scenario of the 2nd World War that practically blocked the development of the old continent, not allowing its rebirth, will also influence the Portuguese colony that only from the year 1960 knows a new start with actions that led to the provision of better spaces and equipment and new urban housing areas. The territory's settlement policy was intensified at this time, with occupation strategies having been defined for which a qualified urban fabric was catered. A process of transformation of the agglomerations was initiated, giving them a more urban and orderly character, which was the reason for the emergence of the first Urban Plans.

Architecture and urbanism in Angola throughout the decades from 1930 to 1975 were greatly influenced by European and directly Portuguese professional practice. Therefore, Luanda, as the capital city, became a privileged space for official construction. Architecturally, modernist works from the 1930s and 1940s stand out as they contrast purist modernism and architecture that evoke historical typologies [Fig. 1].



Figure 1. Urbanisation Plan of Luanda, *Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial*, 1949 (Terms of Reference for the elaboration of the Master Plan of Luanda.

Between the end of the 1940s and the 1960s, traditionalist architecture persisted in an “Architecture of the Estado Novo” with a monumental expression and often with classic and revivalist forms (Martins, 2002). The Urbanism of the Estado Novo tore up avenues (Av. Brasil, Av. dos Combatentes, Av. Paiva Couceiro, Av. Brito Godins, Av. Sá da Bandeira, Alameda D. João II) that maintained the continuity of the existing axes, directed them for exits from the city, designed squares, such as the current Largo de Quinaxixe, and built new housing districts.

Given this whole scenario, it is essential to highlight the distinction between the neighbourhoods. Specifically launched in the XXI Congress of the Housing Federation realised in Lisbon in 1952, were presented norms for housing projects. In these standards, the Portuguese should always live in housing superior to those they inhabited in Portugal, and this housing should be similar to housing in the best cities in the world, emphasising European ones. As for the natives, in this case, blacks should stay in autonomous neighbourhoods, ranging from 5,000 to 15,000 inhabitants with low-rise housing (Domingos, apud Correia, 2018: 128). During this period, the homes of the poorest were located around industries and very close to urbanised neighbourhoods. Who lived in huts, small wattle, and daub houses without infrastructure, afforestation, paving, and cleaning. The buildings were dispersed without obeying any order, and the water reached the population through fountains scattered throughout the buildings, sometimes located at great distances.

The post-independence period brought other challenges that were more difficult to manage, considering the period of conflict that Angola plunged into and the political choices for development that it adopted, with noticeable effects on urban planning. Links with states of communist origin imported new models to Angola, and Luanda also received new construction experiences in the first urbanism and housing program that followed independence; here, we highlight the construction in Cuban prefabrication and, more recently, the construction of the “*Centralidades*” strongly influenced by a model from the Republic of China.

Urban Planning and Neighbourhood Units

The concern with the organisation and image of the new cities in the process of development justified the concern with the partial and general plans that were elaborated, such as the Master Plan of Luanda and consequent Detailed Plans for the Neighbourhood Units, Plans of Zones of Immediate Occupancy (PZOI), which distinguished themselves in objectives and design.

From 1961 onwards, plans for the city of Luanda were drawn up by the CML's Urbanisation Office, created and headed by Architect Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho. The latter, as a result of his training, applied his Parisian experience in Le Corbusier's atelier to Angolan territory, promoting the principles of urbanism defended by the modern movement. How did Simões translate and adapt the Neighbourhood Unit concept, conceived for Western societies, to a colonial context with a different and more complex social framework?

The Master Plan of Luanda (1961 – 1964) is thus drawn up in the light of these principles, as well as the complementary partial plans: the government centre, the neighbourhood units, the sports centre, the tourist area of the Island of Luanda, the beltways, main roads and industrial zones. Although not approved, the plan served as a guiding document for city management, which defined structured functional zoning in the proposal of two principal road axes that imposed hierarchy from the centre. This new structure also proposed requalification strategies for the centre through the introduction of collective equipment, as well as foreseeing a sustained expansion action in: Neighbourhood Units with 30 to 50 hectares intended for 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. The fourteen Neighbourhood Units proposed would formalise typologically distinct dwellings depending on the social and ethnic groups they serve, which would share the collective facilities, emphasising the social integration policy [Fig. 2].



Figure 2. Plan Neighbourhood Units in Luanda, Câmara Municipal de Luanda
(Overseas Historical Archive, PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/2036/17746).

The Plan for the Neighbourhood Unit No. 2¹ of Bairro Prenda (1963-65) followed the guidelines of the Master Plan of Luanda. This plan defined the replacement of the dense and low fabric of the *muceque* by another one designed under modern urbanism, defining a civic centre with collective equipment and distinguishing between road and pedestrian circulation. Housing obeyed climate concerns, distance to the civic centre and free pedestrian circulation, with a diversified formal result and apparent modern influence. Simões de Carvalho and co-author Luis Taquelim da Cruz designed it as a sustainable urban settlement unit, which was self-sufficient, based on three basic principles: hierarchy, zonification and racial integration, to reinterpreting the Athens Charter and approaching the notion of cluster or, in Carvalho's words, "unit," "neighbourhood," or "sector" (Rodrigues, 2011: 146) [Fig. 3].



Figure 3. Muceque Prenda, UV no. 2, General plan and arborisation detail
(Overseas Historical Archive, PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/2036/17746).

¹ In the Neighbourhood Unit Plan drawn up by CM-Luanda, Neighbourhood Unit Nr. 1 corresponded to the Civic Centre and Neighbourhood Unit Nr. 2 was intended for housing in the Prenda Muceque. However, since the Civic Centre was never built, the proposed Neighbourhood Unit Nr. 2 became known as Neighbourhood Unit Nr. 1. Nevertheless, we opted for the name proposed in the initial plan.

The architect developed a series of urban strategies and sourced specific architectural features and prefabricated materials that could be applied to the various types of housing, public spaces, and amenities to foster a sense of neighbourhood community interaction among residents. The Corbusian hierarchy of the seven road types organised the flow of the entire unit. In the centre, public facilities could be found, with direct access to the shopping street, offering residents the opportunity to get valuable exercise (Rodrigues, 2022: 134). Other residential neighbourhood units have been proposed for the museum, following the same urban and architectural principles, such as the plans designed for Neighbourhood Unit Nr. 3, followed by other spread in the city [Fig. 4].

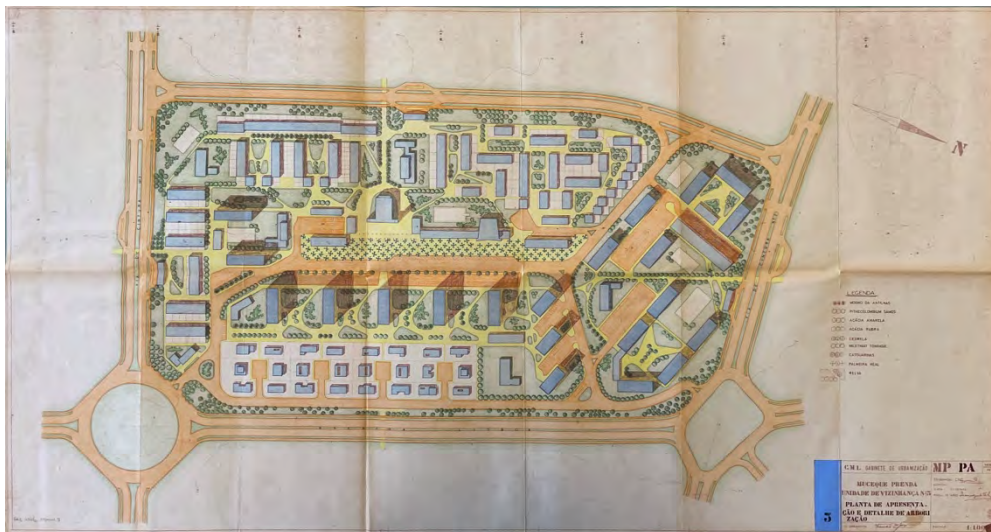


Figure 3. Muçequê Prenda, UV no. 3, General plan and arborisation detail
(Overseas Historical Archive, PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/2036/17746).

The issue of circulation to Luanda deserved notable interventions in this period; in 1965, the then Luanda City Council "unanimously decided to approve" the creation of "fast lanes between the lower and upper parts of the city", in one-way and without interruptions, with access to the downtown via the current streets Cónego Manuel das Neves / N. S. da Muxima / Cirilo da Conceição Silva and with access to the upper part via the current Amílcar Cabral / Portugal / Rei Katyavala.

At the end of the sixties, with a policy increasingly focused on developing these territories, the construction of large infrastructures and urban consolidation intensified. Plans from this period began to be ordered by local administrations, with the main objective of defining an urban policy

that would guide the organisation of the territory and the asymmetry between the colonial city and the European city. The periods of war that followed did not bring positive results to the growth and expansion of Luanda. The disorderly growth in spots continues around the capital city. The influx of populations seeking better safety and living conditions promoted this phenomenon, which is reflected today as one of the biggest problems of urban conditions. The Long-Term Master Scheme until 1990, drawn up by the Municipalities of Luanda, Cacuaco, and Viana, emphasised the need to develop a “*circulation plan for the downtown area, to increase the level of service*”.

Real estate promotion, Urban Planning and Neighbourhood Units

The modern planning instruments were implemented with a strong real estate promotion encouraged by the owners of large coffee plantations who bought lots of land, anticipating the growth of Angolan cities with the arrival of more Portuguese. The company Castilhos Ltda., in 1956, is referenced as one of the drivers of the expansion of the modern movement in Luanda, with records of its first buildings in Largo da Mutamba with similarities to the architecture of this movement. The buildings were made by private initiatives, hiring civil construction companies and in partnership with the CML, which carried out detailed urban plans and sometimes the building projects (Correia, 2018).

The Commercial Banks and private Cooperatives undoubtedly benefited from real estate development. Landowners acquired them by purchase or exchange at CML. These often hire a construction company to carry out the design and execution of the work. Large tracts of land were divided and sold or built and sold by autonomous fractions in horizontal property. Public-private partnerships were carried out on CML land or private land with projects carried out by CML. The investors, the most recognised were the names of Cunha e Irmão, Mário Cunha, Gomes e Irmão, Martins e Almeida, Cardoso de Matos, Voto Neves, Burity, Josefa Marçal, etc. As early as the 1950s, Caixa Geral de Depósitos de Angola granted loans to those who wanted housing loans. Another undeniable fact was the opened up of the State to the private property market to construct large residential neighbourhoods. Another critical factor was the creation of the horizontal property regime in Portugal under Decree-Law No. 40333 (14/10/1955), which was applied with some minor changes in Angola under Order No. 15984 (6/10/1956) (Rodrigues, 2022, 132) [Fig. 5].



Figure 5. Luanda's construction boom (*A Província de Angola*, 8 August 1958)

The dynamics referred to in the previous paragraph resulted from the large housing deficit. The records that are known show that at that time, two or three families lived in Luanda in a single dwelling, with four or five partitions and records of 15 people living in a single dwelling, with four or five partitions, according to Lemos (1940), the production of dwellings it was minimal, due to the condition of the inhabitants with the aggravating factor of being a city that constantly received new residents. Statistics on new construction in Luanda from 1935 to 1939 counted between 8 and 19 dwellings per year. In 1940 alone, there were 23 requests for building licenses, of which 20 requests belonged to the year 1939, with responses that carried over to 1940. The monthly rent was between 700.00 and 800.00 Angolares for buildings built for four or five years with about three partitions. In the new buildings, with the same partitions, the monthly rent was between 1,000.00 and 1,500.00 Angolares. Even though housing was costly, few housing units were available for demand then. The highest salary in the colony of Angola, in 1940, had a maximum ceiling of 6,000 Angolares. The middle class had salaries between 800.00 and 2,000.00 Angolares, and the indigenous people earned only between 300.00 and 400.00

Angolares. This situation means those from the place had less purchasing power (Correia, 2018, 128).

In Luanda, numerous housing units and some neighbourhood units were built, namely neighbourhood unit No. 2 in the Prenda neighbourhood, with 28 projected buildings where 22 buildings were built; nº 3, in the muçequê Prenda, in the Cassenda neighbourhood, where 22 were planned, and eight were built; urban arrangement nº 4, between Rua António Barroso, Norton de Matos and Rua Padre Manuel Ruela Pombo, where 12 were planned, and five were built; urban development nº 5, on Rua Mousinho de Albuquerque, with 24 planned buildings and only nine were built; neighbourhood unit no. 6, in muçequê Burity, with a forecast of 51 buildings and where only 13 were built, and the neighbourhood unit of São Paulo, with 23 planned and 4 built. Also considered are the buildings on Avenida Norton de Matos and Garcia de Resende; from Norton de Matos next to the Sagrada Família Church; the buildings between Garcia de Resende and Padre António Vieira; those between Rua Dr. António Videira, Comandante Correia da Silva, António Barroso and Serpa Pinto; those on Rua do Quicombo, the buildings, next to the book building, in the São Paulo neighbourhood (built by the cooperative O Lar do Namibe). Built by the Pension Fund and intended for former CML workers. However, those that best meet the criteria of the Charter of Athens are those built in the Prenda neighbourhood. The 23 housing blocks were positioned so that their smaller facades were oriented Southeast-Southwest, Northwest-Southwest and East-West, thus providing good ventilation and less insolation (Correia, 2018, 246).

The investigation, not intending to extend into a vast universe of approaches detailing them all, is limited to the appearance of the Prenda Neighbourhood Unit, evaluating aspects that result from the motivations for its appearance. The neighbourhood is formed by collective housing, single-family housing and housing with independent single-family production. All classes lived in this unit, but there was a disparity between social housing and the rest. A city with a total area of 337 ha was planned for Muçequê Prenda, with an average density of 150 inhab/ha and an estimated population of 50,000 inhabitants distributed in 5 neighbourhood units. Fifty hectares were planned for the streets, representing 15% of the total area; 27.5 hectares for public open spaces corresponds to 5.5s.q. per inhabitant and 15 hectares for parking, with one vehicle for every five inhabitants. The following were envisaged: official primary schools with 3 hectares and a forecast of 4,000 students, where each student would benefit from 7.5 s.q.; private primary schools with 1,125 hectares for 1,500 students with 7.5 s.q. each; technical schools with 3

These areas were distributed by zones H1 luxury residential housing, H2 medium and economic residential housing, H3 and H3A medium collective housing, H4 and H5 economic collective housing. Despite being called Muceque Prenda, the neighbourhood had the conditions of a true high-end neighbourhood with luxury detached villas and duplex apartments, with plans for paving, parking lots and gardens. Unfortunately, the project was not completed due to the clashes. Years later, the internal passageway was paved so that instead of grass and pedestrian crossings, cars began to circulate there, removing the purpose for which it was created and preventing people from circulating between the buildings. Vehicles and thus allow children to play and go to school alone and under the eyes of their parents.



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Life today in Neighbourhood Unit no. 2 of *Bairro do Prenda*

The year of 1975 brought independence to Angola. The Angolans took over the country, enjoying the fullness of the territory. The populations of the urban outskirts of the big cities appropriated the buildings left empty with the removal of the former occupants. This Neighbourhood Unit is clearly going through a similar process. The weak urban management of the city did not allow the enjoyment of this heritage to provide the desired quality of life.



Figure 72. View of the Prenda Neighbourhood Unit (Maria Alice Correia)

As previously mentioned, the Neighbourhood Unit project was not completed, and there are clear signs that the work stopped in 1974. One crane in particular made history in the city with the involvement of a Governor in 2020 to take actions aimed at its dismantling [Fig. 7].

The history of the Prenda crane

The *Jornal de Angola* of May 13, 2020, collects testimonies from residents who, compensated by the provincial authorities, were forced to leave to allow the crane to be dismantled. One of these residents explained that he had moved to Prenda in 1974, on the eve of Independence, and found the crane that had been abandoned by the Portuguese construction company “Precol”.

In a statement, the resident Victor António, who lived under the stones that supported the crane, said that the equipment, in an advanced obsolete state, shakes at night, especially when it is raining. *“It is hard to sleep when it is raining because the crane rotates throughout the night,”* said the resident. Fortunately, this situation was resolved, although the main focus of the requalification of the entire perimeter of the Neighbourhood Unit was inserted in a broader urban regeneration program foreseen by the General Metropolitan Master Plan of Luanda (PDGML) [Fig. 8].



Figure 8 3. The crane that remained in the process of building the Neighbourhood Unit
(*Jornal de Angola*, 13/05/2020)

Conclusion

The Prenda neighbourhood unit was not designed for native citizens to live in tall buildings and single-family houses due to its financial condition, which resulted in the significant lack of opportunities granted by the Portuguese colonisers. Between the neighbourhoods of blacks and those of the Portuguese, much vegetation was placed to separate the neighbourhoods without sanitation, which therefore gave off bad smells from the new neighbourhoods (Magalhães, 2009).

The urban phenomenon in Angola presents very similar problems. Regarding Luanda, the studies carried out on the determinants of urban regeneration and resettlement; its strategy is

based on approaches of integration between the public and private sectors, developing partnerships in which the public sector can reap benefits without overloading the private sector. The prioritisation of the Regeneration and Relocation operation to obtain global benefits is based on the following assumptions: (i) intervention in risk areas; (ii) operation in the main transportation and infrastructure corridors; (iii) development of opportunity clusters; (iv) activation of development corridors. Urban Rehabilitation must be carried out through Requalification. Rehabilitation, the operation, in the case of the latter, must involve a survey of equipment to ensure that its improvement impacts the quality of life (PDGML, 2015).

Thus, the road to be followed for the urban regeneration of Luanda is long and full of many challenges. The mistakes of the past and others that are being made throughout the current processes oblige the present actors to have a deep dedication and interest in the investigation of the various urban phenomena.

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Newspapers

A Província de Angola 1958, August 8

Public Spaces in Luanda: From colonial administration to independence times

Ana Cristina Inglês¹, Maria Alice Correia²; Miguel Amado³

¹ IST - University of Lisbon; ana_ingles@hotmail.com; Luanda, Angola

² Lusíada University of Luanda; marialice66@gmail.com; Luanda, Angola

³ IST – University of Lisbon; miguelpamado@tecnico.ulisboa.pt; Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

This paper discusses the evolution of Public Open Spaces in historical urban Luanda from colonial administration through current times. The different phases verified in the political administration of the city's urban development have their impacts reflected in the design models and the promoted use of public spaces by the different social extracts of the society. One of the main features of Luanda's urban landscape is the duality of its "planned and unplanned" urban settlements. In 1942, under colonial rule, the urban planner De Groer and architect David Moreira da Silva began to develop strategies to integrate unplanned settlements into the formal urban grid in Luanda's Inter-municipal Master Plan of the same year (Correia, 2018; Correia, 2019; Maia, 2019). Later in 1962, urban planner Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho with co-author Luiz Taquelim da Cruz dedicated significant attention to Musseque Prenda, one of the largest unplanned settlements of the time (Correia, 2018; Milheiro, 2012; Milheiro, 2015). Prenda and other informal settlements were mapped and indicated as neighbourhood units that needed integration into the formal urban fabric and providing employment opportunities, health care and education facilities (Ibid). However, budget constraints and the escalating uprisals of native Angolans struggling for liberation limited the full implementation of the plan. As a result, the challenges of integrating the physical and social fabrics of Luanda's affluent and low-income citizens prevail until today. The historical analysis of the city of Luanda allows us to understand the different phases of social inclusion that occurred in the context of the public space, based on the study and analysis of the urban growth verified during the pre-colonial administration and in the subsequent post-colonial transformation. Thus, the text first discusses the concept and importance of Public Open Spaces (POSs) from a Western perspective. In a second moment, it analyses the design of POSs in colonial and post-colonial Luanda's urban fabric. Then, the analysis looks at the current positive and negative aspects of the contemporary physical layout of POSs in Luanda, especially in the city centre.

Keywords: Public Open Spaces, Post-Colonial, Urban Design, Social Inclusion

Session: The role of large construction companies in housing through colonial and postcolonial perspectives

Introduction

State-sponsored Street life defines a city's liveability, and the quality of Public Open Spaces (POSs) directly impacts the pedestrian vitality of streets in a city. Luanda's city centre street life predominantly depends on office hours and worker flows. Except when a particular event is programmed, life and entertainment in Luanda's downtown happen behind closed doors, such as in restaurants, pubs, or family gardens. In a city such as Luanda, covered by 70% of unplanned settlements where land is a limited commodity, and Public Open Spaces are scarce, Public Open Spaces in the city centre are essential because they provide breathing spaces and a possible point of encounter between the haves and the have nots.

There is, currently, an evident surge of interest in POSs revitalisation in Luanda's city centre, both from local government institutions and individual and collective private actors. This interest reveals itself in upgrading public squares and gardens, beautifying streets, open-air street pop-up music events for a selective public, and even appropriating underutilised spaces like pedestrian crosswalks transformed into community libraries. However, such interventions do not have a coordinated strategy or clear objective to revitalise the city.

This paper examines the evolution of POSs in historical urban Luanda from colonial through post-colonial administrations to aid understanding of POS's current uses and layouts. The impact of the different political administration stages on the city's urban development reflects in the design and use of public spaces by the different social extracts of the society. Furthermore, understanding Luanda's downtown urban design trajectory and its political administration background can assist in proposing improvements in the physical layouts and maintenance models of POSs in the city centre.

In the paper, the presentation of the theoretical background, which provides the basis for this work, starts the discussion. This initial discussion includes a succinct overview of the concept of governance, how it emerged and arrived in the African context and analysing the impact of political-administrative models in the conception and intervention of public spaces today in the Western context compared to the Angolan context.

Following up, a section dedicated to the historical background of Luanda's urban development unpacks challenges from colonial to post-colonial administration, the paper zooms in on a sample Park, Largo Irene Cohen, located at the heart of Luanda's city centre.

In conclusion, a discussion about the need to combine public policies that promote public participation, the drafting of a strategy to coordinate the efforts to improve the image of the city and the acknowledgement of the socio-economic struggles of the majority of the society provide initial setting stones to stimulate the liveability of the city during the day and at night, on working days and weekends.

Methodology

Documenting Luanda's cityscape transformation is a much-needed task, still to be thoroughly compiled and available in the literature. Moreover, without this understanding, it is challenging to understand the current urban fabric and how it came to be. There is also the risk of repeating patterns and perpetuating practices, thus missing the opportunity to improve and evolve.

Qualitative and quantitative research helped examine the transformations of POSs in Luanda's city centre. The research's starting points are the literature review about the evolution of the Public Open Spaces concept and the urban planning paradigms that influenced Luanda's urban planning. The literature reviews aided understanding of the evolution of POS in Western European and North American cities in contrast to Luanda which helps proposing possible avenues in the way forward. Moreover, the implications of public policies and the use of Public Open Spaces to showcase political hegemony and power are researched and documented.

Published works about Luanda's urban history, coupled with the consultation of primary sources at Luanda's Institute for Management and Urban Planning (IPGUL), aided the understanding of the city's urban fabric trajectory. The work also included public consultation through enquiries with 758 participants performed in three weeks with the help of colleagues at the Angolan Urban Laboratory (LURA) and students from the faculty of architecture of the Methodist University of Angola. The enquiries were done in low-, middle- and high-income neighbourhoods in the city centre and nearby areas, to grasp insights about what POS users in Luanda look for in a park, and what is missing and/or needs improvement. Direct observation of how parks are used and semi-structured interviews with users over a period of three months also provided valuable information about the social and cultural values of parks in downtown Luanda for its users.

Public Space: Importance and Theoretical Background

Evidence in the literature indicates that some of the most critical POS characteristics that promote pedestrian walkability and public life are land-use diversity, commercial ground floor façades and POS layout of POSs (Gehl, 2011; Lamour et al., 2019). Furthermore, perceived safety and increments of space dedicated to pedestrians are also essential (Ibid). The evolution of public spaces and their importance to public life in cities of the Western world are well documented (Carmon, 1999; Lamour et al., 2019). However, there is still a novelty in uncovering the history of interventions in POSs in less affluent cities (Jaszczak et al., 2021), especially in cities of sub-Saharan Africa, such as Luanda.

Public Spaces are “areas where there is a common use right for every individual in society” (Paköz, 2022, 66). First referred to as “common areas” in the 1960s, it evolved into the concept of “public space” after the 1970s (Dacheux, 2012). Decades of research presented professional debates in urban design, architecture and the built environment from a public life perspective (Gehl & Svarre, 2013; Grodach & Erenfeuchr, 2016; Carmona, 2021), but the discussion around the concept of Public Open Spaces have expanded around headings of economics, sociology and politics (Castells, 1983; Habermas, 1991; Taherkhani, 2021). The focus of this work is the idea that POSs can reduce social segregation and promote social inclusion by providing an opportunity for interaction “without the need to hide personal differences or imposing personal values on one another” (Paköz, 2022, 67).

While studying POS interventions, different paradigms to study public life on POS can serve as references, such as Jan Gehl’s (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). Checklist for assessing public space qualities, Project for Public Spaces indicators of a good public space, tactical urbanism or urban acupuncture. These approaches overlap and complement each other. For example, while Ghel’s (Ibid.) approach focuses on direct observation, PPS includes the need for community involvement in the decision-making and implementation of the POS transformation. In both cases, the use of these indicators worldwide aided the study and promotion of improved street life in POSs, with little evidence of this in sub-Saharan Africa.

Evidence in the literature shows that excessive use of cars has eroded street liveability (Jacobs, 1992; Speck, 2012; Montgomery, 2013). On the other hand, reducing motorised streets and increasing strictly pedestrian areas promotes pedestrian public street life and increases perceived safety standards, thus producing more lively streets and cities (Gehl & Svarre, 2013;

Lydon & Garcia, 2015). Another critical aspect of street life is a balance in building uses (Ibid). A variety of uses that includes a balanced combination of offices, shops, cafes, residential and entertainment also guarantees vibrant street life during the day and night and the week and weekends. Additionally, the quality and image of the spaces are also determinant for captivating passers-by and local users to POSs for long or short stays, leaving a longing desire to return and repeat the experience.

Finally, from a tactical urbanism/urban acupuncture perspective, a degree of flexibility allows the space to be transformed into different scenarios and accommodate pop-up events such as street markets, public festivities, art exhibitions, and music events, helping the attractiveness and vitality of streets and POSs. The present work combines Jan Gehl's (Gehl & Svarre, 2013) direct observation methods and the Project for Public Space (PPS) (Madden, 2021) four cornerstone criteria to determine the solid quality of public space. The four basics of the PPS methodology are sociability, uses and activities, access and linkages, comfort, and image.

The relevance of Public Administration adopted models to the design of Public Open Spaces – Governance

Drawing a parallel to public administration models adopted by Western countries and those adopted by countries of sub-Saharan Africa in particular, some interesting facts come to the surface. After the Second World War, due to the collapse of the economic sector and the difficulty of recovering on its own, the Keynesian – welfare government model was adopted by countries in the West, such as the United States, England, France and Canada to mention a few (Brogan, 2020; Bevir, 2016; Watson, 2009). However, during the 1980s, this model was deemed obsolete, and the rise of neoliberal policies emerged (Bever, 2016). The welfare state that once helped the economy revive was now too heavy and inefficient to cater to essential social services such as water and electricity (Ibid). The advocates of this line of thinking indicated that the state should now take a step back and oversee policies and monitor private service providers instead of participating directly in the economy as it happened until then. These changes began in the United States and England with forerunners Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan as presidents, respectively (Carmon, 1999; Bevir, 2016). What is important to note is that at this point, those economies had recovered, and the private sector was thriving well enough to perform as expected.

Nevertheless, such policies crossed borders and started being disseminated as the best new approach to public administration management. Institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were the messengers of the model in the sub-Saharan context, conditioning monetary aid to the adoption of Good-Governance administrative models by African governments (Pieterse, 2002; 2018a). As a result, decentralisation became part of the political discourses' repertoire in African countries (Bekker et al., 2021), such as South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria, and Angola, followed suit. However, in the African context, the political undertone was that of top-down, centralised decision-making even though the administrative paradigms adopted are the imposed decentralisation models. These paradoxical ideologies hindered true decentralisation because political power structures overpower administrative ones. Furthermore, in the African context, the private sector is still to show strength and independence from the state (Pieterse, 2018b) to instigate policy amendments and urban interventions as in Western countries (Carmon, 1999).

When we relate these political changes to urban development, we understand what Carmon (Ibid) named the three generations of urban policies and interventions in Western countries from the end of World War II through neoliberal times. Physical determinism or the bulldozer era, for example, coincided with the Keynesian welfare state and the rebuilding of cities destroyed during the war and depended strictly on public funds. Gradually, interventions became smaller in the implementation area and more driven by private investment, such as the urban neighbourhood renewals and the latter city centre revitalisation micro-interventions.

Although African countries did not get the opportunity to follow up such economic and socio-political robustness, the nature of interventions takes a similar route with the state withdrawing from mega infrastructural programs (Bekker et al., 2020), and the governance multistakeholder model is taking over. Luanda is an example of these intervention changes, even at the public space level.

The case of Luanda

Luanda is the Capital city of Angola. Portuguese settlers' occupation began in the 1500s (Wheeler & Pelissier, 2009), colonisation was initiated formally in 1575 (Ibid.) and achieved political-administrative independence in 1975 (Croese, 2016; 2018). After independence, the country adopted a socialist mono-party political-administrative model but suffered a civil war

motivated by political rivalry until 1992 (Ibid). The civil war resulted in the discontentment of the other active political forces who participated in the struggle for liberation, which were sidelined and did not share the decision-making table of the country's destiny with the governing party MPLA (Popular Movement for Angola's Liberation). [Fig. 1].

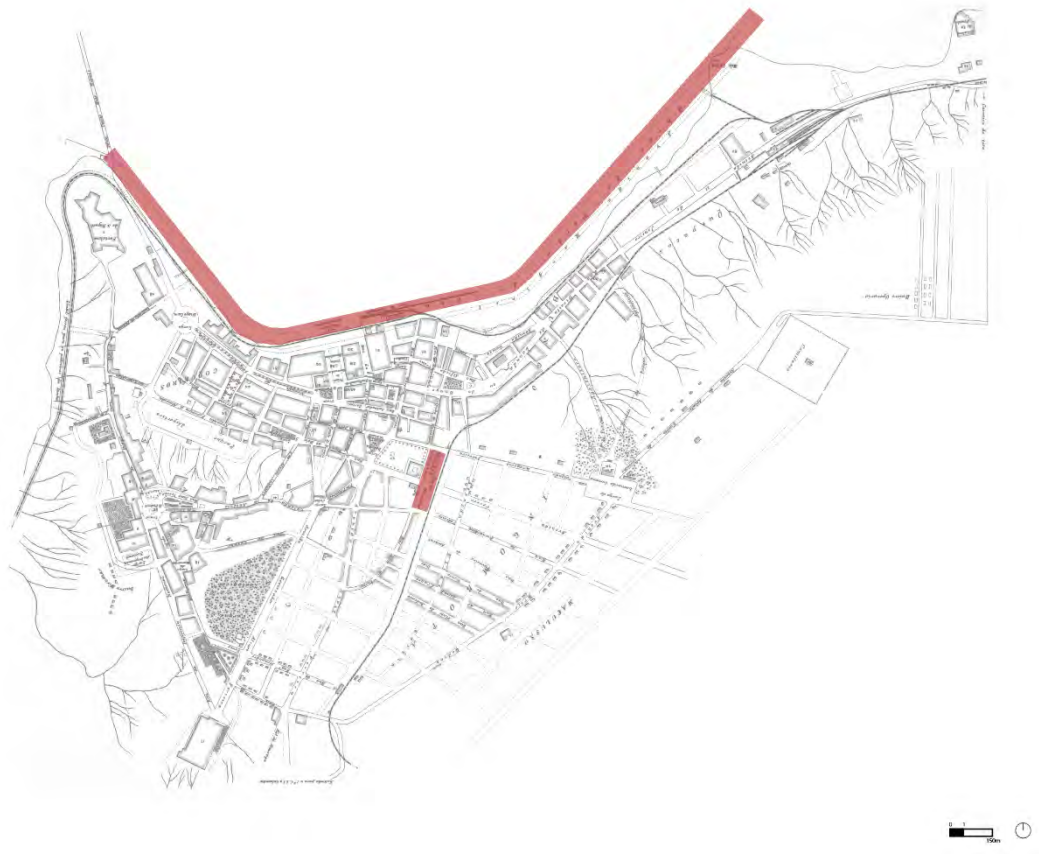


Figure 1. An interpretation of a Map of Luanda from 1926 highlighting the Bay of Luanda and Largo Irene Cohen (Primary sources provided by Luanda's Provincial Government archives at IPGUL).

Historically, one of Luanda's cityscape's main characteristics, like many other African counterparts, is the duality of its "formal and informal" urban settlements (Myers, 2011). It is worth noting that unplanned housing built before independence did not house people of African descent alone but also by the recently arrived working-class immigrants of European descent, mainly from Portugal (Real, 2010). Angola achieved independence in 1975, and in 1971 authorised residential areas in Luanda comprised 13 000 homes, whereas "illegal" housing built by recently arrived immigrants from Portugal amounted to 45 000 homes in the same city; Unplanned areas built by African immigrants from the country's inland occupied 1 000 hectares

while fisherman population were about 3000 people (Ibid). Considering the statistics provided by Real (2010), in 1971, approximately 50% of Luanda's population lived in unplanned urban settlements.

From the early Portuguese settling until the 1940s, Luanda grew without an official urban plan. This unplanned growth led to biased developments favouring mainly privileged people of European descent with administrative and economic power while sending the disadvantaged to the peripheries (Real, 2010). As a result, the city centre was not for the poor, and the African community within the city centre was a minority.

In 1942, under colonial rule, an urban planner named De Groer, and architect David Moreira da Silva started to develop strategies to integrate informal settlements in the context of Luanda's Inter-municipal Master Plan of the same year (Real, 2010; Maia, 2019). Between 1961 and 1966 Architect Simões de Carvalho was invited by the Urban Planning office of Luanda's Municipal Council (CML) to work on the urbanistic restructuring of the city centre (what he called the civic centre) and to design the urban plan for Musseque Prenda (Maia, 2019). He argued that it was essential to design Luanda's Master Plan before looking at the requested areas. His plan was not approved nor implemented but served to understand the influences of Auzelle, Le Corbusier and the Athens Chart Simões de Carvalho's work. Nevertheless, he defended urbanistic practices grounded in political, economic and social sciences, arguing against the segregator but the ethical rationale of the Modern urban planning stream. Simões de Carvalho believed in urbanism that fostered a more equitable society where the rich and poor could inhabit the same neighbourhood but live in separate buildings (Ibid). In the case of Luanda, this was the first attempt at an official social integration policy (Real, 2010).

It is important to note that in the plans for the residential units designed during colonial administration, POSs took a different form and shape than those designed for the city centre. On the residential unit plans, residential buildings intentionally surround Public Open Spaces and not roads. They were designed to accommodate children's playgrounds and anticipated parents sitting upstairs in the flats could supervise their children playing downstairs. On the other hand, spaces in the city centre were designed to be looked at and admired rather than inhabited and enjoyed. Although visible efforts are made during independence to provide more comfort to visitors with seats and shade, the morphology of being limited by a road network is still detrimental to parents with children because of the risk of run-offs.

Prenda and other informal settlements were mapped and indicated as neighbourhood units that needed integration into the formal urban fabric with employment opportunities, health care and education equipment (Maia, 2019; Real, 2011). Due to the urgency to start building these units because of the uprisings of African residents against the colonial ruling marked by the uprisal of February 4th of 1961, the plan was hastily approved, and the bidding for construction was launched (Milheiro, 2012).

Luanda experienced an explosion in population density, from 224,540 residents in the late 1950s and early 1960s to 475,328 residents in 1970 (Amaral, 1983). To address the city's continuous population, increase and housing shortages, Simões de Carvalho proposed an urban expansion of the city southwards, and the Musseque Prenda urban plan integrated this strategy. In response to financial constraints, the Portuguese colonial administration in Angola devised a strategy involving enlisting private companies to carry out architectural and construction projects aligned with the city's urban expansion strategy (Milheiro, 2015; Correia, 2018; Correia, 2019). The idea was to exchange the rights to build higher in the city centre that some private investors had with construction licenses in periurban areas, such as Musseque Prenda (Correia, 2018; Milheiro, 2015). While strategic urban planning was the CML's responsibility, the investors were to hire architects to produce architectural and technical drawings for construction. In the case of Musseque Prenda, Precol was the private investor enlisted to carry out construction works (Correia, 2018).

Simões de Carvalho, who oversaw architectural projects, collaborated with other architects, Pinto da Cunha and Alfredo Pereira. Precol marketed the units at a price that low-income *musseque* residents in Prenda could not afford. Only middle—and middle-high-income clients could afford to live in the newly built residential blocks in the Musseque Prenda (Correia, 2019). The new neighbourhood constructions did not accommodate the incumbent low-income inhabitants of the *musseque* (Milheiro, 2012).

There is some controversy around the return of Simões de Carvalho to Portugal and the construction timeframe of Musseque Prenda. Milheiro (2012; 2015) set the timeline for the Musseque Prenda project's design and construction between 1963 and 1965 under the leadership of Simões de Carvalho, who quit the job and returned to Portugal in 1966¹. Maia

¹ Milheiro (2015) also states that construction works in Musseque Prenda stopped in 1975, which adds to the uncertainty around the project's construction timeframe under colonial administration.

(2019) clarifies that Simões de Carvalho returned to Portugal in 1967, and that Architect Pinto da Cunha took charge of the Musseque Prenda constructions after Simões de Carvalho departed from Luanda. However, she does not specify when the construction work stalled. It is also unclear when Luanda's Council Cabinet for Urban Planning effectively shut down. However, scholars agree that financial constraints hindered the full implementation of the project during colonial administration (Correia, 2018; Maia, 2019; Milheiro, 2012). The Musseque Prenda construction works comprised 1,150 residential units, offering one-, two-, and four-bedroom flats for sale, which still exist today². The project also included a market, cinema theatres, and schools, but none materialised (Fonte, 2007; Milheiro, 2012; Milheiro, 2015). The plan envisioned incorporating residences for the less economically favoured and native Black community by reserving infrastructure residential plots for self-construction, which, amidst the political-administrative instability, did not occur.

In 1971, the escalation of guerrilla operations by native political parties MPLA and UNITA paved the way for Angola's open struggle for independence. The progressively unstable political context of the 1970s diminished Portugal's administrative power over Angola, stimulated the flight of Portuguese colonisers from the country (Ferreira, 2001; Milheiro, 2015), and paralysed construction works. After the declaration of independence in 1975, Angola submerged into a long civil war that halted investments in housing and infrastructure and forced immigration from inland cities to the capital, perceived as the safest location in the country. The paralysis of investments in housing and infrastructure in Luanda, along with an increase in population density within the city, led to building overoccupancy.

In the end, the housing shortfall and overoccupancy, combined with a lack of maintenance, resulted in the progressive degradation of the existing housing stock in general and in Musseque Prenda (Milheiro, 2015). During the civil war, there was also an increase in population density in existing *musseques* in the city and an aggravated housing shortfall (Cain, 2020). Angola's civil war ended in 2002, and in 2008, the Angolan government launched the National Housing and Urban Plan (PNUH in the Portuguese acronym), which envisioned the construction of new housing units and the refurbishment of derelict ones such as the residential blocks in Musseque Prenda and the regularisation of low-rise unlicensed housing units in *musseques*, whenever

² Milheiro (2012) refers to 22 blocks of flats completed out of the 28 designed. However, in a later publication (Milheiro, 2015), the number of blocks of flats built dropped to 20. Still, the number of total units remains constant at 1,150 flats.

possible (Cain, 2014, 2020; GPL et al., 2015). The PHUH focused more on building new urban residential neighbourhoods, mainly on the city's peripheries, than on infrastructure, regularising *musseques*, and refurbishing derelict buildings. Musseque Prenda's standing blocks are still awaiting attention. Angola's independent political administration continues to face the challenges of integrating the physical and social fabrics of its affluent and low-income citizens.

In 2010 a Master Plan for Luanda was commissioned by the central government. This Master plan draws growth strategies for the city from previous Master Plans dating from the country's Portuguese colonial administration. It creates a vision for Luanda, including economic and social prosperity and strong visions to reduce the shanty towns where nearly 70% of Luanda's population live (GPL et al., 2015). In addition, this plan included strategies for developing public spaces, especially in Luanda's city centre.

Looking at POS areas of the city centre today, from an urban design perspective, it is possible to understand that the current layout of green spaces, squares and piazzas, generally all surrounded by motorised streets and roads, remains unchanged from colonial administration times and have been perpetuated in new urban developments around the city. Such designs, reminiscent of modernist urban planning ideals, deprive the city of safer and more welcoming spaces for children and family outings. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the diversity of uses of the built fabric in the vicinities of such spaces. The uses include residential, commercial, offices and social amenities such as schools, churches, and museums. This diversity of uses mimics the 15-minute city model (Gehl & Svarre, 2013; Florindo et al., 2017), which, in the case of Luanda, needs to capitalise and transform these areas into vibrant public spaces.

On the other hand, the Bay of Luanda, built after independence and previously a beachfront, is the city's most prominent and most representative public space; it is the city's main postcard image. Although the Bay has no 15-minute rationale in its conception, it capitalises on the fact that it allows for sports playing, sightseeing, restaurants, open venues for music, flea markets, public celebrations, and public manifestations activities. These are uses and activities that not many other POSs in the city of Luanda can accommodate. [Fig. 2].



Figure 2. Map of Luanda's city centre of 2022, highlighting the Bay of Luanda and Largo Irene Cohen (An interpretation from Google Earth maps).

The redevelopment of the Bay of Luanda provided an area of 510,000 square meters and was built from 2010 to 2013. The plan sets a buffer area with two green belts with trees, bushes, and grass between road lanes and the bike and pedestrian pathways. In addition, approximately 3,500 meters of the extension serve as places for outdoor gatherings, benches to rest and sports facilities, amongst other uses (Lopes, 2016). The local architect's office Costa Lopes Architects designed the final and built land plan.

The initiative to redesign and redevelop the Bay came from the central government, a top-down decision-making process that happened with restricted access to the public. At the time, President Dos Santos controlled the state budget and legal apparatus. He counted on support from a closed group of family members, advisors, army and party officials, thus allowing for effective rule over the city (Croese, 2016). The civil war ended; the country lived through an economic boom due to revenues from oil exports, and government leadership aspired to elevate Luanda to a world-class city standard. Luanda's leadership structures shared such an aspiration with other cities of the global south, such as Dubai and Singapore, intending to attract neoliberal

markets of tourism, international fashion labels, international financial markets, top real estate developers and figure aside New York, London, Paris and Tokyo of the Western world. (Hoyle, 2000; Croese, 2018; 2021; Watson, 2009).

After the last upgrade intervention dating from 2015 (Lopes, 2016), the Bay was managed by a private body and was initially perceived as a semi-public space. However, when President Lourenço stepped into power in 2017, the government took charge of the management of the Bay and the perception that the space was public settled. However, the area shows poor maintenance in its greeneries and cleanness. Despite catering to high-income clientele in the services offered and the initial patrolling of the area, today, the Bay is a welcoming, inclusive POS.

Largo Irene Cohen

The current morphological transformations of public spaces cannot be seen simply as an act of rejection of the past historical background of the city but also as necessary adaptations of the spaces to new uses and pressures. [Fig. 3].



Figure 3. Chronology of Largo Irene Cohen's morphological transformations (1-GPL; 2- Do Carmo's Church). (Inglês' drawings from primary sources provided by Luanda's provincial Government archives at IPGUL).

Observing the chronology of the morphological transformation of this park sheds light on the fact that a city is not a static organism. For example, road networks change to cater for better traffic flow. In the case of Largo Irene Cohen, technological developments, and the rise of the car to the detriment of pedestrian movement motivated prioritising the construction of a parking lot and the reduction of green and leisure areas. [Fig. 4].



Figure 4. Part of Luanda's map of 1926 (left); The Current name tag of the park (right).
(IPGUL archives and Inglês's photographs taken in January 2023).

Public spaces are also a medium to convey political hegemony and power (Croese, 2016). The previous colonial administration used this privileged location to showcase virtuous examples of Portugal's history. Today, the national administration uses the exact location to showcase Angola's historical virtuous examples. The park, once known by the name of Alexandre Herculano, a Portuguese historian and politician (Ferreira, 2001), was later divided into two and received the name of the church opposite to it, becoming Largo do Carmo. After the recent refurbishment in 2022, it was inaugurated under Largo Irene Cohen. This heroic Angolan woman died in the combat lines of Angola's war in the liberation struggle.

Located in a prime location in the city centre, this small park, surrounded by roads, sits opposite a church (Igreja do Carmo) and the Luanda's City Hall (Provincial Government headquarters), and it is near hotels, restaurants, a school, a clinic, shops, office blocks and residential buildings. Recently intervened, the park is stone paved and offers seats, shades and well-maintained gardens. Contrary to its use during colonial administration, this small park is inhabited, lively and enjoyable by people of different socio-economic backgrounds. Safety and cleanliness are not worries to users. Hawkers sit around and are an integrant part of the experience of visiting

the place. They sit on the margins, not disturbing moments of pause and rest, which most users do here during the day. At night, the lack of sufficient street lighting in the surroundings and deserted streets are discouraging factors for the users of the space. [Fig. 5].



Figure 5. Shoe shiners spot (left), Reserved/private parking lot (right).
(Inglês' photographs taken in January 2023).

The central government promoted the park's revitalisation, inaugurated by Luanda's Mayor (Provincial Governor) and subsidised by an oil agency whose offices are in a mixed-use office and residential building across the park. The investment may justify that some parking lots serve the same agency (photo 3). Gardens are still being maintained and paid for by the same oil agency; however. This park is another positive increment to Luanda's POSs, adding the possibility of creating a network of exciting POSs in Luanda to stimulate social encounters and inclusion.

Discussion

Throughout Luanda's history from colonial occupation to current democratic political administration, urban management in the city uses predominantly top-down decision-making paradigms (Croese, 2016; 2018) that, in turn, inhibit current governance trends in urban

development (Pieterse, 2000; 2002) to come at play as was the case of the redevelopment of the Bay of Luanda. Nevertheless, the central government is increasingly allowing local administrations to lead urban interventions as well as private companies and individuals to partake in the physical transformation of squares, parks, city beatifications and the introduction of pop-up social and commercial events in line with the neoliberalist ideals of the west (Harvey, 1989; 2006) and tactical urbanism interventions (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). However, current initiatives are not coordinated and do not have a defined line of action. However, the new wave of interventions has allowed for the city to be enjoyed by a broader spectrum of the community, the haves and have-nots, increasing space appropriation and sentiments of belonging.

It is not possible to compare data from users of POSs in Luanda's city centre during colonial administration for lack of evidence. However, layouts encountered indicate that spaces such as today's Largo Irene Cohen were not intended to be spaces for gathering and permanence during colonial administration. Moreover, such spaces were also not meant for the poor, let alone for the community of African descent to enjoy as they are today. This pedestrian use is the dramatic change in today's POSs use in Luanda's city centre when comparing colonial to post-colonial uses.

The enquiry reveals that, in Luanda, POSs are primarily used as places of pause and rest to or from work and school/university. Therefore, the criteria of comfort (seats, shadow, good pavements), safety (crime, accidents, protection from the elements and cleanness) and Uses and Activities (playing, eating, sports, meeting friends and families) are the most relevant in Luanda's context. POSs in Luanda are primarily places to rest, pause and enjoy the outdoors, mainly during the day. However, night times are still perceived as unsafe because less pedestrian movement is verified, and street lighting is still insufficient.

On the other hand, Luanda's residents are fond of music and dancing night events. During these events, organisers provide added security around the vicinity of the event, and the motivation to be at the show frequently surpasses any fear of assault or crime. As a result, music and dance shows are the events that activate the streets of Luanda's city centre at night more effectively.

Informal trade is present all around the city centre generally. Users thank food hawkers and give away that because of their meagre salaries because it is impossible to use cafes and restaurants five days a week. So, food hawkers are an affordable alternative.

Lastly, the enquiries and direct observations confirm that POS users in Luanda are predominantly male. Additionally, children's playground equipment is not readily available in many POSs in the city centre. Where they exist, these playgrounds are worn off and perceived by the parents as unsafe for children to play on them. Therefore, maintenance is critical not only for playgrounds but also for gardens and pavements.

Conclusions

From an architecture and urban design perspective, in the case of Luanda, the study concludes that spaces better integrated into the urban network are used the most because of their proximity to work, schools, shops and public transportation routes. Therefore, those spaces deserve the best attention and offer good opportunities to promote social interactions, trivial encounters, and social inclusion. However, it is vital to refurbish such spaces with furniture and an image of what users in Luanda look for, which is urban furniture and space layouts that provide opportunities to sit under shade, enjoy the outdoor green and built environment, talk, meet friends, for children to play and for sports. For the user in Luanda, the place becomes increasingly captivating if, beyond the comfort functions and uses, the place is flexible enough to accommodate informal traders in an orderly manner, music, and pop-up art events, pleasing sceneries and providing an environment of safety and cleanness. Nevertheless, as a result of this study, it is critical to acknowledge how architecture and urban design cannot single-handedly provide solutions for POS improvement because a myriad of factors need to converge.

First, a public policy standpoint needs to set the tone about what POSs the city needs, who can create and maintain them, and how to stimulate coordinated interventions. During the enquiry, participants manifested interest in improving and maintaining POSs in Luanda's city centre. However, they believed that any attempts to voice their opinions were in vain because of their perceptions of an existing heavy political hold in the approval of interventions and lines of communication turned inwards within Provincial and Central government structures instead, which leaves no room for the ordinary citizen to be heard and considered.

Secondly, a strategic plan establishing different potentials and, therefore, different uses for existing POSs can serve as a guided course of action for future interventions. This variety of uses, subsequently, creates a diversity of attractions that can bring life back to the streets during day and night and during weekdays and weekends, which is lacking in the city centre. Moreover,

even though Luanda has a Master Plan that caters to developing and maintaining public spaces (GPL, 2015), it needs to be converted to an effective and detailed action plan at the scale of an urban plan.

Third, a social-economic gap poses a challenge to the usage and maintenance of public spaces that need to be addressed at the top political administration level and affects POSs directly. The levels of unemployment and poverty, coupled with traditional commercial practices such as walking around and sidewalk vendors, pose a challenge, affect and contribute to some of the primary inhibitor factors to visitors of POSs, especially for middle-income social groups and higher. In the survey, participants' perceptions pointed out that POSs in Luanda's city centre are unclean, unsafe, and therefore undesirable to visit and enjoy for a few hours.

The betterment of the socio-economic conditions can directly impact the improvement of the above undesirable current conditions of POSs in Luanda by reducing the need to transform every corner into a commercial spot and reducing the levels of petty crime. On the other hand, POSs may also aid in promoting employment opportunities to lower income groups, opportunities for socialisation and the chance to enjoy the city's outdoors. A combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches can assist the city to revert the historical paradigm of segregation and instil the sought-after vitality of Luanda's public spaces.

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[Session Overview]

War affairs: the entanglements between architecture and military apparatus in colonial Africa

Beatriz Serrazina¹; Francesca Vita² (Chairs)

¹ Dinâmia'CET-Iscte; Beatriz_Serrazina@iscte-iul.pt; Lisbon, Portugal

² Dinâmia'CET-Iscte; Francesca.Vita@iscte-iul.pt; Lisbon, Portugal

Introduction

Military strategies have been crucial to the construction of colonial spaces since the first camps and cantonments were settled and numerous forts and fortifications were built in Africa. The history of colonial architecture has already recognised the crucial role of military engineering in the design of the first colonial towns and ports (King, 1992; Sriver, 1994; Home, 1997) and in setting the standard for colonial housing comfort (King, 1984). The interplay between the military and architectural apparatuses at the service of empires was manifested in many modalities and designs until their strong impact during the wars of independence in the 20th century (Henni, 2017; Milheiro, 2017; 2024). Military purposes, expertise and agents not only shaped the civilian bureaucratic apparatus, but also extended their purposes and *modus operandi* to the built environment and the landscape itself (Henni, 2024). On the one hand, army officers sometimes held positions in the administration of the colonies, from national to local governors, governing various aspects of civilian life and shaping the civilian environment accordingly. They were actively involved in surveying practices, and soldiers were often expected to act as settlers, fighting with guns and bricks at the same time. On the other hand, in times of occupation and armed conflict, architects were called upon to respond to the military need to control both territory and people.

The session “War affairs: the entanglements between architecture and military apparatus in colonial Africa” analysed the entanglements between the military and architecture in shaping the built environment during conflicts from the late 19th century to late colonialism. It questioned the ways in which the military apparatus appropriated architectural practice – e.g. design strategies, planning tools, materials – and the ways in which the architectural apparatus,

mostly embodied in public works departments, colluded with military purposes. If we consider architecture to be a civilian subject, under what circumstances are architects called upon to collaborate with military forces? What kind of architecture and built environment emerges from this alliance? Who does it serve and for what purpose? In contexts of colonial occupation such as those explored in this session, approaching the built environment through the prism of the discipline of architecture alone may not be sufficient to reflect on the entrenched relationship between architecture and the military domain in times of conflict, or in other words, the “war affairs” – as the session addressed them. Can there be a civilian form of occupation? (Weizman & Segal, 2004)

Topics, Times and Geographies

The session spanned different African geographies, from Morocco to Guinea-Bissau, from Libya to West Sahara and the Gulf of Guinea, and different time frames, from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s. This diversity allowed for a variety of themes to be covered, while pointing to the persistence of the relationship between architecture, spatial production and warfare scenarios across time and space.

In “The men for the job: Militaries and Public Works expeditions in African territories,” Alice Santiago Faria and Mafalda Pacheco traced the careers of some of the Portuguese military officers who participated in public works in Angola, Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe and Mozambique at the end of the 19th century. Faria and Pacheco showed the different socio-racial strata of the workers involved in these PW ventures, from “technical staff” to convicts, foreign workers from other colonial territories, and even women and families. The authors’ extensive work examined the origins, training, “skills”, wages and categories of these laborers and contributed to the survey of the contingents of military officers that joined public works expeditions, as part of the broader research project “TechNetEmpire: Technoscientific Networks in the construction of the built environment in the Portuguese Empire (1647-1871),” funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT).

Similar circuits of “collaboration”, “tensions” and “disputes” were also unravelled by Pedro Cerdeira in “Soldiers and social welfare as war effort: for a social history of infrastructure building in late colonial Guinea-Bissau (1968-1974)”. Focusing on the district of Cacheu, Cerdeira examined the role of the military as urban planners and builders, the types of facilities

they promoted, and their interactions with the authorities and the African population. He argued for a complex and contested view of these processes, in which many agendas and objectives were involved, with many dimensions of interaction to be considered. The context in which this “contested process” took place was that of the village relocation programme implemented by the army during the war to secure Portuguese rule over Guinea-Bissau. Cerdeira elaborated on this topic in his doctoral thesis entitled “The administrator, the chief, and the officer. Making and remaking local administration in late colonial Guinea-Bissau (1961-1974)” (University of Geneva, 2022).

The collaboration between architects and military corps in villagization and forced relocation practices links to Amalie Elfallah’s research on the “Militarization and Ruralization of Italian-colonial Libya (1924-1943): Disseminating the relation between the ‘Spaces’ of Exception and the ‘rural’ villages in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica”. Elfallah’s research based on the master thesis (2022) showed how a state-sponsored programme of mass relocation of Italian families to new and existing agricultural “rural” villages in the late 1930s and the drive to build a “modernist landscape” were closely linked to mechanisms of displacement and settlement. Elfallah argued for “mechanisation” as a fruitful framework for studying the image of agrarian colonies, the exploitation of ecological warfare during counter-insurgency operations, and the organisation and construction of camps and villages. This approach illuminates the intricate interplay between modern architecture and intensive colonisation, thus adding significant layers to the histories of colonial development, welfare wars, and heritage narratives. Villagization policy during times of conflict used to employ architecture as a “welfare weapon” to relocate a large part of the population and clearing strategic areas for military or economic purposes, in many cases controlling the access to precious natural resources also.

In “Troubled Waters: Infrastructure and the French Army in Morocco”, Sara Frikech explained General Lyautey’s views on “colonial pacification” as the basis of French colonial warfare strategies, which combined military and political action to win over the local population – the well-known “win hearts and minds” method. The messy and long-lasting process of building various water infrastructures in Morocco highlights both the dependence of the colonial apparatus on local knowledge and labour, and the importance of these structures for territorial control. Frikech is exploring these topics, among others, in her doctoral project “Tamed Waters: Ordering the City and Hinterland of Meknes, 1912–1956” (ETH Zurich, ongoing).

Alvaro Velasco Perez presented the “Displacements of Mohammed Abdalah during his life: spatial constructions in the Western Sahara after the Spanish Colony”. Through the study of three buildings – Abdalah’s nomadic tent (1955), the conveyor belt linking the mines of Bu Craa to the Atlantic (1971-1975), and Morocco’s construction of the world’s largest sand wall (1982-1987), – Perez argued for a long-term perspective of the sand wall strategy that is being replicated throughout the Sahara (Perez, 2023). The visually rich presentation also called into question the “porosity” of the desert and the extent to which these contemporary territories should be understood as continuous.

Finally, Guillermo Arsuaga questioned similar strategies of expansion, focusing on “Islanding Francoist Coloniality: Architecture, military expansion and the experimental towns in Equatorial Guinea during the Late Francoism”. The study of the settlements for workers on the island of Fernando Poo (today’s Bioko) in the 1960s highlighted the interplay between colonial labour migrations and the scarcity of infrastructure and housing, while showing how different buildings – from dwellings to the church and the Casa the Palavra – were perceived as key tools of “modernity”. This research is part of the Arsuaga’s doctoral thesis entitled “Island Exceptions: The Building of a Minor Empire in the Late Franco Regime in Spain” (Princeton University School of Architecture, 2022).

Taken together, these contributions have provided comprehensive and multifaceted insights into the spatial dimensions and tools used during warfare scenarios, which remain essential for understanding contemporary African landscapes.

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Caring for Rand-scape: Entangled Stories of a Toxic Commons

Sabina Favaro¹ and Samkelisiwe Khanyile²

¹ SoAP University of the Witwatersrand; sabina.favaro@wits.ac.za; Johannesburg, South Africa

² GCRO Gauteng City-Region Observatory, University of the Witwatersrand, University of Johannesburg; samkelisiwe.khanyile@gcro.ac.za; Johannesburg, South Africa

Abstract

Two powerful human practices — mineral extraction and segregative planning — profoundly remoulded the landscape of Witwatersrand (also known as Rand), transforming it into a Rand-scape: a toxic landscape mosaic of extractive and segregated land parcels. Acting as human-driven geological forces, extraction and segregation produced an enduring and irreconcilable geography of toxic co-existence. The spatial evidence of this, and the source of ongoing contamination, is the Rand-scape's 100-kilometre-long *toxic commons* (Müller, 2021) — a geological porosity manifesting on the surface as hyperbolic waste piles and extensive wastelands — bisecting the Gauteng City-Region from east to west. The *slow violence* (Nixon, 2011) and *socio-spatial injustice* (Soja, 2010) of the toxic commons are pernicious and persistent, disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable given the spatial legacy of coloniality. Largely left unaddressed, the toxic commons holds a strong inertia to change, exacerbated by what Hecht calls *residual governance* (2023).

This paper retraces the entangled stories of uranium and segregated townships in the late 1940s and early 1950s. During this critical period, uranium transitioned from mining waste to a valuable nuclear commodity, while large-scale townships became tools of regional urban segregation, extending previous colonial practices through institutionalised planning apparatuses, legislations and racial zoning. Cartographic and historical mapping sheds light on the lethal and enduring consequences of a modernistic, militaristic and top-down approach in mining, planning, and research — operating in silos through secrecy, silences and neglect. Through storytelling, the paper advocates the urgency of a radical reparative shift towards *caring governance through co-design* — one rooted in inclusive listening, transdisciplinary knowledge production, systemic repair and ongoing care response through collective actions at scale.

Keywords: uranium extraction; township development; residual governance; ecocide; racial capitalism; slow violence

Session: Nuclear Imperialism and Colonialism

Visible from space, the Witwatersrand mining belt stretches over 100 kilometres from east to west, cutting through Johannesburg and the broader Gauteng City-Region (GCR). Two powerful human practices — mineral extraction and segregative planning — acting like geological forces (geo-forces) profoundly reshaped the Witwatersrand landscape at multiple scales and levels. As expressions of both ecocide and racial capitalism, these human geo-forces turned the Witwatersrand, also known as the Rand, into a (~~land~~)Rand-scape — a mining landscape defined by slow violence (Nixon, 2011) and socio-spatial injustice (Soja, 2010). Combining mining-related toxic cycles and historically segregated and underprivileged urbanisation, the Rand-scape is a paradigm of *ecological and colonial fractures* (Ferdinand, 2022). Its four-kilometre-deep underground mines — the deepest in the world — manifest on the surface through vast mine tailings of mountainous proportions and extensive wastelands. Bisecting the Rand-scape, the mining belt is now a *toxic commons* (Müller, 2021) — a commons of contaminated waste and degraded land.

The toxic commons hold strong inertia to change — being spatially inscribed — aggravated by what Hecht defines as *residual governance* — a trifecta encompassing ‘*the governance of mine waste, the creation and sustenance of ignorance about the dangers of this waste, and the treatment of people and places as waste and wastelands*’ (2023:6). Lacking a consistent regional programme of repair and ongoing care and largely, the slow violence of the toxic commons remains largely unaddressed and continues, intensifying over time and exacerbating the conditions of already vulnerable communities and toxic ecologies.

This paper investigates a pivotal moment in the making of the Rand-scape and its *toxic commons*, by retracing the *entangled stories* of *uranium* — a radioactive and chemically toxic heavy metal and large-scale *townships* — a South African planning archetype of spatial segregation. Recognising that the Rand-scape is a socio-ecological product of long-term, ongoing processes, the paper focuses on the late 1940s and early 1950s — a double turning point in both stories — *mineral extraction (uranium)* and segregative planning (*townships*). First, uranium emerged from the shadows of gold extraction. Initially discarded unknowingly(?) as waste on mine tailings, uranium was then intentionally extracted for nuclear weapons production and power stations. Second, new legislation and planning apparatuses expanded existing segregative practices making possible the implementation of large-scale townships. Although the presence of uranium amplified mining-related toxic challenges, posing serious environmental and public health concerns, mining-related toxicity was ignored in the

planning of segregated townships and low-income neighbourhoods during apartheid. Despite overlapping places, actors and agencies, the planning and implementation of uranium extraction and segregated townships unfolded *in isolation*, ending in an *enduring and irreconcilable geography of toxic co-existence* — spatially inscribing *slow violence* (Nixon, 2011) and *socio-spatial injustice* (Soja, 2010).

Adopting storytelling through cartographic and historical mapping, the entangled stories portrayed reveal the lethal and enduring consequences of a modernistic, militaristic and top-down approach in mining, planning, and research — operating in silos through secrecy, silences and neglect. Keeping apart entangled stories resulted in a pernicious and persistent toxic geography. To counter the slow violence and socio-spatial justice of the Rand-scape, the paper advocates the urgency of a radical reparative shift towards *caring governance through co-design* — one rooted in inclusive listening, transdisciplinary knowledge production, systemic repair and ongoing care response through collective actions at scale (Favaro and Watson, 2025).

Remoulding the Rand-scape

The landscape biography of the Witwatersrand began aeons ago through geological forces. Underneath the visible landscape, geological strata speak volumes about its temporal depths. The formation of the gold and uranium deposits of the Witwatersrand, along with its accumulated sediments, dates back three billion years ago, during the Archaeon Eon (Bobbins et al., 2018; Handley, 2023). Then, about 2 billion years ago, a meteorite struck (Reimold and Gibson, 1996), creating a crater on the earth's surface — and bringing the gold- and uranium-bearing sediments closer to the surface — outcropping along the western and northern margins of the Witwatersrand (Esterhuysen et al., 2018). Over time, geological changes and continental shifts, eventually shaped this landscape, fitting it for hominin inhabitancy. Although most historical accounts date the ‘discovery’ of gold in the 1880s, archaeological evidence indicates extractive practices, including iron and copper smelting from at least 2000 years ago (Mabin, 2013). Since the known discovery of gold in 1886, more than 50 000 tonnes of gold have been extracted over the century-long history of the Witwatersrand, leading to South Africa contributing as much as 40 per cent of world production (Mutele and Carranza, 2024). The millennia-long sedimentation and geological processes that formed these deposits came undone over 150 years — in a geological blink (Hecht, 2023).

Large-scale gold mining operations began in the 1880s, driven by white capitalists, through the hands of exploited Black miners, who carved into the crater. The lives of unseen and underpaid miners were continuously exposed to risks and toxic elements — inhaling dust and radon — with lasting or lethal health consequences. Blasting, picking, shovelling — extracting *vibrant matter* (Bennett, 2010) from the geological strata, these extraction processes separated valued materials from the unvalued matter — what was deemed as waste — producing monumental mine waste tailings. The Rand-cape was profoundly reshaped on multiple scales — geologically, spatially, socio-ecologically and culturally. The human geo-force of mineral extraction hollowed out geological strata, leaving behind mine waste of mountainous proportions. Geologically co-existing with gold, uranium — long buried in silence — was released into the air, water and soil. Seeping into everyday life, uranium extraction produced health risks for miners, communities and ecologies, which are still today largely unresolved (Winde, 2004, 2013; Durand, 2012; Fuchs et al., 2017; Njinga and Tshivhase, 2018; Bobbins et al., 2018; Zupunski et al., 2023, etc). By altering the composition, density and distribution of radioactive and toxic elements, mining ignited enduring toxic cycles that persist across generations in the new Rand-cape (Laker, 2023).

On the northern side of the ridge, the mining city of Johannesburg rapidly emerged, facing the *veld* while turning its back to its source of existence — the extractive man-made Rand-cape. Extending along the ridge, the mining belt became both a *place of encounter* for all those involved in the mining industry and a *lived space*, for white and black mine workers, though *separately*. Black mine workers were forced to live in the toxic commons, confined to *hostels* within mine compounds, enduring harsh conditions between their forced returns to rural homes. This was further enforced by the labour regulations which had been developed by the mining industry in the first half of the 20th century, laying the foundation for segregative legislation in the second half. Apartheid's infamous passbooks originated as recruitment and surveillance tools for the mines. Companies housed workers in overcrowded *compounds within mining sites*, where rooms featured concrete bunks stacked four high, sanitation facilities were minimal, and food consisted of slop. From the early days, segregative urban planning practices pervaded the mining industry, as employees had no titles to free-standing houses on mining land (Watson, 2022).

In a geological blink, extractive processes plunged to immense depths, yielding vast quantities of gold and uranium, producing hyperbolic mountains of waste — given that 99.9% of extracted

matter in gold mining is discarded (Bridge, 2004). Mining had long and wide significant repercussions, driving and shaping what is now known as the Gauteng City-Region, and still does today through the physical remnants of its mining past in a rapidly urbanising region (Harrison and Zack, 2012; Khanyile, 2023). The *human geo-force of extraction* had remoulded the landscape of the Witwatersrand, turning it into a distinct mining Rand-scape, where — contaminated sites and irreversible pollutant cycles, release radioactive and toxic elements through processes that remain impossible to fully counter or restore. While gold dominated the extraction scene for the first 50 years, the presence of uranium was finally acknowledged by the mining industry and the state in the 1940s, as demand surged for nuclear weapons and energy.

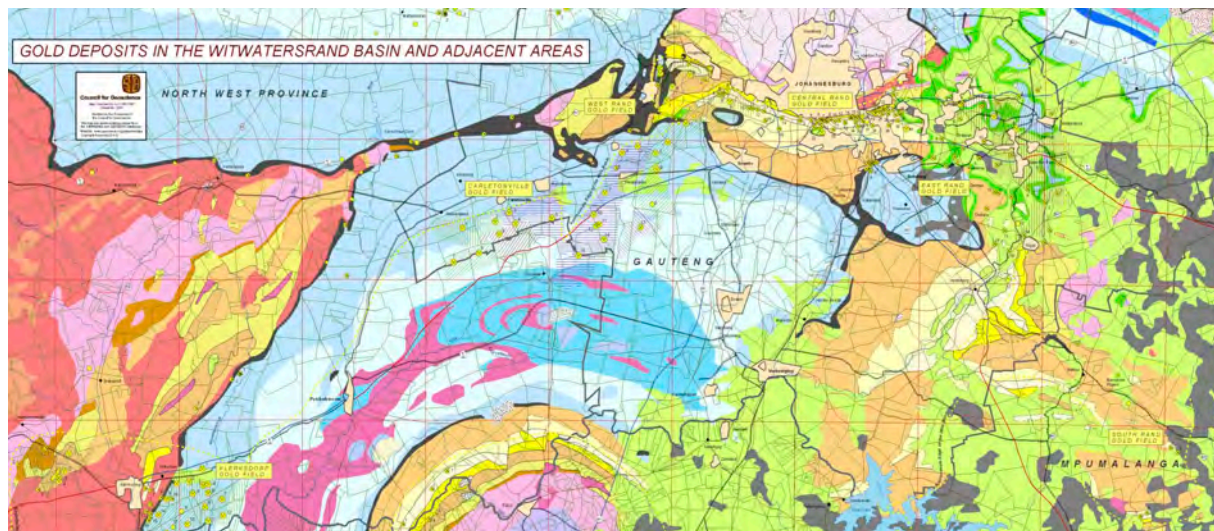


Figure 1. Gold deposits in the Witwatersrand basin and adjacent areas. Council for Geoscience.

U-burg: uranium from waste to resource

Although gold and uranium co-exist in the geological strata, their stories unfolded along different trajectories. The first 10 000 tonnes of South African uranium oxide originated from six decades' worth of mine tailings, excavated by Black labour. The exposure of these mine workers to chemo-toxicity and radon gas was of no concern (Hecht, 2012). The first recorded notification of radioactive substances in the Rand gold ore dated back to 1915, followed by a 1923 study by mineralogist R.A. Cooper, confirming the presence of *uraninite* in the

Witwatersrand tailings. His findings remained irrelevant until the emergence of atomic energy and nuclear weapons, which turned *uranium* from *waste* into a *resource*.

The uranium story took a decisive turn in the 1940s. Amid the nuclear arms race, Cooper's 1923 paper caught the attention of Manhattan Project geologists. In 1941, American geologist G.W. Bain reported South African ore's radioactivity to the project (Austin, 2001). In May 1944, American mining engineer Weston Bourret and geologist Frank West conducted a four-month survey, visiting over 20 mining sites, testing 40 product samples, examining 16 underground operations, and studying extraction methods (Bourret, 1945). The First Uranium Report sent to Bain, estimated that the Witwatersrand's uranium production capacity could be at least 10 times higher than gold (Bourret, 1945). In 1945, then-Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, established the Uranium Research Committee, composed of representatives from the gold mining industry and government departments, leading the formation of the Atomic Energy Board in 1949. The enactment of the 1948 Atomic Energy Act — informed by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) — granted the state complete control over uranium prospecting, extraction and processing, with the board acting as custodian and regulator. In collaboration with mining companies, government-led uranium research resulted in the construction of four pilot plants: one prototype plant at the Government Metallurgical Laboratory at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and three larger plants funded by the state and, with mining companies, approval was established at Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining Company, Western Reefs Exploration and Development Company Limited and SubNigel Limited mines (Oppenheimer, 1953). Under the leadership of Ernest Oppenheimer and R. B. Hagart, the Anglo-American Corporation Group built the first uranium production and sulphuric acid plant at Daggafontein Mine, the second mine for gold production in the Witwatersrand. Designed to extract uranium from mine tailings, the Daggafontein uranium plant was inaugurated with great fanfare by apartheid's then-Prime Minister Daniël François Malan in 1952. Sixteen more uranium plants quickly followed, and by 1956, uranium extraction was underway at twenty-two mining companies (Hecht, 2012). The Witwatersrand became a major contributor to global uranium production, benefitting from its status. The Rand was the world's largest low-grading uranium deposit with significantly reduced production costs — since uranium was mostly re-mined from existing mine tailings rather than extracted from underground fresh ore.

Johannesburg, known as eGoli, the city of gold, might have been more appropriately renamed *U-burg* — especially considering the enduring toxic legacies of extractive practices. Linear extraction processes disrupt ecosystems at multiple levels — the subterranean, the surface, the ecology and the atmosphere — by bringing elevated levels of Potentially Toxic Elements (PTEs) to the surface. Heavy metals and metalloids such as arsenic (As), cobalt (Co), copper (Cu), chromium (Cr), nickel (Ni), lead (Pb), uranium (U), and zinc (Zn) contaminate air, water, and soil cycles (Laker, 2023). Multiple studies (e.g. Winde, 2004; Durand, 2012; Fuchs et al., 2017; Bobbins et al., 2018; Zupunski et al., 2023) have reported on the impact of uranium on soil and water, reporting dissolved uranium from slime dumps as a major pathway for environmental contamination of stream water, groundwater and sediments. An environmental risk assessment conducted on the Tudor shaft in Krugersdorp reported significant radiation levels with associated cancer risks, ten times higher than the recommended limit (Njinga and Tshivhase, 2018).

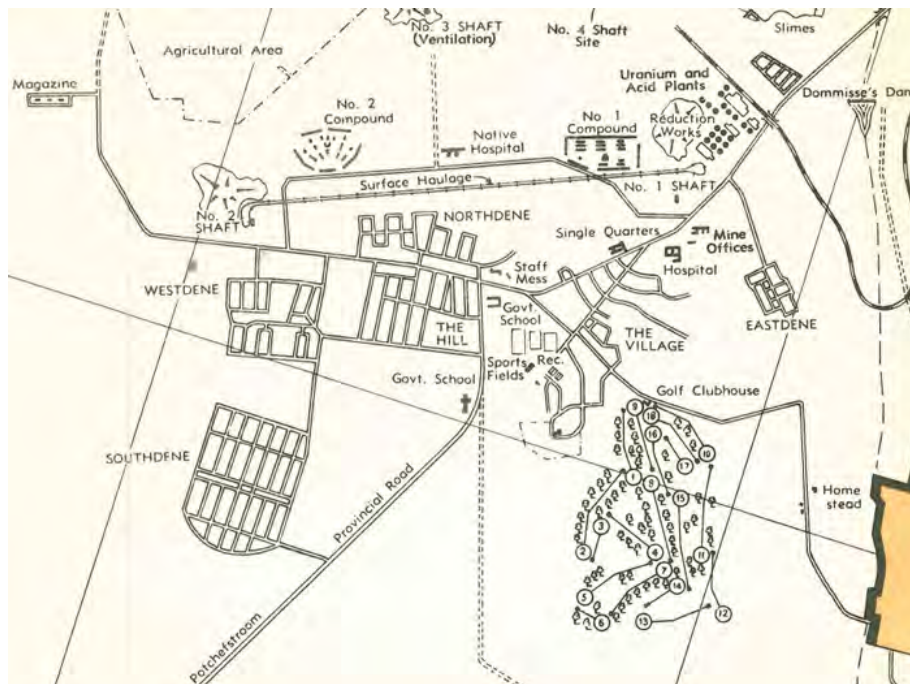


Figure 2. Surface map of Blyvooruitzicht, Annual Report 1954. The Technical Library, Johannesburg.

The slow violence (Nixon, 2011) of waste and wastelands — meaning the *silent, relentless* release of radioactive and toxic elements contaminating air, water and soil, affecting local

communities and ecosystems over time — was not acknowledged then nor adequately addressed today. Segregative planning and practices unjustly amplified exposure placing townships at the doorstep of these toxic sites. *In tandem with extractive toxicity*, segregative planning played a defining role in the making of the Rand-scape. As uranium egressed the shadow of gold, segregation escalated into regional-scale spatial planning to enforce a comprehensive racial restructuring of the then-Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal/Vereeniging (PWV) region.

Planning for comprehensive spatial segregation

The story of segregative township development also witnessed a decisive turn between the late 1940s and early 1950s. During the previous decade and World War II, industrial development escalated in the Witwatersrand, and along with it rural-to-urban migration. This resulted in a largely informal urban sprawl. With post-war urban reconstruction and land-use planning, the African housing question became more urgent. In response, two themes emerged: *new planning apparatuses* and *racial restructuring* (Mabin and Smit, 1997). The concept of a city-region also took shape in the late 1940s with the establishment of a Witwatersrand Regional Committee, tasked with planning the *Reef*, including Vereeniging and Pretoria. To address rising population growth, informality and post-war reconstruction, the Witwatersrand Advisory Board for Non-European Housing was established in 1947 to oversee the restructuring of the region and African housing policies. As Mabin (2013) highlighted, the *comprehensive segregation of an industrialising urban region* was the *leitmotiv of the Southern Transvaal spatial planning*, promoting the development of large ‘satellite towns’ for Africans.

The Smuts government adopted a more interventionist role in planning through newly formed bodies such as the Industrial Development Corporation and the Social and Economic Planning Council (SEPC). The SEPC Report No. 5, titled *Regional and Town Planning*, provided clear guidance on the restructuring of planning, urbanisation and segregation. Previously, segregative planning legislation was limited to land ownership guidance, preventing ‘Natives’ from owning land in European/White areas. Adopting a modernistic British regional planning approach through a racial lens, SEPC Report No.5 advocated for *residential segregation*, promoting residential areas of different races separated by industrial and mining sites, mobility infrastructure, and green belts, such as agricultural areas or parks. While it recommended

establishing a national planning department for the coordination and approval of racial zoning, SEPC remained quite vague on the implementation strategies of spatial segregation (Mabin, 1992). Instead of a national planning entity, Smuts instituted two new planning bodies in 1947: the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB), responsible for administering racial re-structuring and the National Resource Development Council (NRDC), tasked with coordinating planning (Mabin and Smit, 1997).

Known as the Gold Law, the 1908 Precious and Base Metals Act regulated, with certain limitations, mine settlements — typically housing for white mine workers, hostels for Black migrant labourers, and amenities to serve them such as trading stores, churches and other public functions. This changed with the 1947 Natural Resources Development (NRDA). Driven by the need for the massive housing and infrastructural development of the Free State, the Act aimed to enable a more effective and coordinated ‘*exploitation, development and use of natural resources*’ of the Union of South Africa. The legislative definition of natural resources included land, minerals, water and means of generating power, labour and transport modalities (NRDA, 1947). Under the Act, the NRDC played a coordinating role, guiding other planning bodies and authorising urban development — particularly regulating spatial planning for ‘*controlled areas*’ including mining land, in and around mining sites (Mabin and Smit, 1997). A member of the NRDC, T.J.D. Fair, described it as the first planning body to hold significant, albeit limited, power. No township development proceeded without the NRDC approval (Mabin, 1992). Addressing the increasing need for housing for a growing Black population employed in mining, manufacturing and other industries, the NRDC reinforced long-established segregative practices by promoting large-scale townships *in proximity* to mining sites and dumps, with no regard for environmental and community health or safety. In practice, “*slykdamme*” (slime dams) — muddy repositories for processed ore — were placed with concern for the location of white settlements, as were reduction plants and tailings facilities positioned at the shaft furthest away (Watson, 2021).

By the late 1940s, the Smuts government’s ad hoc segregation measures were deemed inadequate by the National Party to address the expanding African housing question, urban sprawl, and informality. With Daniël François Malan coming to power and the formalisation of apartheid, the 1950 Group Area Act became the formal instrument to enforce urban segregation, empowering the LTAB to implement racial restructuring. The 1950 Group Area Act marked the beginning of a new planning era. Yet, it cannot simply be read as an apartheid ‘grand plan’,

but rather puzzle pieces— reflecting a decades-long process of trial-and-error of segregative measures. Town planners became prominent figures with the rise of regional and town planning. Under the 1950 Group Areas Act, racial group plans fell outside of town planning schemes and were placed under the jurisdiction of the LTAB and local authorities — though, in practice, this distinction was not at all clear (Mabin, 1992).

The NRDC, the other *key national planning agency* at that time, delegated to the Mentz Commission of the Department of Native Affairs, the planning of new African townships in the PWV region. Between 1952 and 1955, working with the subsidiary committee, the Mentz Commission evaluated several potential sites consolidating land parcels for Black residential development — all located on the south of the Witwatersrand mining belt (Mentz Commission, 1953-1954). A subsidiary planning committee for the Southern Transvaal established by the NRDC in 1953 stated the need for a regional plan — *not a rigid master plan but a guide or outline* — for the three main urban nodes (Pretoria, Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand mining belt and Vereeniging). The result was the *Red Report*, informed by the planning recommendations of the Mentz Commission. The 1953 NRDC's *Red Report* was the first planning document addressing the PWV region (Mabin, 2013), adopting the Mentz Commission's recommendations on Black residential areas as one of its key focal points (NRDC, 1953).

The planning lexicon shifted in the early 1950s. As gold mining in the Rand-scape was labour-intensive, segregated neighbourhoods known as (sic) '*native locations*' were another source of cheap labour. Robinson (1996) stresses that the rural and urban *location* as a strategy for controlling the Black population predated the mining revolution (1920) and the advent of industrial capitalism. Even though industrialisation and mining were not the birthplaces of segregated locations, they played a pivotal role in their expansion into segregated satellite towns: *townships*. The term '*township*' then evolved — no longer referring to any suburbs but rather to a (*de-jure, de-facto*) *deliberately* segregated racial dormitory (Beavon, 2004; Mabin and Smit, 1997; Mabin 2013). Scattered segregated *locations*, often erased through forced removal, gave way to large-scale, systematically planned *townships*. The early 1950s legislation and planning apparatuses set the stage for the *flat recommendations* of the Mentz Commission to be implemented over the next decades.



Classified pilot projects, sharing-in-silos spaces and agencies

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under Basil Schonland, a South African brigadier and radar scientist with strong British ties through his studies at Cambridge. Uranium processing and sulphuric acid plant research involved researchers from the Wits Government Metallurgical Laboratory, the CSIR National Physical Laboratory and the National Chemical Research Laboratory. While township planning and housing standards research was led by Wits architects and town planners in collaboration with the National Building Research Institute (NBRI) at the CSIR. Despite their shared scientific settings, these two projects – of the late 1940s and early 1950s – conducting research on *uranium processing from mine waste* and the *development of low-cost housing planning layout and standards* – remained disconnected, unfolding in parallel without informing one another.

Basil Schonland, as president of the CSIR, played a key role in top-secret negotiations on South African uranium supply to the United Kingdom and the United States. Having managed scientific corps on classified projects during World War II, including serving as a Scientific Adviser to General Sir Bernard Montgomery during D-Day logistics, he returned to South Africa in 1944 at the invitation of the then-Prime Minister Jan Smuts to establish the CSIR (Austin, 2001:272). Under his leadership, the CSIR and the nascent nuclear agency developed a constellation of parallel but independent practices in service of extraction. Scientific research was structured in corps-like institutes with handpicked researchers, driven by *logics of efficiency and scalability*.

In 1948, laboratories at Wits and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) compiled top-secret assay tables, revealing tons of uranium oxide (U_3O_8). Simultaneously, Wits architects and town planners scrutinised British housing studies and at the CSIR campus, they rapidly designed and piloted planning standards and housing types for ‘non-Europeans’ between 1949 and 1951. After the war, housing for permanent black workers was deliberately atomised into reproductive family units in “townships” located near mining and industrial land. While the layout borrowed from row housing laid out for white miners (le Roux, 2019), the guidance for the densities, materials and layouts of township housing was empirically developed in 1951 by the NBRI. Initially a small advisory office, the NBRI grew into a research body invested in scientific methods.

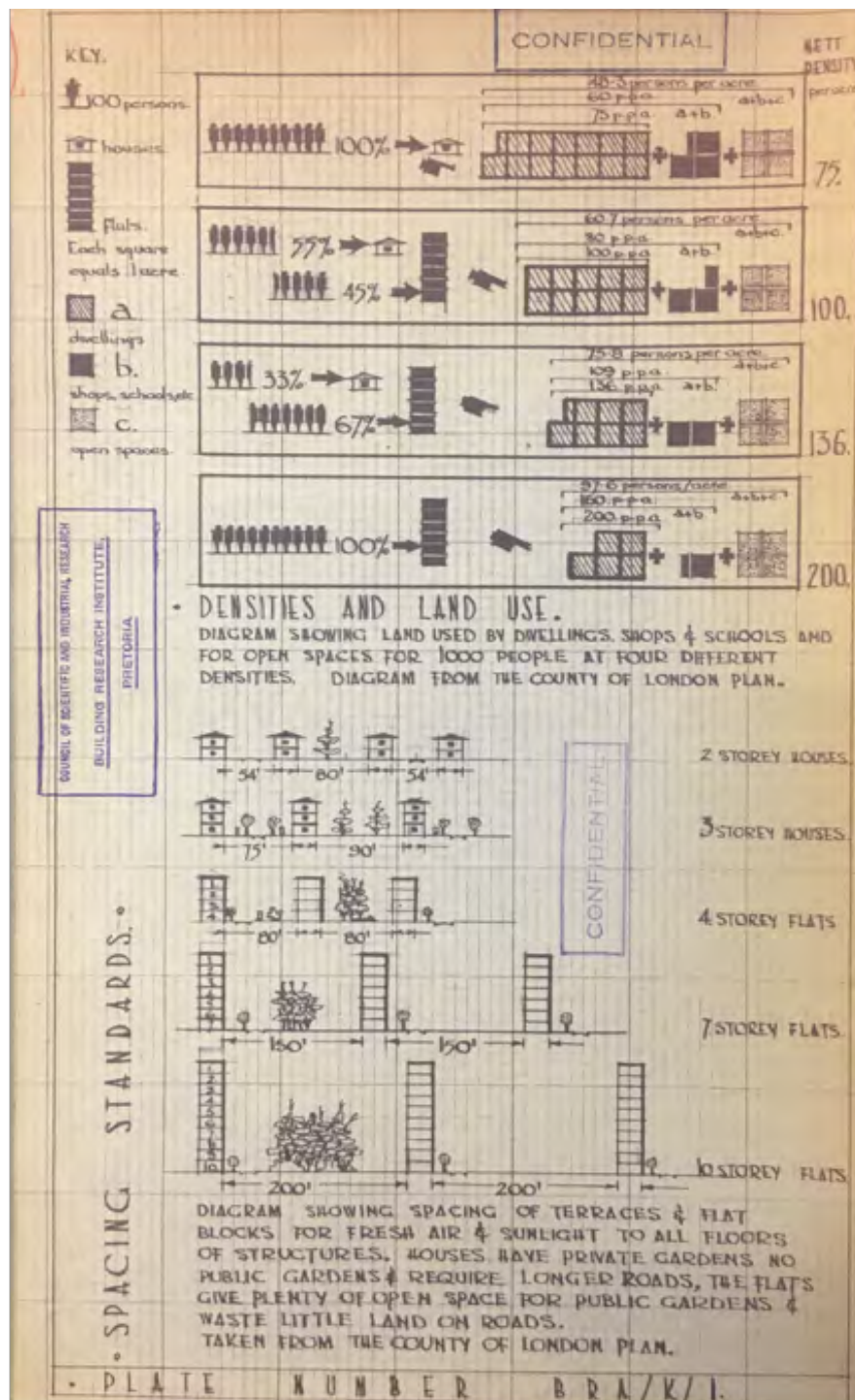


Figure 4. Douglas M. Calderwood, et al. 1948. "Report of the Estate Planning Sub-Committee." Pretoria: Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. Building Research Institute. Plate Number BRA/K/1. Wits Historical Archive.

From the CSIR campus, it translated the *Minimum Standards of Accommodation for Native Housing* — a monumental collective exercise managed by committees on lighting, materials, and housing *prototypes* (NHPC, 1949; CSIR, 1951; Evans, 1997; Japha, 1998; le Roux, 2019). Experimental housing was built at Sharpe Village near Vereeniging, and by 1951, pilot projects had been trialled at a neighbourhood-scale in Lynnville, between the Witbank collieries, and through the model township of KwaThema, south of Springs and situated between five gold mines. The NBRI research modelled density figures to address severe housing needs and backlogs in backyard rentals and informal settlements. Parcels large enough to construct tracts of “*Naturebehuising*” – *native housing* – at a density of six units per acre to meet the housing backlog.

Despite temporal and spatial overlaps, research on *township planning and uranium extraction* remained disconnected, *in isolation*. By the 1950s, uranium’s carcinogenic impact was known (Hecht, 2012). Yet, potential mining-related health risks were absent from the (sic) Native Housing reports (Calderwood, 1948-56, 1964). Black Africans were made invisible, as no regulations prevented segregated townships from being located near uranium tailings, and no concerns about proximity to new uranium plants were raised in the planning processes (Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa, 1957). The CSIR agencies adopted secrecy, and modernistic and militarist stances to both housing and precious mineral production, where scientists operated in silos under constraints of speed and silences. The entangled stories of uranium extraction and segregative planning unfolded apart in research settings. While research agencies operated in silos, planning for an incompatible geography of toxic co-existence began. Following the research guidelines, Black residential areas within the Rand-scape landed within the contamination catchment buffers if not right adjacent to the toxic commons.

Planning for segregation and extraction

Alongside mineral extraction, combining *regional planning* and *racial zoning*, — segregative planning — *is* the other human geo-force which profoundly re-moulded the social topography of the Rand-scape. J. Moolman, Chief Planner of the NRDC, advocated for comprehensive regional planning in conjunction with ‘*race zoning*,’ introducing segregated townships for Black Africans, Coloured and Asiatics. Under the NRDC, the Mentz Commission’s *flat*

recommendations on Black township distribution represent a spatial-temporal marker in the ongoing spatial reconfiguration of the Rand-*scape* and its toxic commons. Moolman and his team consulted local municipalities, mining houses, and landowners — without engaging with Black African communities. Adopting a militarised, top-down planning approach, the Mentz Commission carefully considered each land parcel before recommending the location of future Black residential areas. Their reports reveal an evolving process of weaving together land for segregated residential areas with land reserved for prospecting and mining. Grappling with the ‘*right population*’ and the ‘*right distance*’ *questions and, testing segregative measures through trial and error, rules and exceptions, the Mentz Commission aimed to ensure simultaneously white prosperity and white supremacy* (Posel, 1999). The recommendation simultaneously ensured that mining houses had access to Black labour and the municipalities had control over the Black population.

Black township distribution comprised five main areas – *all on the south of the mining belt* – from west to east: Randfontein-Westonaria, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort-Johannesburg, Alberton-Germitoston-Elsburg-Boksburg, and Brakpan-Springs-Dunnottar-Nigel. The racial zoning logic included the removal of all existing small locations, except for Westonaria, Alexandra and Eastern Native Townships. Tailings, mine waste spaces, and the network of railway lines between shafts were all named as spatial devices of separation for segregative planning. Extractive processes had left behind a segregative planning palette of spatial devices that the planners needed: *the 100-kilometre belt of wasteland bisecting the Witwatersrand region* (Mentz Commission Reports, 1953-4). The extractive landscape represented the perfect spatial device (*dispositive*) of separation between the white city and the townships as ‘labour reserves’. Their logic would repurpose mining spatialities: simultaneously ensuring *white prosperity* through minerals’ extraction and *white supremacy*. The Mentz Commission’s recommendations appear as a ‘careful’ weaving of *labour reserves* separated by the mining belt and mobility infrastructure, where fragmented puzzle pieces begin to form a regional plan. In this, the Mentz Commission’s reports and flat recommendations seem to disprove the illusion of a singular apartheid ‘grand plan’ (Posel, 1999).

The Mentz Commission prioritised mining potential when allocating land for Black townships, and even if the radioactivity of mine tailings was known by then, uranium toxicity did not feature in any reports. There was no consideration for any gold mining-related toxicity, never mind, uranium’s toxicity. Mirroring the Wits and CSIR research silos, the maps and diagrams

of the Mentz Commission and the Red Report are silent about people and places, or mining-related health risks. In just about a decade, over 23 mining sites dealt with uranium extraction, eight of them on the Witwatersrand. On the East Rand, uranium was extracted in Daggafontein and Vogelstruitbult, right next to the emerging township of KwaThema. On the West, uranium extraction took place in Krugersdorp, West Rand Consolidated, Luispaardvlei, East Champ D'or, and Randfontien Estate — not far from the emerging Soweto. *Dumped and extracted*, uranium contamination of soil, water and air did not inform the Mentz Commission's recommendations for Black townships. The Mentz Commission reports guided the location of townships in areas directly exposed to mining-related and uranium toxicity.

Following the Mentz Commission's *flat recommendations*, the Rand-scape was radically transformed over the 1950s. Public housing provision in Johannesburg surged from 800 units per year (1900-1950) to 4000, peaking at over 11000 in 1957-1958 (Mabin and Smit, 1997). Though compounds remained critical in-situ labour sources, mining interests played an active role in segregated housing development. Land for township development was acquired through sales and swaps between the councils and mining companies, which were shifting towards property development as mining began to decline in the 1950s. Uranium extraction from tailing reprocessing extended mining operations, slowing down mine closures. Rand Mines, the largest landowner on the mining belt, repurposed mining land for residential and industrial development (Harrison, Zack, 2012).

With transnational contracts for uranium contracts ensuring revenue, mining companies supported state-led township construction through building loans. This was not philanthropy — funds would be repaid through rentals and beer sales income. In 1956, for example, mine magnate Ernest Oppenheimer loaned three million pounds to the Johannesburg City Council to construct Black housing, justifying the forced removal of Black residents from/near “white areas” to the future Soweto (Carr, 1990). His ‘donation’ was commemorated in a tower modelled on Great Zimbabwe, overlooking Orlando and constructed with recycled bricks from demolished Black homes during the forced removals.

Between 1965 and 1980, the human geo-forces of mineral extraction and segregative township development continued working in tandem. Under the auspices of the 1967 Mining Rights Act, land was reallocated for Black African, Coloured and Indian townships (Mubiwa and Annegarn, 2013). Even post-1990, township expansions into contaminated areas and

abandoned mining sites continued both formally and informally, deepening the legacy of toxic exposure. New townships were established while some pre-existing townships expanded, some getting closer or going deeper within mine residue areas such as around Soweto and Germiston (Khanyile, 2016). Toxicity and socio-spatial injustice continue to define the Rand-scape, now.

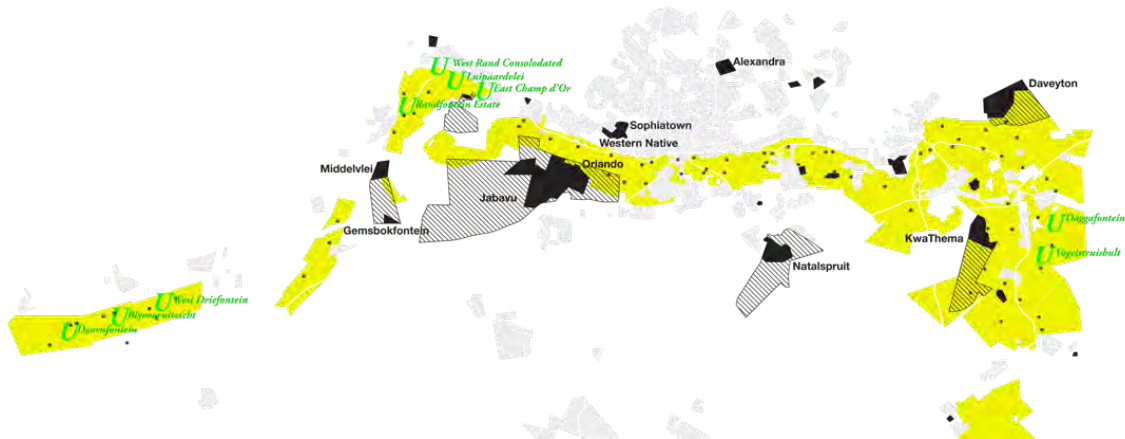


Figure 5. U extraction sites [marked with green U] over the mining belt [yellow], existing [black] and planned [hatch] townships and compounds [*] in the 1950s. Source: Natural Resources Development Council (NRDC) (1957), *A planning survey of the Southern Transvaal (the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Area)*, Pretoria: Government Printer, 40. Map designed by S. Favaro.

Mapping the Witwatersrand toxic commons, now

The Rand-scape holds a strong inertia to change. Today, the toxic commons remain visible in the constellation of mine residue areas, bisecting the Rand-scape and weaving through the expanding urban areas, largely affecting historically underprivileged and informal settlements. In continuity with the past, townships and informal settlements continue to geographically co-exist with and are being affected by radioactive and toxic mine waste and wastelands (Figures 6 and 7).

Several post-apartheid policies aimed to restructure these patterns to promote sustainable development and improve living conditions (Patel, 2014). South Africa's new Constitution states that all South Africans have a '*right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing*' and '*to have the environment protected, for the benefit of the present and future generations through reasonable legislative and other measures*' (Constitution, Republic of

South Africa, 1996). The 1998 National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) mandates that adverse environmental impacts should not be distributed in a way that unfairly discriminates against vulnerable members of society. Despite the constitutional and legislative provisions, marginalised groups continue to face disproportionate health risks and socio-ecological burdens (Schlosberg, 2004).



Figure 6. Locality of townships, mine waste and the urban landscape. Legend: radioactive (red), non-radioactive (green), not determined (purple), townships (dark grey) and urbanisation (light grey). Data sources: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) (2011) Provincial Boundary; Gauteng Department of Economic Development (GDED) (2020) Townships; Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (GDARD) (2012) Mine Residue Areas; GeoTerra Image (GTI) (2020) South African National Land Cover (SANLC): Urban class. Map designed by S. Khanyile.



Figure 7. Expansion of township over time. Legend: township 1950s (black), township 1950s (dark grey), township 1950s (lighter grey), townships 2020s (area demarcated by red outline) and urbanisation (pale grey). Data sources: MDB (2011) Provincial Boundary; GDED (2020) Townships; GTI (2020) SANLC Urban class; Fair et al. (1956). Map designed by S. Khanyile.

In Gauteng, specifically, a Pollution Buffer Guidelines policy was promulgated in 2006 by the Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development — and revised in 2016. The legislative requirements specify a minimum buffer of 500 meters (m) and a maximum buffer of 1500m around radioactive mine waste. A historical cartographic inquiry reveals that some townships were already infringing on the 500m and 1500m buffers around mine waste in 1990. Thereafter, further expansions of townships occurred within these buffers (Figure 8). The expansion of townships within the 500m and 1500m mine residue buffers is particularly evident in areas around Germiston, Soweto, and Carletonville (marked by circles in Figure 8).

The densely populated encroachments of township expansion and mine residue buffers highlight how the population is significantly impacted by enduring toxic ecologies in combination with entrenched legacies of spatial segregation. Mapping population distribution from the most recent census (StatsSA, 2011), Figure 9 shows that the population density is very high within the 500m and 1500m pollution buffers. A gradient from pink to dark red represents population density, within pollution buffers overlaid in shades of grey. Figure 9 demonstrates that many people currently reside within the 500m pollution buffer, specifically in areas around Soweto and Germiston. In the darker shaded areas, population densities reach as high as 14 972 people per km². These numbers increase within the 1500m buffer, with population counts reaching up to 33 779 per km² in some areas, indicated by darker shades of red. These areas coincide with those undergoing rapid expansion in recent years, often upon encroaching further onto mining grounds.

Mapping the relationship between mine residue areas, townships and urban land uses of today reveals that vulnerable communities continue to be trapped in toxic ecologies, bearing the costs for the global capitalist gains of mining companies, wealthier states and consumers. Left unaddressed, the inscribed socio-ecological consequences of ecocide and racial capitalism accrete over time, widening the colonial and ecological fractures (Ferdinand, 2022).

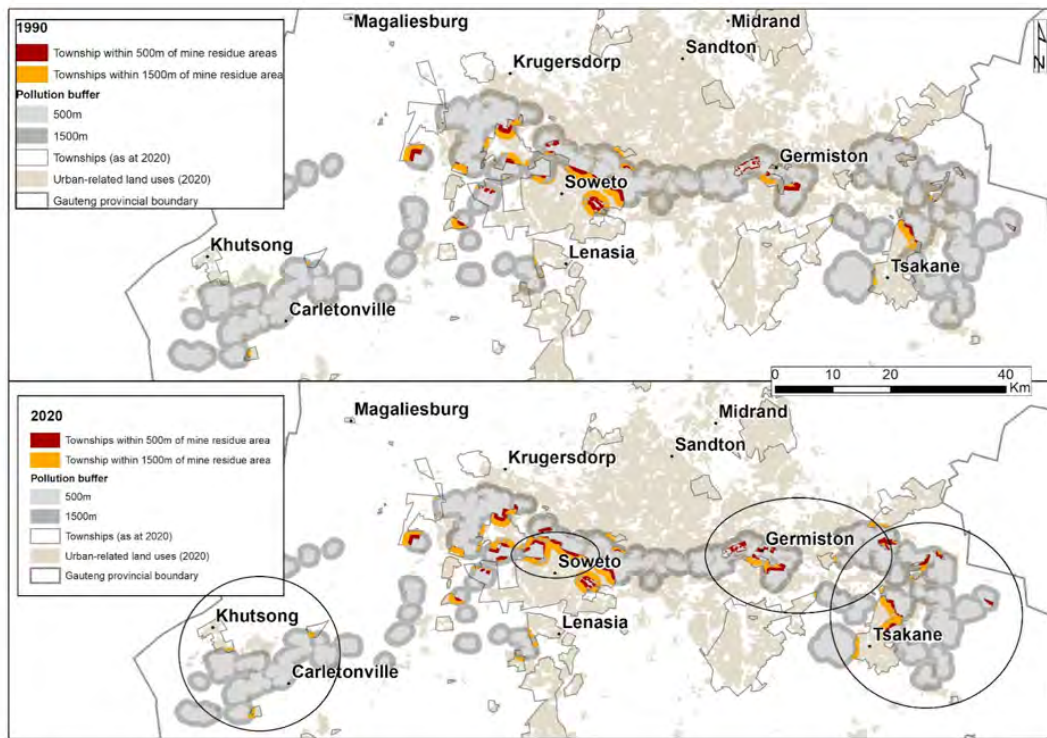


Figure 8. Townships infringing on 500m and 1500m pollution buffers. Data sources: MDB (2011) Provincial Boundary; GTI (2020) SANLC Urban class; GDARD (2017) Pollution buffers. Map designed by S. Khanyile.

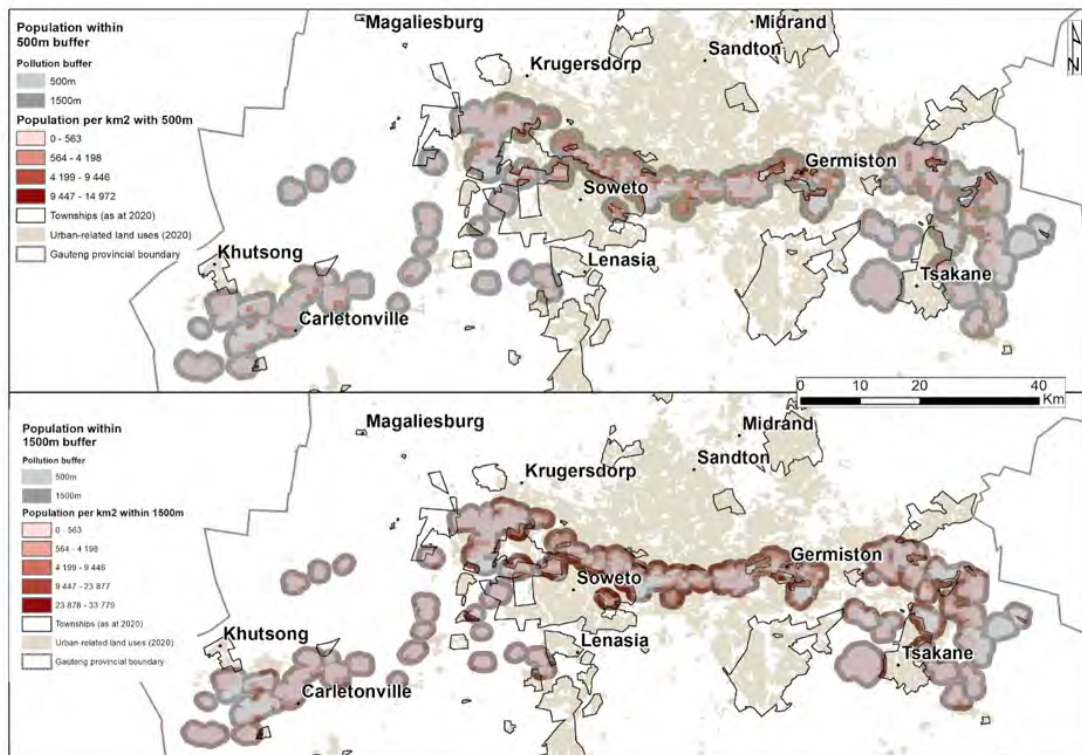


Figure 9. Population within pollution buffers. Data sources: MDB (2011) Provincial Boundary; Statistics South Africa (2011) Census: Population; GDED (2020) Townships; GTI (2020) SANLC Urban class. Map designed by S. Khanyile.

Countering slow violence and socio-spatial injustice with collective care

Retracing the entangled stories of uranium and segregated townships in the late 1940s and early 1950s through historical and cartographic mapping illustrates how planning, policies and actions — operating in silos through secrecy, silences and neglect — reduced *people* and *places* to *waste* and *wastelands* (Hecht, 2023). While racial planning *flattened people* into a constructed racial taxonomy — literally *re-siting* them — first on a map, then in different places within the Rand-scape, over time. Simultaneously, extractive practices *flattened places*, reducing land from a living system to consumable matter for commodities and waste production — perpetuating the disruption of socio-ecological cycles — narrowed to mere externalities. Land degradation and labour dispossessions were deliberately orchestrated through careless, modernistic planning practices and research, with no regard for socio-ecological and public health concerns. This is evident in the unfolding of classified pilot projects addressing both, uranium extraction and segregated townships. Keeping apart entangled stories in *shared-in-silos* research centres, spaces and agencies, resulted in an irreconcilable geography of toxic co-existence.

The Rand-scape and its toxic common is a stark paradigm of colonial and ecological fractures (Ferdinand, 2022). Without a regional socio-ecological strategy for repair and ongoing care, the toxic commons continue to release radioactive and toxic elements in the Rand-scape. Its invisible curse — drifting through dust and water — is seeping into the everyday life of vulnerable people and their already contaminated ecologies, as the documentary by Martin Boudout (2024), titled *South Africa's Toxic Township* illustrates. The slow violence and socio-spatial injustice of the toxic commons are pernicious and persistent, disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable given the spatial legacy of coloniality. Their socio-ecological consequences are only *out of sight* for those responsible for addressing them or benefitting from extraction or urban development. This is not the case for those who are directly affected.

Yet, despite the severity of the situation, the Rand-scape holds multiple agencies, potential and opportunities for affirmative change. Reparative care begins with listening to the Rand-scape and its toxic commons, mapping out opportunities and agencies, to reimagine alternative possible futures, collectively. A radical reparative paradigm shift is pivotal in countering the inscribed legacies of mineral extraction and segregative planning, such as embracing — caring governance through co-design — governance rooted in inclusive listening, transdisciplinary

knowledge production, systemic repair and ongoing care response through collective actions at scale (Favaro and Watson, 2025).

Acknowledgements

This research emerges from the Merian Grant project, WEF POST LONGUE DURÉE (2022-2025), and has received funding from the National Research Foundation of South Africa, UID 138235. Special thanks to Prof Hecht and Prof le Roux for their contributions and guidance in the initial conceptualisation of the paper.

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High Standards for Women: Architectural Education as a Pathway to Resilient Work in Former Portuguese Africa

Leonor Matos Silva

Dinâmia CET-Iscte; leonor_silva@iscte-iul.pt; Portugal

Abstract

Although there is still little literature that crosses colonial and post-colonial studies with gender studies, it is increasing. Concerning Portuguese Africa, if we go back to the biographical origins of the first women authors, in the 1950s, investigation should include their training path, a decade earlier, as young adults and girls, in order to be completely understandable. The metropolises of the old colonial Empires were protagonists in this framework. For women to become architects – as self-employed, technicians working for the Public Works departments or cooperants with the reconstruction of the new independent nations –, they had to attend architecture courses in the available global north schools. In Portugal, the old *beaux-arts* tradition led, in the 1960s, to a myriad of political and aesthetic trends other than concrete propositions for the outer world and its specificities. Furthermore, north and south of the country would favour different aspects of the same one-nation-oriented official syllabi; and if the capital, Lisbon, graduated more students per year – and thus more women – some of these students would migrate to the country's second city, Porto, and its (Superior) School of Fine Arts (E(S)BAP), later Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto (FAUP). Today we are able not only to trace the existing women and girls students from this northern school, their names and most important works, but may go back to their original motivations and their first accomplishments in the perspective of their academic records and school works archives. We specifically look into two women architects that serve as case studies for our arguments: Carlota Quintanilha (EBAP, 1953) and Alda Tavares (ESBAP 1971/74). This paper will be structured in three parts that accompany this line of thought: firstly, it will gather the most pertinent information known about these women (a resumed state of the art); secondly, it will list all the data attained for this particular investigation; thirdly, it will validate the hypothesis of the two women pointed out that graduated in Porto School having had a resilient work in Portuguese colonial Africa.

Keywords: Architectural Education; EBAP/ESBAP; Women architects; Portuguese Colonial Africa.

Session: Learning from (and for) Africa. Architecture, colonialism and conflict

Introduction

The context in which this paper was conducted was a research project titled *WomArchStruggle: Women architects in former Portuguese colonial Africa: gender and struggle for professional recognition (1953-1985)*¹ whose Principal Investigator was Ana Vaz Milheiro, and Co-Principal Investigator the author. It was an exploratory project funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) that lasted 18 months between 2023 and 2024. Its overall goals were identified in 3 questions:

1. *Who were the women architects working in the former Portuguese colonial territories in Africa?*
2. *What was their educational and professional background?*
3. *What were their struggles for professional recognition?*

The results materialised in various forms including a website, communications, articles, a report, and a forthcoming book. The aim of this production is to draw up an unprecedented portrait of the panorama of women architects who practised their profession in former Portuguese Africa. This paper, in particular, aims to explore the relationship between training and practice of these women. In other words, to understand whether there are reasons for the exercise of women's architecture to clearly relate to their education. The summarised answers to the questions mentioned above constitute the framing of this text.

1. *Who were the women architects working in the former Portuguese colonial territories in Africa?*

The research project's progress involved the identification of a core of 9 women and the organisation of some information about them, such as their birthplace, the architecture schools they attended, their graduation status, and the nation they worked in, as presented in Figure 1.

¹ <https://doi.org/10.54499/2022.01720.PTDC>.

	NAME	DATES	PLACE OF BIRTH		E(S)BAL	E(S)BAP	GRADUATED	WORKED IN
1	Carlota Quintanilha	1923-2015	Coimbra	PT	1944-48	1948-53	Yes	ANG + MOZ
2	Maria Emília Caria	1926-2000	Santarém	PT	1957		Yes	CV + GB
3	Antonieta Jacinto	1930-2021	Kahala	AO	1948-56		Yes	ANGOLA
4	Rute Bota	1932-	Loulé	PT	1965		Yes	MOZAMBIQUE
5	Leonor Figueira	1937-	Lisbon	PT	1961		Yes	MOZAMBIQUE
6	Natália Gomes	1937-	Lisbon	PT	1961		Yes	MOZAMBIQUE
7	Assunção Paixão	1943-	Lourenço Marques	MZ	1973		Yes	MOZAMBIQUE
8	Ana Torres	1945-2006	Dondo	AO	1974		Yes	ANGOLA
9	Alda Tavares	1945-	Porto	PT		1971/74	Yes	GUINEA-BISSAU

Figure 1. Data on women architects who worked in Portuguese Colonial Africa © WomArchStruggle. In **bold**, the two graduated from E(S)BAP, the Porto school of Architecture.

This group of women architects distinguished themselves through diverse personal and professional paths within the general framework of common geographies, time lapses, and graduation institutions. In this study, we highlight the women who were educated in Porto, namely the oldest architect in the group, Carlota Quintanilha (1923-2015), and the youngest, Alda Tavares (1945-), who were born in central and northern Portugal respectively. Both were cultured, well-travelled, and emancipated women (daughters of divorced parents, themselves separated and independent, etc.). Despite having studied Architecture at the School of Fine Arts of Porto (EBAP, in the case of Quintanilha), which later became the Superior School of Fine Arts of Porto (ESBAP, in the case of Tavares), the 22-year age, 14 years of studies and 18 years of graduation difference justify different pedagogical matrices.

2. What was their educational and professional background?

During the Portuguese colonial period, there were two institutions that ministered Architecture (along with Painting and Sculpture), both in Portugal: in Porto and in Lisbon, the capital. These were the Portuguese Fine Arts Schools. Despite the differences, they shared the same syllabi and bureaucratic processes until the 1974 political revolution. Figure 2 systematises the evolution of the different reforms and summarises their educational content, putting them side by side with some of the main global political events.

Architectural education in Portugal	Parallel political events
1881 – Creation of Fine Arts Schools of Lisbon and Porto	1884 – Berlin Conference, Africa’s territorial partition
1931 – <i>Beaux-Arts</i> Reform: 4 years + competitions + CODA	1933 – <i>Estado Novo</i> ditatorial regime (Portugal)
1950-57 – “The 57 Reform”: 6 years and a thesis	1961 – Portuguese Colonial/Liberation War
1974 – Revolutionary times lead to syllabuses revision	1974 – Political Revolution (Portugal) leads to Democracy

Figure 2. Development of architectural education in Portugal from 1881 to 1974, and its parallel events
© Leonor Matos Silva

The main difference between the two educational processes is that the first (1931-1950/57) is inspired by the French *beaux-arts* system – based on classical orders, eclecticism, and emulations – and the second (1950/57-1974) follows a model whose curriculum replaces some artistic issues with humanities and technical learnings (introducing, for example, *General Mathematics* – to be taught at the Faculty of Sciences –, to be taught at the Faculty of Sciences – but also *General Sociology* and *Human Geography*).² In Porto (Fig. 3), this official curricular differentiation also unfolded in practice in separated expressions. The *beaux-arts* system was not followed in its pure form during the old system, nor was a more “current” course developed after the 1950 reform, as suggested, or even required, at the First National Congress of Architects in 1948 (particularly by Keil do Amaral). On the contrary, the history of the Architecture course at the School of Fine Arts of Porto is presented to us by its biographers as a singular history through its own narrative, suggesting that merely reading curricula is limiting and that a whole set of values overrode the official data. Risking a history based on memory – a fallible and subjective resource – several theses were conducted with the underlying idea launched by urban planner and professor Nuno Portas of ESBAP constituting a school in the sense of an architectural trend (to simplify).³

² Cf. Decree no. 41363 of November 14, 1957.

³ This ‘narrative’ is expressed in various dissertations. In 2024, the FAUP itself published a dissertation entitled “O Problema da Escola do Porto” (*The Problem of the Porto School*). See also Jorge Figueira’s “Escola do Porto: Um Mapa Crítico” (2002) and Pedro Bandeira and Nuno Faria’s “Escola do Porto: B Side, 1968-1978 (An Oral History)” (2015?), as fundamental authors who attended the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto, successor to the ESBAP.

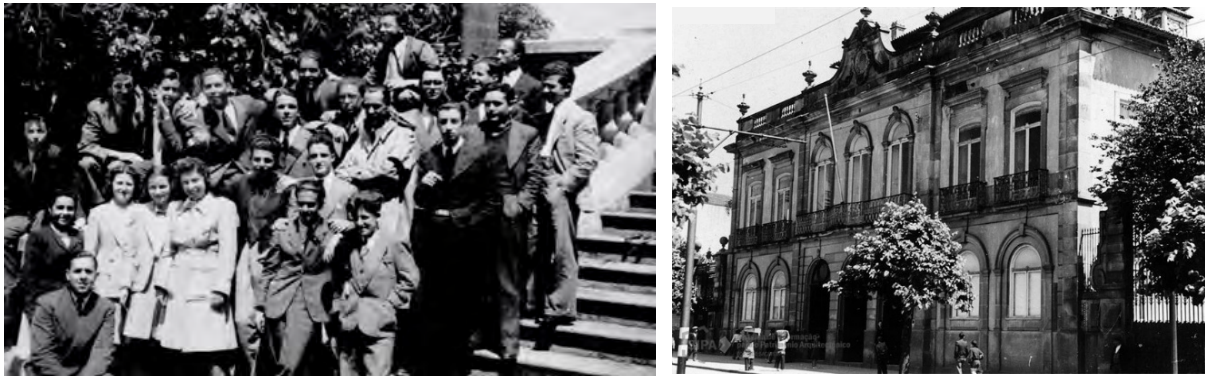


Figure 3. Manuel Gomes da Costa among colleagues at EBAP with Fernando Távora on the far right of the picture © Manuel Gomes da Costa, 2009 | Escola Superior de Belas Artes do Porto, 1939; © Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitectónico – CIPA.

In the WomArchStruggle project, we also face similar difficulties. On the one hand, programmes and official documents provide what we believe to be true data but could, absurdly, be deliberately falsified. On the other hand, testimonies may be true within the scope of what the interviewee believes, in their fallible conviction.

3. What were their struggles for professional recognition?

If professional recognition firstly involves holding an academic diploma obtained from a reputable educational institution, the same principle applies to women who dedicated themselves to the design of the African built environment. Based on an alphabetical list of girls enrolled in the architecture course in Porto since records began until 1985, an analysis was conducted to determine which ones actually graduated. Subsequently, the differential between enrolment and graduation was examined. In the chart of Fig. 4, compiled by the author, which includes 99 names of young women enrolled in the architecture course between 1938 and 1976, the ones who completed the course are highlighted in colour and chronologically ordered. This colour mapping allows us to see immediately that less than half of the women completed the course. This analysis raises the hypothesis that professional recognition for these women would have been exclusive to those with greater vocation, capabilities, resilience, or even financial possibilities, health, or family support. In other words, formal recognition was derived from many variables. (We also observe that after the reform implemented in 1957, there is an increase

in the percentage of enrolled women who actually graduated, including handing in their final work, which at that time, became commonly known as a “thesis”).

Student Name	Entry	Exit	Diploma
1 Maria Adelaide Chaves Ricou Perez	23/09/1940	23/09/1940	0º Ano
2 Maria Áurea de Mascarenhas	23/09/1940	23/09/1940	0º Ano
3 Maria Helena de Oliveira Trigo Perestrelo da Silva	23/09/1940	23/09/1940	0º Ano
4 Maria Luísa da Costa Dias	22/09/1941	22/09/1941	0º Ano
5 Maria Ernestina Fernandes Marques Carneiro	23/09/1940	22/10/1941	C Sup Incompl
6 Maria da Glória Vieira Duarte Veloso	22/09/1941	08/06/1944	1º Ano ⁴
7 Beatriz José da Veiga Ferreira Pedras	23/09/1944	14/10/1944	0º Ano
8 Maria Antónia Couto de Sousa Nogueira	23/09/1940	25/09/1945	C Sup Incompl
9 Guilhermina Abaciss Canavaro	23/09/1944	25/09/1945	1º Ano
10 Maria Fernanda de Oliveira Ferreira	22/09/1945	26/10/1945	Req indefer. ¹
11 Maria Salomé Nunes Gomes	26/10/1946	26/10/1946	0º Ano
12 Maria Clementina de Carvalho Quaresma	23/09/1944	19/07/1947	C Sup Incompl
13 Maria Helena Guedes Vaz Sant'Ana	22/09/1938	22/07/1948	Diploma 18 V
14 Maria Stela Guedes Vaz Santana	22/09/1938	22/07/1948	Diploma 18 V
15 Gabriela da Silva Santos Cerveira Pinto	22/09/1948	22/09/1948	0º Ano
16 Maria dos Anjos Manta de Andrade Pais	23/09/1946	04/10/1948	1º Ano
17 Gracinda da Silva Fernandes	25/09/1947	04/10/1948	0º Ano
18 Maria Emília Rocha Cabrita	15/11/1947	21/10/1948	C Sup Incompl
19 Maria Cândida de Azeredo Sena Pinto de Oliveira	23/09/1944	16/08/1949	C Especial
20 Clemência da Conceição Valente	06/10/1947	12/09/1949	C Sup Incompl
21 Eduarda Vieira de Brito Vinhas	17/11/1947	12/09/1949	1º Ano
22 Maria Leonor Ferreira de Almeida	27/10/1948	13/09/1949	1º Ano
23 Maria Dúrcia de Silva Salgado	23/09/1947	09/10/1949	0º Ano
24 Alice Isabel Correia de Sá	17/11/1947	02/09/1950	C Spec 3º Ano
25 Maria Eduarda Duarte	13/09/1943	31/07/1951	C Sup Incompl
26 Palmira de Figueiredo Barbosa Marques	19/10/1948	15/09/1951	C Sup Incompl
27 Maria José Urubatin Martini	22/09/1938	22/09/1951	C Especial
28 Maria Antónia Torre Freire de Sousa Pinto Cochofel	22/09/1945	28/09/1951	C Sup Incompl
29 Maria Helena Sampaio Pinto da Mota	27/09/1949	10/10/1951	C Sup Incompl
30 Maria Isabel Martins da Silva	22/09/1949	11/10/1951	0º Ano
31 Maria Manuela Branco Resende	27/09/1949	09/10/1952	C Sup Incompl
32 Maria Orianda de Carvalho Vieira	27/09/1949	09/10/1952	C Sup Incompl
33 Maria Alice da Costa Batista	27/09/1949	20/12/1952	C Sup Incompl
34 Maria Carlota de Carvalho Quintanilha	19/10/1948	25/06/1953	Diploma 17 V
35 Maria Irene Guedes Coelho Pereira	22/09/1948	13/09/1954	C Especial
36 Graciana Andrade	02/02/1954	18/09/1954	C Especial
37 Olga Marília Freire Valente	22/09/1942	24/09/1954	C Sup Incompl
38 Teresa Adorinda Gamael Cardoso	14/10/1950	11/08/1955	C Esp 14,5 V
39 Ester Maria de Passos Aguiar	25/09/1945	20/09/1955	1º Ano
40 Maria de Jesus Lopes Pancada	23/09/1953	21/09/1955	C Sup Incompl
41 Regina Vicente Lobo	04/09/1944	23/09/1955	C Sup Incompl ⁴
42 Maria Augusta Garcia de Miranda Guedes	23/09/1948	26/07/1956	Diploma 18 V
43 Maria Alice de Sousa Fernandes	04/10/1948	17/09/1956	0º Ano
44 Maria Manuela da Silva Reis	22/09/1947	26/09/1956	C Sup Incompl
45 Teresa Maria Nogueira da Silva	06/10/1949	02/10/1956	C Sup Incompl
46 Margarida Carolina Costa Amaral	21/02/1950	01/11/1957	C Sup Incompl
47 Maria Augusta Mourão da Silva Terra	14/10/1950	07/10/1957	C Sup Incompl
48 Maria Carlota Amorim do Canto Moniz	12/12/1956	07/10/1957	1º Ano
49 Manuela Brasil Soares Malique	15/10/1951	31/07/1958	C Sup Incompl

50 Maria Cândida Marques Moura	21/09/1943	03/10/1958	C Especial
51 Manuela Alexandra Queiroz de Barros Ferreira	12/12/1956	23/02/1959	1º Ano
52 Maria Teresa Brandão Costa Campos	22/09/1948	26/05/1959	C Sup Incompl
53 Sílvia Bandoquin Viana de Lima	18/10/1954	28/09/1959	C Sup Incompl*
54 Maria Isabel Marques de Oliveira	25/09/1947	04/04/1960	C Sup Incompl ¹
55 Firmino Alberto Trubalo	22/09/1948	04/04/1960	Diploma 18 V
56 Maria Inês Moreira Hespanha	22/10/1955	10/11/1960	C Sup Incompl
57 Maria Cecília Fonseca dos Santos Eloi	23/09/1944	26/07/1961	Diploma ⁴
58 Maria Leonor Vieira da Costa Leão	23/09/1955	18/09/1961	C Esp 13,2 V
59 Maria Helena Matos da Silva Gago Medeiros	10/10/1953	26/09/1962	C Esp 11,4*
60 Maria Emília Carvalho de Almeida	27/09/1949	14/03/1963	Diploma 17 V
61 Maria Ambrosina Homénio Gonçalves	04/10/1948	18/05/1963	Diploma 17 V
62 Sílvia de Carvalho	22/10/1951	08/08/1963	Diploma 17 V
63 Maria Noémia Mourão do Amaral Coutinho	21/09/1955	20/07/1966	Diploma 20 V
64 Maria Fernanda Alcântara Santos	15/10/1951	22/07/1966	Diploma 20 V
65 Maria Beatriz Novaes Madureira	15/01/1958	29/07/1966	6 Anos
66 Maria Margarida Paredes dos Santos Coelho	23/10/1959	07/04/1967	6 Anos
67 Emília Filomena Valença Justino	23/09/1940	14/06/1967	Diploma 16 V
68 Maria Teresa Lourenço Vieira	28/10/1959	26/07/1967	6 Anos
69 Anni Gunther Nonell	28/09/1959	19/06/1969	6 Anos
70 Maria Luísa Machado Leite	29/09/1959	29/07/1969	6 Anos
71 Maria Cândida Camossa Saldanha Amorim de Carvalho	22/09/1947	06/06/1969	Diploma 16 V
72 Maria Flora Pinheiro de Sousa Mourão	29/09/1954	09/10/1970	Diploma 17 V
73 Maria Flor de Moraes Soares Freitas Seara	16/01/1958	08/08/1971	6 Anos
74 Maria da Costa Pereira e Santos	25/10/1963	03/08/1971	6 Anos
75 Maria Cecília de Castro e Costa Cavaca	15/09/1965	04/11/1971	6 Anos
76 Maria Eduarda Gonçalves Rosas	29/10/1965	04/11/1971	6 Anos
77 Maria Celeste Silva Pedrosa	22/10/1941	14/03/1972	Diploma 14 V
78 Delmira de Jesus Calado de Carvalho Alberto Rosado Correia	22/10/1962	10/04/1972	6 Anos
79 Ilda Maria Rodrigues Duque	19/09/1963	13/08/1972	6 Anos
80 Zita Natércia Correia da Silva Areal	30/09/1963	13/08/1972	6 Anos
81 Maria Júlia Gaspar Teixeira	22/09/1945	05/09/1972	Diploma 14 V
82 Maria Emília Guedes de Castro	22/09/1948	13/11/1972	Diploma 16 V
83 Maria Júlia Corte Real	23/09/1940	30/01/1973	Diploma 14 V
84 Niza Cardoso Rios	23/09/1940	19/02/1973	Diploma 14 V
85 Maria Fernanda Machado Seixas	30/09/1964	13/11/1973	6 Anos
86 Ana Maria Pinheiro Monteiro Gama	30/10/1964	13/11/1973	6 Anos
87 Maria Domingos dos Santos Pereira Pinto	02/11/1965	13/11/1973	6 Anos
88 Maria Fernanda Martins de Azeiteiro Carvalho	02/11/1965	13/11/1973	6 Anos
89 Isabel Maria Cardoso de Sá Ferreira	02/09/1964	13/11/1973	6 Anos
90 Fernanda Angélica Pires Castro	03/11/1966	13/11/1973	6 Anos
91 Ester Adelaide de Lima Sobral	27/09/1949	14/02/1974	Diploma 15 V
92 Maria Helena Morais de Albuquerque	24/09/1963	14/02/1974	6 Anos
93 Rosa Maria Pílão Moreira	25/10/1968	27/12/1974	6 Anos
94 Maria Manuela da Silva Moreira Braço Antunes	28/10/1968	16/12/1975	6 Anos
95 Maria Manuela Ribeiro Pereira	29/10/1968	16/12/1975	6 Anos
96 Maria João Palto de Melo Freitas	08/09/1969	29/07/1976	6 Anos
97 Maria Angéla de Fátima Lopes de Melo	30/09/1970	29/07/1976	6 Anos
98 Maria da Graça Barros Nieto Guimarães	12/11/1970	30/07/1976	6 Anos
99 Maria José Abrunhosa de Castro	01/09/1966	31/07/1976	6 Anos

First female students to complete the Porto course ever (according to the registries)

Students that completed the course during the 1950/57 Reform

First female students from E(S)BAP that worked in Africa as architects

Figure 4. Analysis table: First 99 women enrolled in E(S)BAP. Dates of entry and exit, and qualifications [in Portuguese]. From a raw list provided by the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Porto (FBAUP)

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This systematic reading of data regarding the course of Architecture in Porto reinforces the thesis indicated in the title of this work, that certainly the women who graduated in Porto and worked in Africa (highlighted in blue) would have belonged to a group of determined students who were resistant to effort. There is the thesis that they were condescendingly supported (as Quintanilha herself mentions), but to support this other thesis, it would be necessary for the various adverse factors to learning – the numerical inferiority, social pressure for a ‘feminine’ role, rejection by male peers in offices (such as the Maria José Estanco, the first Portuguese graduate, would state)⁴ – not to weigh undeniably on the other side of the scale. Female students in Lisbon in the 1940s possibly attended the course as an occupation until they were halted by

⁴ Cf. Roxo, Joana. (2016). *A Senhora Arquitecto: Maria José Estanco*. Master Dissertation. Iscte-IUL. Lisbon: Portugal.

their ‘true’ vocation, which was marriage.⁵ In Porto, it remains to be demonstrated why this should have been different, particularly during the 1931-1950 reform. Especially since having a diploma was a prerequisite for legally practising the profession, and this may have served as motivation. Therefore, the women who graduated had the capacity for resilience at work and expectations of working in the profession in the future.

For this specific research, it is important to emphasise that young women started to get in the architectural education only in the late 1930s, the decade when the *beaux-arts* spirit, already in use at the beginning of the century, was more strongly propagated by many academics. As said, at the time, becoming an architect was difficult. Only in 1957 did the change in the study plans was put to practice and the course of architecture became more accessible, though still hard to follow and destined to an elite.

Once they had graduated in architecture, another struggle for professional recognition for these women was the question of authorship. These were usually women whose work was associated with a partnership with men, their husbands (Quintanilha’s case) or partners. Or they were part of working groups (as in the case of Tavares); sometimes with their own authorship, but often as ‘a male architect’ (in Latin languages, there is a distinction in the word for male architect and woman architect just by changing the last vowel). There would be cases of dedicating themselves to ‘minor’ arts such as interior and domestic design, for which they didn’t need a qualification. It is not uncommon for women who have worked in Africa not to feel represented in the work assigned to them by male colleagues. In Tavares’s case, this difficulty in recognising herself as an author is reflected in her refusal to be contacted by the author to help with this survey, hesitating to give her testimony beyond a brief letter.⁶ In Quintanilha’s case, this can be seen when the architect does not assume the authorship of the work she carried out together with her husband, João José Tinoco, during the 20 years she lived with him in Africa, in the interview she gave to Ana Vaz Milheiro in 2011.⁷ In this statement, she would say that Tinoco, who was also an architect and had been her colleague at EBAP, had put her name to the projects purely for economic reasons. Truth, or impostor syndrome?

⁵ Cf. Silva, Leonor Matos (2023), “Marriage and the school of architecture in the 1940s: the case of B. (Lisbon, 1926-)”.

⁶ E-mail from Alda Tavares to Leonor Matos Silva on 25 October 2022.

⁷ Interview with Carlota Quintanilha by Ana Vaz Milheiro (with Ricardo Lima) on 13 June 2011.

Aside from the issue of ‘authorship’, another difficult matter in these women’s struggle for professional recognition is the all-too-common imbalance between men and women in high positions, especially during the period in question. Being an architect was a highly regarded profession in the second quarter of the 20th century – increasingly so from the first post-revolutionary years onwards.⁸ But if, before that, the professional hierarchy positioned Architecture below Engineering,⁹ for example, and taking a degree in Architecture was a second choice, for a woman with no family entourage – as was the case in the Marques da Silva family in Porto – it could still be too ambitious.

Women architects graduated in Porto and the Portuguese colonial Africa

Before the proliferation of superior courses in Portugal in the late 20th century, there were, like said, the Porto and the Lisbon estate-run Fine Arts schools for graduating in Architecture. The Lisbon course was more favourable to the regime; the Porto course, being further away from the capital, smaller, and fortunate enough to have Carlos Ramos as a director, was a privileged place to learn architecture, a charismatic and elite school. Although it’s debatable, it can be said that this school today remains somewhat sheltered from the massification of education.

There is a lot of old archival material related to school processes that was transferred from the former Architecture Section of the Porto School of Fine Arts to the current Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto (FAUP), in a different building site.¹⁰ These collections can be accessed by anyone outside the institution. Among the documents stored are the final documents (papers and drawings) commonly known as CODA – the acronym for “Competition to Obtain a Diploma in Architecture”. Through the CODAs we can see how indebted the school is to its directors and how several professors who would come to mark future generations stand out. In the case of Carlota Quintanilha and Alda Tavares, the most important teachers were Fernando Távora and Otávio Lixa Filgueiras, respectively. Fernando Távora (1923-2005) had

⁸ Cf. Silva, Leonor Matos. *Escola de Lisboa, Arquitectura e Cultura entre 1970 e 1986*, Phd Thesis.

⁹ Cf. Fernando Távora’s testimony. In RTP Arquivos (23.12.2001). *Fernando Távora* (Documentary).

¹⁰ To deepen the specific investigation about how architecture was taught in Porto we visited its school’s archives (CDUA). The archives of a specific collection are very well preserved and have been extensively studied by researchers who continuously make a critical history of the pedagogy of this school and its protagonists. The most significant students’ works are called CODA (*Concurso para Obtenção do Diploma de Arquitecto*), as explained, and can be accessed online at <https://repositorio-tematico.up.pt/handle/10405/39800>. Being the last stage of completion of the architecture course, the CODA reflected what the aspiring architects had learned in the first years as well as the professional practice they had acquired in the meantime, or even after the academic programme.

a strong influence on Carlota Quintanilha, particularly in terms of human character, according to her. He swayed her, for example, in the decisions she made about marrying João José Tinoco and going to Africa (both in 1953). However, if we look at their CODA, only three years apart (1950 and 1953 respectively), we also see many common choices, namely a distinctly modernist language, which leads us to question whether there were internationalist influences.

According to his biographers, Távora had a great awareness of authenticity and place in architecture; in fact, as early as 1945, he himself added to the first part of his famous essay ‘O problema da casa portuguesa’ (The problem of the Portuguese house) a second part entitled ‘Falsa arquitectura’ (False architecture) and a third part entitled ‘Para uma arquitectura integral’ (Towards an integral architecture). Távora was not, therefore, a pure modernist architect, but he did take part in the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) between 1951 and 1959. And, like Quintanilha, he was extremely well-travelled.

We also realised, in later video recordings, that although he was a quiet man, he was resolute; and once again we can compare him with Quintanilha who, with all her hesitations about the authorship of projects (including her CODA) was also a determined woman. In the interview with Ana Vaz Milheiro, she stated that she didn’t like architect Amâncio (Pancho) Guedes or Portuguese dictator Salazar,¹¹ for example.

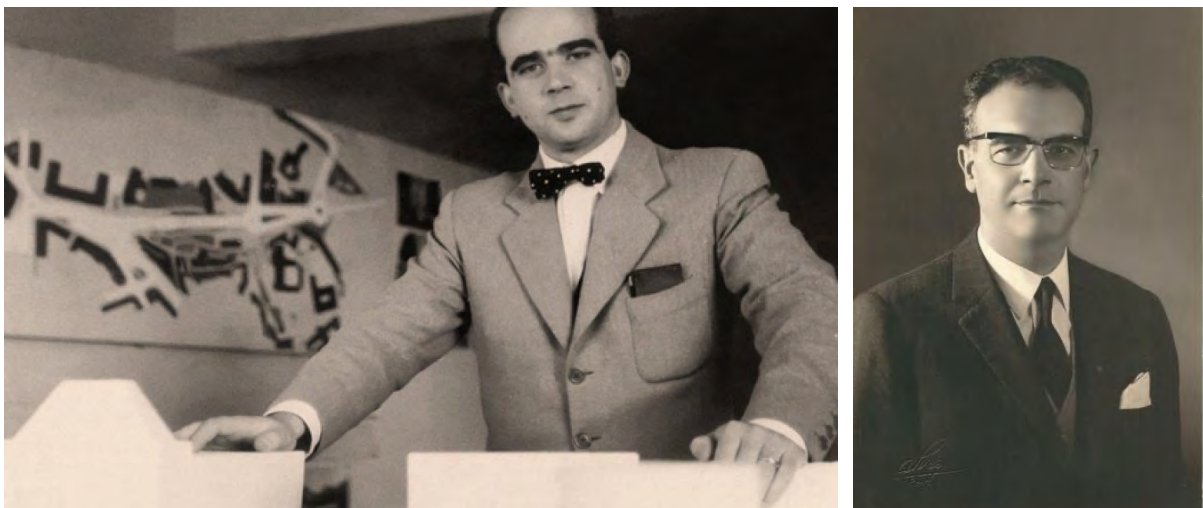


Figure 5. Fernando Távora (n.d.) © revisitavora.wordpress.com; Otávio Lixa Filgueiras (1967)
© Marques da Silva Foundation

¹¹ Interview with Carlota Quintanilha by Ana Vaz Milheiro (with Ricardo Lima) on 13 June 2011.

Contemporaneous of Távora, Otávio Lixa Filgueiras (1922-1996) was a teacher of a subject called “Analytical Architecture” between the first years of a pedagogical reform (1958) and a phase of contestation with new academic experiments (1969).¹² According to his biographers, it was with Filgueiras that the modern school guided by Carlos Ramos would disappear, giving way to a school more focused on ‘the problem of the habitat’,¹³ thus modelling itself on the concerns of contact with reality that occupied some Portuguese intellectuals.

Indeed, Filgueiras had worked with Arnaldo Araújo and Carlos Carvalho Dias on the Inquiry into Popular Architecture in Portugal, in zone 1 (Trás-os-Montes), up North, between 1955 and 1960.¹⁴ In this context, he demonstrated all the sensibility already put into his thesis in the 1962 publication “Da Função Social do Arquitecto” (On the social function of the architect). The subtitle of this book – “Towards a theory of responsibility at a time of crossroads” – illustrates the impact that the outbreak of war in the then so called ‘overseas provinces’ had on some social sectors in Portugal. And the contents refer to a time when analysing the population's habitat would replace the constructive ambitions of the post-war period. Thus, the arising of a period in which the social sciences and architecture complemented each other.

Carlota Quintanilha (1923-2015)

Maria Carlota de Carvalho e Quintanilha was the first woman graduated in Architecture in Porto that worked in former colonial Africa. According to Ana Vaz Milheiro, she is “one of the Portuguese women architects most biographed by Portuguese historiography”,¹⁵ being Milheiro one of her biographers herself. Born in Coimbra, Portugal, in 1923, Quintanilha lived her childhood and her youth in various European countries and cities, making her a woman who knew many cultural and geographical realities. She chose to register at the EBAL, the Lisbon school of Fine Arts, on the Architecture course, in 1944. Four years later, she asked for a transfer

¹² Moniz, Gonçalo Canto (2011). O ensino moderno da arquitectura: a reforma de 57 e as Escolas de Belas-Artes em Portugal (1931-69). PhD Thesis. FCTUC. Coimbra: Portugal. 456-461.

¹³ Portugal. Fundação Marques da Silva. (2017). *Sistema de Informação Octávio Lixa Filgueiras*.

¹⁴ Sindicato dos Arquitectos. (1961). *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*. 2 vols.

¹⁵ Milheiro, Ana Vaz. (2023). “Narratives on women architects in former Africa colonised by Portuguese rule: professional profiles based on training practices”. ICAG – International Conference on Architecture and Gender. Valencia: Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València. The most updated text about Quintanilha is probably Milheiro, Ana Vaz and Silva, Leonor Matos. (2025). *Nove Arquitectas em África* (book). In collection *Arquitectas Portuguesas* (coord. Patrícia Santos Pedrosa and Natália Favero). Ed. Coral Books, Ricardo Afonso (Público). (Forthcoming).

to the northern school of Porto for unknown reasons (possibly gender issues since, in the already stated 2011 interview to Milheiro, Quintanilha would state that in EBAL women weren't very welcome). In 1953, Quintanilha graduated from EBAP, Porto, with 17 over 20.

Carlota Quintanilha's CODA illustrates well what was happening in the school at that time. Unlike the Lisbon school, the Porto school, led by the already referenced figure of Carlos Ramos, challenged, as mentioned previously, the *beaux-arts* type curriculum by introducing, among other changes, a greater autonomy, which led to the appearance of works in various 'styles', including modernist. The written documents of Quintanilha's CODA – which describe her proposed kindergarten for Vila de Rei – denote, from the start, rationality and concern for the user – in this case, children. The modern design elements, like modular volumes, large windows, and bulk on *pilotis*, are seen in works later attributed to Quintanilha and her husband, Tinoco, namely in Mozambique.

Notably, also as mentioned before, there is a sharing of values between Quintanilha's end-of-course project proposal and Fernando Távora's. The pilotis, the glazing, the geometric volume, the advance over the slope, the same way of representing – with the colour stain framing the technical drawing.

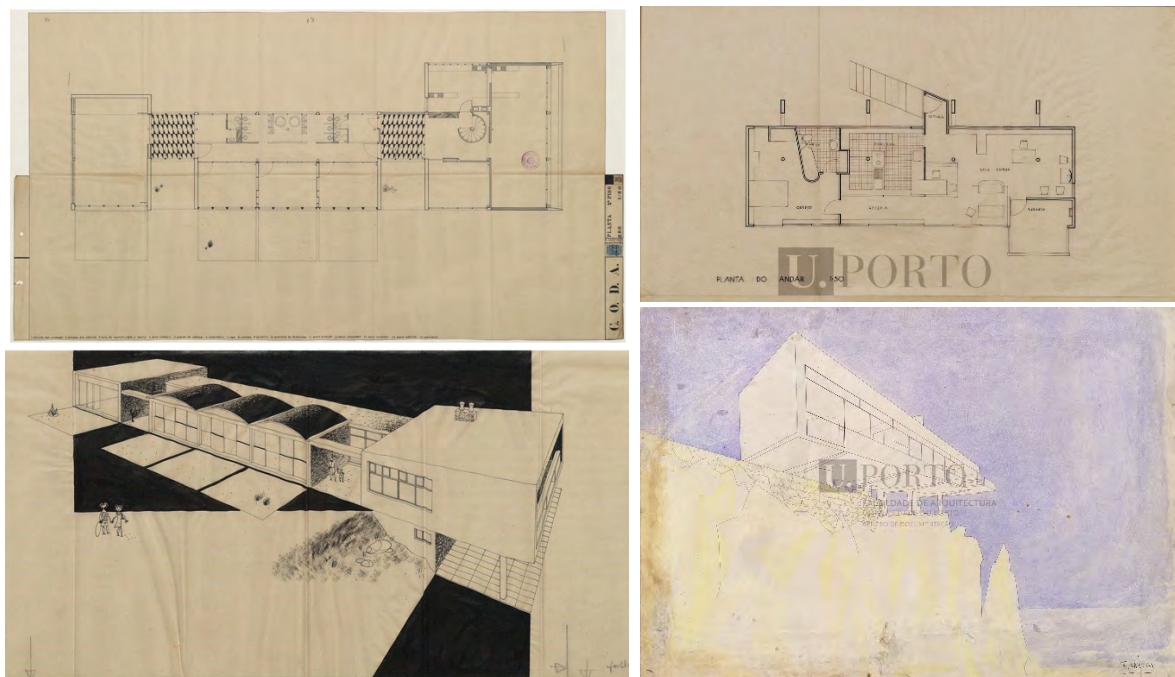


Figure 6. Carlota Quintanilha's CODA (excerpt), "A Kindergarten for Vila de Rei", 1953 © FAUP/CDUA 131;
Fernando Távora's CODA (excerpt), "A house over the sea", 1950 © FAUP/CDUA, 104

Although Távora is not known as a modernist, internationalist architect; and even though his relationship with Quintanilha and Tinoco, as far as we know, was essentially based on a relational component, this expressive analogy is nevertheless curious and noteworthy. Quintanilha would then be “linked to a tropical architecture of modern affiliation and [be] emerged in research as [a] central figure for the modern colonial culture that arose in former Portuguese Africa.”¹⁶ Her “forerunner”¹⁷ spirit reinforces the thesis of resilience that has certainly been conferred on her work in Africa. Although “the scarcity of technicians in the colonial territories gave women architects an advantage over their metropolitan colleagues”,¹⁸ the truth is that the conditions in Cunene, where they settled when they arrived in Africa, were harsh.¹⁹ (Fig.7).

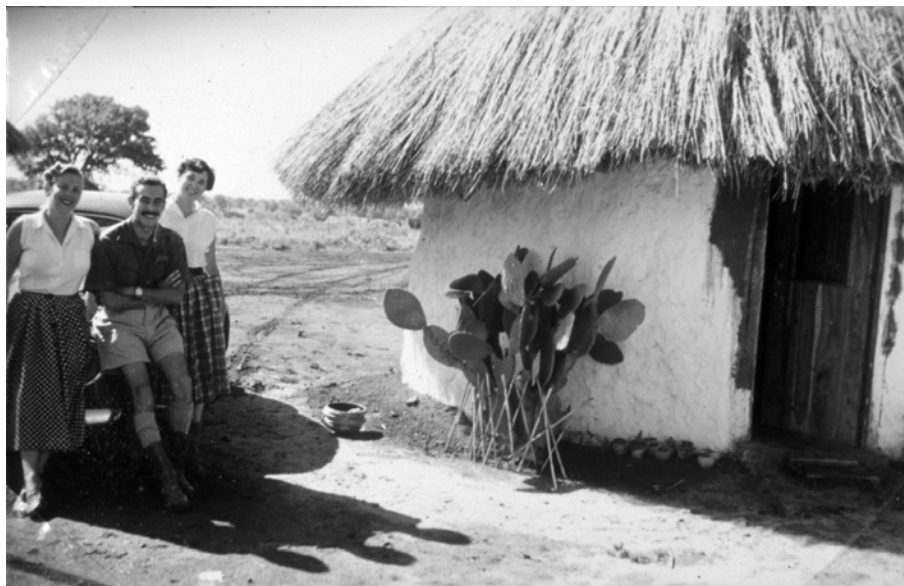


Figure 7. Carlota Quintanilha (on the right) and João José Tinoco on arrival to Cunene, Angola, 1953

© Carlota Quintanilha.

And the fact that she later stayed in Mozambique for three years on her own (Tinoco remained in Angola at the time)²⁰ wasn't also easy, either in a professional sense or in terms of marital and family life. To summarise, Quintanilha lived and worked in Africa for 20 years: three in

¹⁶ Milheiro, Ana Vaz. (2023). “Narratives on women architects in former Africa colonised by Portuguese rule: professional profiles based on training practices”, 484.

¹⁷ Idem.

¹⁸ Idem.

¹⁹ Interview with Carlota Quintanilha by Ana Vaz Milheiro.

²⁰ Idem.

Angola and 17 in Mozambique. As for the work, “*only recently has Quintanilha been credited as the possible author of designs. In her late years, she was unable to help in making her real contribution understandable.*”²¹ As Milheiro emphasises,

*“Quintanilha’s personal life, culminating in her divorce [in 1966], had a strong influence on her own view of her role during the 10 years that she worked with her husband in Mozambique, between 1956 and 1966. In the rare interviews she gave, when the gender issue was gaining importance in Portuguese colonial architectural history, and in which Quintanilha was asked about her design projects, she refused to describe her professional life in Africa beyond her work as a high school teacher.”*²²

This makes our resilience thesis more challenging. On the other hand, it affirms the difficulty that some of these women, particularly of a certain generation, have in admitting their own worth.

Alda Tavares (1945-)

Alda Tavares was born in Porto in 1945 as Alda Maria da Costa Pereira e Santos.²³ She registered in the architecture course in ESBAP, now a *Superior* school, in 1962. In the 1960s, in Porto, a new generation of assistant teachers arrived. These teachers were concerned with bringing real life to school exercises. The subject with the title “Analytic Architecture” had Octávio Lixa Filgueiras as a teacher and Tavares as one of the students. She and other students sketched the interiors of houses in problematic urban areas, including its closets and everything that was inside them: crockery, cutlery, table linen... In the work of Alda Tavares an “analytic” attitude towards the interior of dwellings can be seen, in which she checks how many people occupy them and how the furniture is distributed. This might seem simplistic, but it was, in fact, very important for a certain way of thinking architecture.

At this time, the course was still long, consisting of six years plus an internship, and it was demanding. In fact, women were indeed subjected to the pedagogical high standards. As early as the first year, Professor Filgueiras proposed, as in the Portuguese Popular Architecture

²¹ Milheiro, Ana Vaz, and Filipa Fiúza (2020), “Women Architects in Portugal: Working in Colonial Africa before the Carnation Revolution (1950–1974)”. *Arts* 9 (3): 86, 42.

²² Idem.

²³ Nowadays, Alda Tavares signs as ‘Alda (Santos)’, perhaps due to marital separation.

Survey, the realisation of these so-called *Urban Surveys* based on an equivalent methodology: social surveys, performed indifferently by both boys and girls. The surveys would focus on the number of inhabitants and the conditions of the habitat, and would substitute the technical and aesthetic aspects of the construction surveys. The student identified the buildings to be studied with hand-drawn sketches, analytical plans, circulation maps, furniture surveys – as the ones mentioned previously –, usage diagrams, even visual poetry. Tavares would, for instance, draw a horizontal cut of a city block in Porto where almost a dozen dwellings are analysed, the areas, hygiene points, circulation, occupation, etc. (Fig. 8).



Figure 8. ESBAP, Analytical Architecture course by Professor Octávio Lixa Filgueiras: Operation Barredo, survey by António de Brito, 1967-68 © Marques da Silva Foundation | Alda Tavares, sketch for Analytical Architecture I, 1963/64 © FAUP/CDUA.

We believe that Tavares was an ambitious and determined student. At this age (17), she would state:

*“I chose the Architecture course of my own free will after not finding it convenient to take a decorating course in England without a more useful course of greater knowledge. My family didn't like it very much, although they don't disagree.”*²⁴

This ambition and determination are possibly what led Tavares to travel the world – just like her senior colleague Quintanilha. In 1966, Tavares moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; in 1968 she stayed three months in Peru and Brazil coming back to Portugal the following year. It was

²⁴ Alda Tavares first year hand-written exercise, 1962.

in 1969 and 1970 that Tavares worked in Africa, specifically Guinea-Bissau, a Portuguese province at war. Tavares was part of the initial establishment of a group of architects called the “Urbanisation Working Group” created by António Moreira Veloso, an architect working for the Portuguese State in Guinea-Bissau. This group was responsible for studying the rural populations and proposing alternative housing designs and resettlements to those used by the military (Fig. 9).

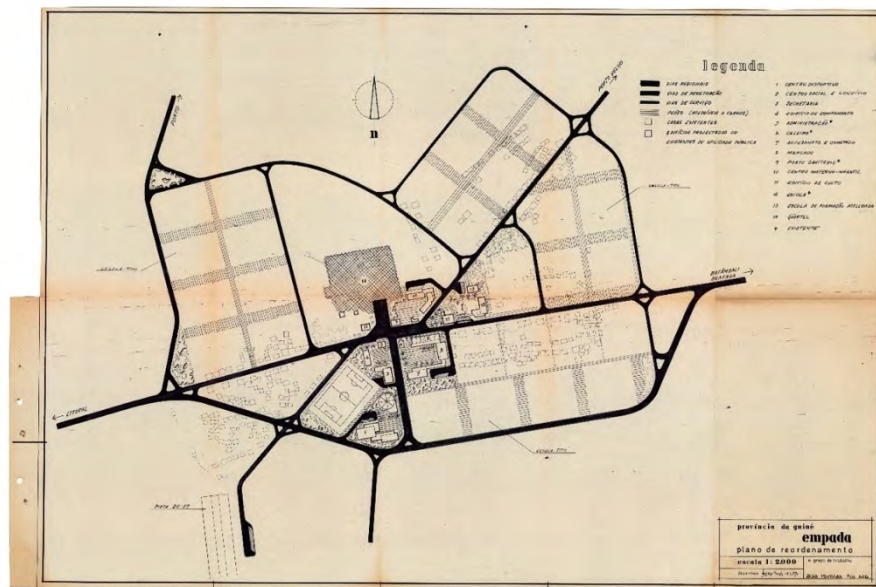


Figure 9. Empada resettlement Plan. Guinea-Bissau, 1969-1970. Alda Tavares signs in the name of António Moreira Veloso’s team © Overseas Historical Archive (Portugal). IPAD858

These same principles she had learned at Architecture school, being a scientific and methodical working approach, were adapted to a much wider scale in the case of Guinea. Without documental proof, but with the certainty that, in the words of Alda Tavares, “it was a good social and human experience”,²⁵ we can suppose that the Porto surveys, or their genesis, were the basis for her future professional choices. It was only after her experience in Guinea that she completed architecture school and became a civil servant. And it was undoubtedly her experience in Porto that enabled her to resist the Guinean context at such a young age, in a particularly adverse time.

²⁵ Alda Tavares’s hand-written Curriculum Vitae in the custody of IAWA – The International Archive of Women in Architecture at Virginia Tech, USA. <https://spec.lib.vt.edu/iawa/>

Brief closing remarks

The thesis of this work is simple: rather than patronising and facilitating women who studied architecture in Porto, there was a standardisation between female and male, if not a greater demand and difficulty for women. If not, how can one explain so many dropouts? How can one explain the resilience in such adverse geographical and cultural environments of those who completed the course? We added to this argument the example of two women: Carlota Quintanilha and Alda Tavares, both of whom graduated in Architecture in Porto at a time when there were only two institutions teaching Architecture in ‘imperial’ Portugal.

We also argue as evidence that these women brought to the colonies what they had learnt at school. For Carlota Quintanilha, her kindergarten in Vila de Rei clearly has the same modern language as the works she carried out in Mozambique; in the case of Alda Tavares, her schoolwork on housing in working-class neighbourhoods in Porto is similar to her studies of rural populations in Guinea-Bissau. There are features of the biography of these women which are subjective and which we chose not to address: the idea that they are well-travelled women, women from “good families”, independent women, etc. But there is one characteristic that is fairly objective, and assignable to all the women who did a course in Porto in the 1950s and 1960s, especially until the ‘57 Reform: they are resilient and determined women. Whatever the cause for dropping out of the course – economic needs, family or health issues – those who stayed at school certainly did not do so out of commodity, but for a compelling reason. In any case, not only in a technical sense, but also in a moral, psychological sense, these women were ready for Africa.

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Aknowledgments

I thank CDUA, FAUP - Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto. My deepest gratitude goes to Ana Vaz Milheiro for inviting me to take part in this project with her.

This work is supported by FCT – Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P. under the granted research Project “Women architects in former Portuguese colonial Africa: gender and struggle for professional recognition (1953-1985)” [<https://doi.org/10.54499/2022.01720.PTDC>].

Architectural criticism in post-truth times

Néstor Llorca Vega

Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador; nallorca@puce.edu.ec; Quito, Ecuador; Universidad de Alcalá; nestor.llorca@edu.uah.es; Alcalá de Henares, Spain

Abstract

Architectural criticism has a prospective nature. If history deals with our narrative of the past, theory operates on present phenomena; therefore, criticism has to orient us to the future. It is a tool to cross new thresholds, which recognizes the evolution of global/local culture, social structures, or ways of inhabiting. Those are in constant reconstruction following the dynamism of Liquid Modernity proposed by Zygmunt Bauman. This temporary character gives a role to criticism as a diagnosis tool for the development of architecture, measured from the reciprocal relationship between space and people from three families: 1) Continuity with acceleration or stability, 2) Nostalgia, linked to the romantic return to an idealized past, the *Retrotopia* (Bauman, 2017) or the inverse symmetry of the signs through the mirror (Eco, 1985) in which postmodernity becomes pre-romanticism and, 3) Discontinuity, seen from Historical Materialism (Benjamin, 1942), in which the words crisis, resilience, ductility, relativity, conquest or efficiency become architectural categories.

Criticism has lost power by using it for validation rather than verification. Validation is a post-truth tool, the social reward, the quick recognition, the “like”. Verification deals with the determination of the capacity with which a project accurately solves spatial, social or aesthetic objectives and the solution of the project from the execution and experience. Validation rewards the person, and creates star architects while verification endorses the project. Under this framework, I seek to detect the ideological visions that marked the editorial lines of the media that disseminate and criticize. Creating a “*Cultureburg*”; (Wolfe, 1975) in Ecuador. The study uses my doctoral research on the architecture of Quito-Ecuador between 1940-1970 (Llorca, 2022), and its hybrid nature, where the aesthetic codes got a new meaning as an adaptation mechanism, making the hegemonic typologies of Modern Architecture a kind of architectural “Ready-made”.

Keywords: Architectural criticism; post-truth; liquid society; hybridization

Session: Learning from (and for) Africa. Architecture, colonialism and conflict

Introduction

Architectural criticism has a prospective nature. If history deals with our narrative of the past, theory operates on present phenomena, criticism therefore has to orient us towards the future. It is a tool for crossing new thresholds, which recognizes the evolution of global/local culture, ways of living or social structures, in constant reconstruction in the dynamism of Liquid Modernity proposed by Zygmunt Bauman to recognize our time.

Naming Bauman in a text on architecture immediately reveals an ideological position - one that architecture cannot renounce. He proposes a paradigm shift on which the most disciplinary structures of architecture are evaluated. The problem with liquid reality is that it is difficult to predict its behavior in the face of a crisis, declaring in parallel the awareness of contemporaneity and the frustration of seeing ourselves as powerless architects to solve new spatial problems using old design tools. Here lies the first trap in which post-truth operates for the evaluation of project performance: to postulate that in the face of these new demands on architectural projects, reinvention prevails at all costs, not in the manner of an avant-garde of the 1920s, but as a novel media product, an element of aesthetic consumption full of commonplaces and demagogic values.

The (architectural) requirements of contemporaneity

The mix of complexity and uncertainty causes new demands on architectural spatial requirements. But this is an effect, not a cause. There are forces of globalization that operate in economic, social, urban (Sassen, 1992), cultural or architectural ways (Gausa, 2021), which are usually seen as structures that undermine local institutions or collective action associations. A measurement of power in which invisible but omnipresent entities always win.

Faced with this overwhelming phenomenon, current events foster the idea that individuals have the role of responding to these global challenges. Bauman explains that the absence of a collective entity that can deal with these problems manifests two forms of erosion: a) the loss of power of the nation-state as the ultimate executor of norms, social rules, etc. and b) the transfer of these functions lost by states to individuals, in what he calls “no man’s country” where politics is local but power is global. This phenomenon creates a dissonance between the nature that constitutes an individual, differentiating two situations, on the one hand, the “De

lure individual” with legal recognition and therefore a link to a state and on the other the “De Facto individual” caused by circumstance. Where functions that less than two decades ago were assumed by states are now transferred to individuals who have to find solutions to problems that they have not caused and rely on their creativity in the search for new options, in a kind of self-conviction that creativity can replace the solid resources and competences of yesteryear.

Architects have been taught that creativity is our best tool, therefore, when faced with a dilemma such as the one proposed, we believe ourselves capable of facing these difficulties as heroic tests - since our second tool is usually the ego camouflaged as an artistic profile. Thus, architecture is seen as capable of solving non-spatial problems. From confusing the evident social value of architecture with sociological tools (Rosero, 2017), to recreating through superficial analogies to phenomena of physics, nanoscience, biology, etc. to project strategies, or even boasting of philosophical visions in the search for project strategies to achieve “phenomenological spaces”, transcendental, falsifiable, confusing results with methods. It is different to recognize an “atmosphere” like Zhumtor, than to arrogantly try to design it as one more piece of furniture on a plane.

Searches in other sciences, cultural resources or social readings are noble and surely give us insight as a profession into the answers to contemporary architectural requirements. However, they are medium and long-term processes that require high artistic sensitivity, experience, technique and improvement. That is, they require a deep dedication of time and thought to postulate these spatial inventions as pertinent and coherent solutions. History gives us multiple lessons from architects with disruptive thinking such as Archigram, Marina Waisman, Sou Fujimoto, Allison & Peter Smithson, Mies Van der Rohe, etc., who proposed new ways of facing the challenges of their time without falling into the rush to seek novelty over rigor.

The dichotomy between the individual and the collective

In the quest to restore the balance between (local) politics and (global) power, architects have found themselves immersed in a series of competitions that gradually reward spectacularity. This competition is aimed at exclusion, one winner over multiple losers. This loss is directly penalized on people. Those who lose do so through their own fault. Contemporary life is organized in such a way that exclusion is a natural law, everything that represents weakness is

usually excluded. Weakness is associated with the unpopular, not with the incorrect. The principle of exclusion is not often discussed.

In recognition of these processes, a rather peculiar phenomenon has occurred in the profession since the early 2000s until today: the creation of collectives (with various adjectives to name this association), which seek to create teams on a temporary or circumstantial basis for various purposes: to allow specific associations for specific projects, to vary the size of the studios with a certain flexibility (this is associated with an intrinsic problem of job insecurity), to achieve a certain balance in the distribution of work based on competitions, but above all, to promote ideological standards in the professional field; to propose, in the midst of complexity, new disciplinary paths.

Joining forces is temporarily useful, it allows for the construction of a more diverse and stronger discourse. It is an instrument to stop being a victim of the denomination of weakness and its consequences. But it is usually volatile, since its fragility lies in competition. When members have to compete for a place among themselves, the spirits of solidarity fade away and are replaced by a sense of survival.

Competition fosters the notion that there is no room for everyone, an effective source of reinforcement for the contemporary fear strategy that Bauman speaks of in the postulates of liquid society. It becomes a cyclical element, since after the selection-exclusion process, there is usually the incorporation of negotiation, association or differentiation tools with less solidarity and more cynicism, since the new threat of internal exclusion from the collective is incorporated in a kind of fragile mutualism. Again, as in the section on new contemporary requirements, we have before us an important professional tool, the creation of teams that could strengthen our professional position, our social recognition and above all the joint capacity to find answers to the new role of architecture in global society. However, we have turned it into a scenario of cannibalism based on cosmetic disputes.

The insertion of the temporal dimension in architectural criticism

Planning for the future in the midst of these geographical and disciplinary tensions challenges our habits and customs, fading our learned abilities in a “solid” context to overcome everyday problems. This phenomenon adds a temporal character to criticism as a diagnostic tool for the

progress of architecture, measured from the reciprocal relationship between space and inhabitant. This temporality has an ideological value, not a chronological one, that is, it is based on the debate about the position of architecture as a response to contemporary challenges. From this position, I propose three families of temporal approximation:

1) Continuity with acceleration or stability; where architecture is understood as a sign of its time, seen as a result of social, planetary or economic requirements. A predictable way of achieving a controlled scenario based on a linear projection between the past and the present. From this position, architecture embraces global powers and oscillates between greater or lesser innovation depending on the degree of efficiency in the use of time and resources, normally supported by a technocentric discourse.

2) Nostalgia, linked to the romantic return to an idealized past. *Retrotopia* or the inverse symmetry of signs through the mirror in which postmodernity becomes pre-romanticism (Umberto Eco). From this position, architecture requires a continuous retroactive review that can even reach the most primitive past. In colonized territories, this position often falls into an identity crisis in which a colonial, decolonial or even anticolonial cultural starting point is chosen. With diverse positions such as neo-vernacular, low tech, neo-nationalisms, retro tech or the primitive future proposed by Sou Fujimoto in 2008.

3) Discontinuity seen from the perspective of historical materialism, in which the words crisis, resilience, ductility, relativity, conquest or efficiency become architectural categories. They are forms of disruptive thinking that aim to distance us as far as possible from the future scenario of domination by global powers. This proposal presents a crisis with long-term thinking, which allows us to give up commitment to things (to be more effective). In the past, architecture was understood as an almost perennial element; today, the requirements of flexibility, adaptation or novelty make the static value of architecture contradictory, creating a feeling of uncertainty seen from a positive or at least encouraging connotation.

To give cohesion to the most canonical forms of criticism, the adherence to the temporal factor relies on a common tool: the ability to “put into crisis” an object, in this case, spatial and constructed, in order to align it with an idea of progress. Thus, a link is produced between the temporal vision as an ideological consequence of progress through a choice.

The very nature of project criticism from this position has a vindicative purpose, understanding that there is a right to protection for buildings that demonstrate a declared position on their role in time. A vindication of the projects rather than of their authors.

This renunciation of the static categorization of architecture is a search between the critique of the work itself and its ductility on the activity that the building hosts. Proposing the addition of time in the dimensions of architectural space allows a flexible value on the performance of a building in its relationship with the changing society. The journey of ideas has different temporalities and stays: the paths in which these concepts travel have different nesting, gestations and hatchings and therefore give multiple results, they can be anachronistic, synchronous or prospective. Under this temporal formula, projects can be verified in the medium and long term, in their occupation rather than in their representation.

Post-truth and the media of architecture

Criticism has lost power by being used for validation instead of verification. Validation is a post-truth tool, the social reward, the quick recognition, the “like”. Verification is concerned with determining the capacity with which a project accurately solves spatial, social or aesthetic objectives and the solution of said project from execution and experience. Validation rewards the person, creates a star architect while verification supports the project.

From an initial context, the role of the media that welcomed criticism was neutral or based on common principles; they were messengers who projected a clear deontology about their editorial role, disseminating and socializing complex thoughts to a curious group that sought to learn about architectural issues.

However, the inclusion of a model in which the media embraced a global nature, supported by technological tools, gradually managed to create multiple versions of the same reality adapted to different audiences. Conceiving an interpretation of a new reality as a tailor-made scenario, full of impulses, unlike the tangible action of holding and reading a book containing data and arguments.

In this transition from media that created stories about reality tailored to their readers, the concept of post-truth emerged, which, in the words of Lee Mc Intyre (2018) is defined as the

political subordination of reality with tools of power, with the intention of influencing the population by spreading a message parallel to reality.

Post-truth has crept into different aspects of our lives, ways of reporting with different formats and sources. However, it gradually became evident as a viral form of news distribution of a volatile nature, brief and tailored to the recipient, creating an industry that grew rapidly and became a business model that multiple media outlets replicated, including many of those dedicated to talking about architecture.

The fleeting migration from print media to digital media as mass consumption alternatives created a rapid cult of the image over the text, a feeling of global synchronicity in which it is possible to put multiple projects from the most varied geographies up for debate and to assume a certain initial heterogeneity based on the cascades of information that reached the media.

Digital media present a “soundtrack” of information, fueled by a rush to represent new resources in a new way. Organized as a series of short episodes that seek a quick impact based on metrics of attention times of the new diffusion formats, the post, the reel or meme. All designed to be brief, striking and attractive. This fact presumes a separation between the forms of consumption and therefore consumer profiles in which the world of criticism must choose between being profound, delivering low-diffusion products or being superficial and molding itself in these instant formats.

The communication value of a critique is not adjusted by its depth or weight of the message but by the personality that sends it, creating a system of celebrities, of faces that become familiar due to their repetitive production of images from platforms that adopt global mechanisms of diffusion and that naturalize different scales of the medium. We can receive information from a student who writes from his cell phone on the way to class or an organized medium with an editorial board that discerns the elements of diffusion and does not differentiate one from the other. This heterogeneity should give certain inclusive access to multiple positions; however, they fall into certain vices in search of diffusion over true information.

For McIntyre, post-truth consumers create a series of mechanisms to be able to assume the information they receive as valid: a) choosing small pieces of truth or scientific postulates, b) believing in speculative theories based on irrational reasoning, c) relying on false experts, d) developing a superficial skepticism based on an appetite for misinformation, and e) creating a structure of trust-distrust in the media based on tangential situations.

Spiritually, people are much more engaged with what is happening in their immediate virtual world than with what is happening in global disputes. By relying on feelings rather than facts, the media become channels for the propagation of Designed to maximize engagement, they favor the dissemination of sensationalist and polarizing content, creating "information bubbles" of news over rational results.

The dispute over emotional affiliation versus cultural values is a recurring situation in social dynamics, in which architecture has a discrete range of intervention. Nostalgia always operates with a burden of pain, for what has changed, what is gone or what has died, creating tensions between history and contemporaneity. For this reason, it is worth investigating the role played by the media in the construction of nostalgic narratives.

The narratives promoted by societies and exploited by media groups about the ways of seeing project groups and the emotions they arouse, generating forms of segmentation, are the most extensive tools for recreating stereotypes about the role of architecture. For this, it is possible to analyze the studies on the "Stereotype" content model" by Professor Susan Fiske has shown multiple relationships on the perception of companies, brands or other elements based on two variables: Competence and Warmth. Creating a kind of consensus of biases.

To produce enough news to satisfy the dynamic appetite for information, it is necessary to generate a permanent sense of novelty by creating an environment of instability. The stable becomes the anti-hero and the unstable becomes a sort of heroic dispute against the gravitational nature of a building.

It is clear that formats have changed, but it is also essential to find rational ways to raise the critical spirit and debate with rigor the architectural and urban spatial models that we are developing in the midst of this overwhelming inertia.

For this, there is a semiotic factor in the codification of architecture. Codes allow us to understand the reasons for the architectural form and its relationship to use, materiality and meaning. Architecture, therefore, has a strong denotative component that allows it to be placed in context, to be named and associated with its similar (types); and another connotative component that makes it an object of judgement, with the ability to be catalogued from perception and an actor in a broader system. This vision makes architecture a means to use signs. This is not a discovery, but supported in multiple references such as Umberto Eco ("The Function and the Sign in Architecture," in *Quaderns Arquitectura i Urbanisme* 82, 1971),

Allison and Peter Smithson ("But today we collect ads," *ARK Magazine*, 1956), and Robert Venturi (*Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, 1966). In which deep reflection on architecture can once again become a product of cultural consumption.

Hybrid Architectures of Hybrid Cultures, the case of Quito in the 20th century

Amidst all the variables mentioned in this text, which provoke the abrupt crossing of this threshold of new architectural paradigms, there is a group of non-hegemonic communities that face these challenges with vertigo resulting from a rapid equalization compared to other more prepared countries. In my case, I will describe the situation of the city of Quito, the capital of Ecuador.

The history of Latin American cultural phenomena was first told in countries that had predominance over the media and the hegemonic circles of dissemination of messages and ideas. This created, in the Ecuadorian case, a foreign vision of local processes. This situation not only created distortions in the knowledge of history, but also simplified complex and particular phenomena and, therefore, failed to define them with sufficient clarity (Llorca 2022).

The relationship between regional identity and contact with foreign countries has shaped the cultural productions and worldviews of societies. The history of human movement includes an intense cycle in which transfers motivated by natural migrations, or scenarios forced by the environment, conquests, multiple searches or by the basic instinct of power, have forced different cultures to confront and combine. This encounter always includes (without the need to correspond, or ensure a benefit) discoveries, synchronicity and pacts.

One option for accepting this clash is to inherit, mix and germinate a new organism configured through negotiation. To the extent that discoveries (utility and innovation), synchrony (understanding through language, time or convenience) and pacts (the level of use of seduction or violence to impose the fusion) are involved, it produces results with greater or lesser success.

Faced with these influences, there is the alternative of being hybrid, as a genetic option to cultural changes. A mixture so dynamic and invasive that it intervenes in the society that adopts it in an integral way, modifying the language, the production and the interpretation of the nascent product, but adopting it as its own with great conformity. Ultimately, it is ambiguously local as well as foreign, vernacular as well as unpublished and foreign as well as native.

Approaches to architectural studies from terms such as stage and fabric, the notion of scarcity, nesting and hatching, hybrid experiment, etc., give rise to a review of spatial processes from a dynamic nature, understanding the processes that arise in space as verbs/actions rather than as subjects/actors. Granting space the ability to recognize and respond to the activities contained therein and the affinity with the city of Quito, which has a high adaptive capacity both in its urban morphology and in its response to geography.

This evolutionary vocation of architecture was proposed from two currents: the first, an improvement in the quality of classical buildings, in the form of romantic and often anachronistic “revivals”, where the main exponent is the building of the *Basilica del Voto Nacional*, which was associated with the powerful cultural heritage of the Historic Center, and a second related to the search for avant-garde or tools of cultural discontinuity that sought to find in architecture innovation and a new language that risked success or failure. The buildings studied belong to this second group, which experimented with technique, forms, typology or cultural significance. Even today, the most daring buildings of this period in Quito are seen from this ideological dichotomy. In this search for progress through architecture, the main tension is between what we want to be and what we want to project as a society.

This discourse was supported by a media seduction about the expectations of foreign influences and the references in their most “pure” state. These hopes that were attached to architecture were affected by the relationship between the buildings and their context, creating a review of the results of the projects. In the end, the best results are not the best-achieved replicas, but those buildings that were able to reconstruct their identity to be incorporated into the Quito context as part of its cultural system where the aesthetic codes obtained a new meaning as an adaptation mechanism, turning the hegemonic typologies of the Movement into a kind of “architectural ready-mades”. The renunciation of the static categorization of architecture uses criticism as a mechanism to diagnose buildings by their dynamic attributes, proposing the addition of time to the dimensions of architectural space.

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Authors' biographies

Ana Vaz Milheiro is a Full researcher at Dinâmia'CET-Iscey and a Researcher at the African Studies Centre (Porto University). She is an ERC-Advanced Grantee with the project "ArchLabour Architecture, Colonialism and Labour. The role and legacy of mass labor in the design, planning and construction of public works in former African territories under Portuguese colonial rule", which will run until 2028. She has been an Associate Professor in Architecture courses at Portuguese universities. She was an IIAS Fellow (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2019-20), a visiting researcher at the University of Ghent (2015-16) and at the University of São Paulo (2018). She has coordinated six research projects on architecture and urbanism in former Portuguese colonies in Africa, funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, and organized the research collective A+I (Architecture + Infrastructures).

Adheema Davis is a South African Architect with experience in research and practice. Whilst a student, she received numerous student merit awards, including the National Research Foundation (NRF) Innovative Masters' Scholarship for her MArch dissertation. Adheema has served in varying capacities with the South African Institute of Architects (SAIA), in 2018 she was selected as a Mandela Washington Fellow: Civic Leadership, and in 2024 selected as a participant of the Leadership Forum Durban. Adheema is currently director of Aluta Architecture and undertaking her PhD studies. She serves as a board member for Asiye eTafuleni, is an avid yoga practitioner, gardener, and baker.

Alejandro Carrasco Hidalgo is an Architect (Universidad de Alcalá, Madrid) and an Architectural Historian (MA in Architectural History, the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL). He is a PhD candidate at the Universidad de Alcalá, holding a full scholarship awarded by the Spanish Ministry of Science (PRE2020-092414) for his research "Architectures of Extraction: The Construction of Francoist Colonisation (1939–1975) as Ideological Support." He has been a visiting scholar at institutions such as the University of Basel and the Bartlett School of Architecture. His work has been presented in international forums, including the Venice Biennale of Architecture and Drawing Matter, among others.

Ana Cristina Inglês is an architect by profession with more than a decade of work experience as a public servant in Angola. Currently, Inglês is pursuing her PhD at Instituto Superior Técnico (IST) of the University of Lisbon about Public Open Spaces, using Luanda as the case study. Besides being a researcher at CITUA, Inglês is also a co-founder of LURA, a non-profit association based in Luanda, Angola, dedicated to improving statistical information at the District

and Municipal levels and supporting local government institutions in improving urban and slum dwellers' quality of life based on up-to-date community expectations and priorities.

Ana Magalhães is an Architect (FAUL, 1988), Master in Architecture Theory (ULL, 2001), PhD in Architecture with a thesis titled “Modern Migrations: Architecture in the diaspora - Angola and Mozambique (1948-1975)” (ULL, 2015). Assistant professor at Universidade Lusíada since 1990 and Researcher at CITAD since 2015. She has published the book *Moderno Tropical: Arquitectura em Angola e Moçambique, 1948-1975*, ed. Tinta da China (2009), awarded the DAM Architectural Book Award 2010 in the category of Architecture History. She investigates 20th-century architecture, especially on the Modern architectural heritage in the colonial period. Independent architect since 1989, partner at Atelier do Convento - Arquitectos.

Beatriz Serrazina is a Postdoctoral Researcher at Dinâmia'CET-Iscte. She holds a PhD. in Architecture and Urbanism from the University of Coimbra (2024). She is involved in the project “ArchLabour”. She was also part of the projects “ArchWar” and “WomArchStruggle”. Her interests span the history of colonial architecture, imperial companies, transnational connections, circulation of knowledge, and (post)colonial heritage. Her main contributions include the co-organization of the exhibition *Colonizing Africa* (Lisbon, 2019), the participation in national and international meetings, and research publications on the interplay between private companies, the production of space, and population control during late Portuguese colonialism.

Ehssan Hanif is a Ph.D. candidate in the HAUD program at Cornell University. In his research, incorporating a postcolonial perspective, he aims to study the interrelations between modernity and oil in the Middle East. Before coming to Cornell University, he worked as an independent researcher and translator. He translated fourteen books from English into Persian, including *Architecture and Modernity* (H. Heiden), *Bourdieu for Architects* (H. Webster), *Story of Post-Modernism* (C. Jenks) and *Aesthetic Theory: Essential Texts* (M.F. Gage).

Francesca Vita is a designer and a junior researcher at Dinâmia'CET-Iscte. She is currently involved in the project “ArchLabour” as post-doctoral researcher. She holds a PhD degree in Architecture from the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto (2023), which deepens into the topics of colonial heritage and domestic space in contemporary Guinea-Bissau. Since 2019 she has been presenting her studies on domesticity and forms of dominance in international conferences, being awarded in 2022 by IASTE with the Eleni Bastea Award.

Helder José is an academic and architect from Angola, graduated in architecture from Agostinho Neto University in 1991 and obtained a PhD in Architecture Technology from the University of Rome' La Sapienza' in 1999. He was an assistant professor from 1987 to 2002 and has conducted

several research projects on cost-controlled architectural models for community crèches and geo-referenced surveys in Luanda. From 2008 to February 2016, he was General Director of the Luanda Urban Planning and Management Institute (IPGUL), overseeing the Luanda General Master Plan (approved in 2015). He is a member of the Angolan Architects' Association and currently consults for the Ministry of Territorial Administration in spatial planning.

Inês Lima Rodrigues holds a PhD in Architecture and is an associate researcher at Dinâmia'CET, ISCTE-IUL. She has been recognised with individual scholarships, including a PhD in modern housing (ESTAB, 2014, UPC Extraordinary Award) and a postdoc in Angolan modernity (IUL, 2022), funded by FCT. She led R&D projects such as “Middle-Class Mass Housing”, was the leader of the WG1, EU-funded COST action [CA18137], coordinated an international housing network, and was a researcher in “ArchWar” and “WomArchStruggle” (FCT). Currently, she is part of the team “ArchLabour” (ERC) and Assistant Researcher (CEEC-FCT), establishing new research directions in housing and linking colonial and post-colonial studies with sustainability and energy issues (2023-2029).

Joana Filipa Pereira is a Ph.D. candidate and researcher at Centro de Investigação em Território, Arquitectura e Design (CITAD) at Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa. There, she is part of the Investigation Line “Inter and Transdisciplinaridade no pensamento e na prática da arquitetura” (Inter and Transdisciplinarity on the thought and practice of architecture). Her areas of study are the Portuguese Mainland and Overseas Modern Architecture and the Relation and Interaction between Architecture and other Art forms.

João Miguel Duarte is a Lisbon-born Portuguese architect practising since 1990 and an assistant professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Arts, Lusíada University, Lisbon, where he teaches since 1991, and a researcher at the Centre for Research in Territory, Architecture, and Design Research [CITAD]. He is a film producer. João holds a degree in Architecture from the Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Lisbon (1990), an MSc in Art Theories from the Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Lisbon (2005) and a PhD in Architecture from Faculty of Architecture, University of Lisbon (2016).

Leonor Matos Silva was the Co-PI of the project *WomArchStruggle - Women Architects in Former Portuguese Colonial Africa: Gender and Struggle for Professional Recognition (1953-1985)*. She completed her PhD in 2019 at ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon. She was then a post-doctoral researcher in the *MCMH* project. Her latest article is “Women’s Absence from the Public Sphere: Gender Inequality in Portuguese Architecture Schools” (*Postcolonial Directions in Education*). Leonor is a member of the COST-Action *VOICES* and coordinated the international seminar *Gender Struggles in Architecture, Colonialism, and Housing*, Lisbon, 2024.

She has been accepted to present at the SAH Conference 2025 and the 2025 Annual Meeting of the ACSA.

Kieran Gaya was born in Dublin, Ireland, of Mauritian parents and spent his formative years in Asia, Africa, and Europe. This diversity of transnationality and the post-colonial formation of geopolitical territories has informed his research interests. He holds degrees obtained in the USA, Italy, and Switzerland. His focus is on the symbiotic material production of local and international agents onto a site and how this visually accessible culture transforms civic identities. Kieran's doctoral dissertation explores the historically iconographic seasoning steeped into the modern language of architecture developed for Islamabad in Pakistan.

Maria Alice Vaz de Almeida Mendes Correia is an architect designer, Advisor and Researcher at the Luanda Urban Planning and Management Institute. She teaches History of Art I and II in the first and second years and History of Architecture II in the fourth year at the Lusíada University of Luanda. She has a master's degree (2012) and a PhD (2018) in Architecture in the Area of History and Fundamentals of Architecture and Urbanism at the São Paulo University, focusing on modern architecture, colonial and Bantu heritage. She participates in international events, books and is a member of AO, UIA, CIALP, OAA, INTA and ISOCARP.

Maria João Soares is a Lisbon-born Portuguese architect practising since 1988, an assistant professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Arts, Lusíada University, Lisbon, where she has taught since 1989, and a researcher at the Centre for Research in Territory, Architecture, and Design Research [CITAD]. She is Assistant Director of CITAD, part of CITAD's Board of Directors, and the Architecture and Urban Planning Research Group Coordinator. She is a film producer. Maria João holds a degree in Architecture from the Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Lisbon (1987) and a PhD in Architecture from Lusíada University, Lisbon (2004).

Miguel Amado is an architect and urban planner, master of town and regional planning, and Doctor of Environmental Engineering. He is a full Professor at Instituto Superior Técnico (IST), manager coordinator of the GEOTPU.LAB, and a member of CITUA. His research focuses on the planned and unplanned city, modular housing, and sustainable construction and principles.

Dr Nadi Abusaada is an architect and a historian interested in the material cultures of the modern Arab world. He is currently a Visiting Professor at the School of Architecture and Design at the American University of Beirut. Nadi holds a PhD in architecture from the University of Cambridge and was previously a postdoctoral fellow at MIT and ETH Zürich. He is the editor of *Resurgent Nahda: The Arab Exhibitions in Mandate Jerusalem* (Kaph Books, 2024) and co-editor of *Arab Modern: Architecture and the Project of independence* (gta Verlag, 2025). Besides

his academic work, Nadi has curated a number of exhibitions around the world including in Ramallah, Amman, Venice, and Montreal.

Néstor Llorca Vega is the Co-founder of I+D+A architecture studio in Quito. PhD Cum Laude in Architecture from the University of Alcalá with the thesis “Hybrid architectures of hybrid cultures. The case of Quito in the 20th century”. McA Architecture and City Project (UAH) and Architect from the PUCE Ecuador. Member of the research groups “Theorization and diagnosis of contemporary habitat”, “Intelligent environments via cyberphysical systems” and “Pioneras de la Arquitectura Ecuatoriana”. Multiple publications in the areas of Architectural Project, Criticism and technology. Dean of the Architecture and Engineering School at UISEK 2017/22. Founding partner at EQD Equity and Development Consultants. Currently teaches at FADA PUCE in Quito.

Paul Jenkins is an Emeritus Professor of Architecture Research at the University of Edinburgh and Visiting Professor at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg – and has also been a Visiting Professor in Sao Paulo and Maputo. He has engaged for more than five decades on a wide range of aspects of the built environment - with much of his work focused on Sub-Saharan Africa, where he has been based for more than half of his working life. He emphasizes the importance of social engagement and cultural change in emerging urban space and form, including the role of different forms of knowledge. Now retired, he lives most of the time in Maputo, Mozambique.

Paz Nuñez Martí is a PhD in Architecture (UPM), Specialist Technician in Development Cooperation (UPM), and Technician in Heritage Recovery and Rehabilitation (UPM). Associate Professor, School of Architecture, Univ. Alcalá, UAH (2002-act.). She coordinates the area of Habitat and Territory of the Research Group applied to development cooperation COOPUAH (UAH). Technical advisor to the Madrid City Council on informal cities and guest lecturer at various national and international universities on the following subjects: intervention in heritage, urban planning and theories of urban justice and rehabilitation.

Roberto Goycoolea-Prado is an Architect, State Technical University (Chile, 1983). PhD Architect, Polytechnic University, Madrid (1992). Academic experience: Coordinator of the International Architecture and Urbanism Doctorate. (México-Spain, 1994-98) Founder and Dean of the Architecture School, at the University of Alcalá (1999-2004). Since 1999, Titular Professor of Architectural Analysis and director of the research group Modernidad Ignorada. Main line of investigation: conception and perception of the inhabitable space and social housing. Projects and research focused on the perception and use of space habitable, in books and/or magazines in 11

countries. In Africa and Latin America has participated in cooperation projects and academic exchange actions.

Rui Seco is an Architect (FAUTL), urban planner, teacher, editor and researcher on architecture and urbanism, studying the city, modern architecture and the evolution of concepts and urban models throughout the twentieth century. Post-graduated in Planning and Design of the Urban Environment (FAUP); MSc in Architecture, Territory and Memory (FCTUC); PhD candidate (FCTUC). Held scholarships by the Marquês de Pombal Foundation and Portuguese Government FCT. Lectured architectural design, urban theory and city history at Coimbra Arts College (EUAC); co-founder and editor of A[#] architecture journal. Research fellow at CITAD.

Dr Sabina Favaro is an urbanist and postdoc researcher at the Responsible Mining Laboratory at the University of the Witwatersrand focusing on remediating extractive landscapes. Unfolding the urban palimpsest of Cape Town, her doctoral study in Urbanism explores thick mapping as a way of inquiry and countering socio-spatial injustice. In practice, she led the Co-Design for Spatial Justice design team at Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, engaging with violence prevention, urban upgrading and integrated governance through co-design.

Dr Samkelisiwe Khanyile is a Senior Researcher at the Gauteng City-Region Observatory, a partnership between the Gauteng Provincial Government, the University of Johannesburg, the University of the Witwatersrand and organised local government. She holds a PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand in Geography. She has experience working in the fields of geography, sustainability, GIS and Remote Sensing. Her research interests centre around investigating the applications of GIS, remote sensing and similar data analytics technologies for informing sustainable and just urban development and planning.

Sónia Henrique is an integrated researcher at Dinâmia'CET-Iscte. She obtained her PhD in History in 2020 and her Master's in Information and Documentation Sciences - Archival Science in 2010 from the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of NOVA University, Lisbon, Portugal. Her research focuses on the social sciences, particularly historical colonial information systems. In her ongoing research project, ArchLabour (an ERC-funded and multidisciplinary investigation into the nexus between architecture, colonialism and labour), she researches the subaltern labourer voices in the context of the Portuguese Public Works of colonised territories in Africa at the official colonial archives in Portugal.

Stavroula Michael holds a BA in Architecture from the University of Brighton, an MA in International Relations from Brusov State University, and a PhD in History and Theory of Architecture from the University of Cyprus. Her research examines water infrastructures and

conflict in late colonial and early postcolonial Cyprus. She has taught Architectural History and Theory at the University of Cyprus and worked as a researcher at the Mesarch Lab and Promitheas Research Institute. Currently, she teaches Topics in Visual Culture to Graphic Design students at Minjiang University through a collaboration with the European University of Cyprus.

Sydney Rose Maubert is an artist, architect, and professor. She holds degrees in architecture from Yale University and University of Miami, with double minors in writing and art. Her work has been exhibited at mtn space, Laundromat Arts, TenBerke Architects, Artist in Residence in the Everglades, GreenSpace Miami and Cornell. Her work was recently acquired as a part of 21C Museum. She has received several awards from institutions such as Oolite Arst, GreenSpace, Miami-Dade County, Cornell, Yale, and University of Miami. Sydney is the 2022-2024 Cornell Strauch Fellow. Currently she is a Rowe Fellow at Illinois Institute of Technology (2024-).

