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The Salazar Foundation's Private Housing Assistance in Africa During Late Portuguese Colonial Rule (1969–78)

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The Salazar Foundation

In 1969, Américo Thomaz (1894–1987), president of the Portuguese Republic, launched an assistance program to build social housing for the nation's "economically weak" urban and rural populations.[1] It was named the Fundação Salazar (FS), or the Salazar Foundation. By then, the Portuguese dictatorship Estado Novo (New State), which had held power since 1933, was facing significant international opposition.[2] Among the demands being placed on the regime was that Portugal end its longtime colonial rule in Africa, which was spread throughout three continental territories (present-day Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique) and two islands (Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe); this demand became reality after the revolution of 25 April 1974. In these last years of the regime, an alleged "social modernization" took place in Portugal. This period, known as the Marcelist Spring, paved the way for new initiatives to promote housing; recent research has explored these initiatives as strategies designed to support the colonial war effort in Africa.[3]

Thomaz's idea for a foundation was not new; attempts to create a housing assistance program dated back to 1961 and the beginning of the colonial/liberation wars in Africa that would continue until the end of the Estado Novo regime. The later adoption of the name Salazar Foundation represented Thomaz's effort to ensure success by linking the new agency to a powerful political figure. António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) was the regime's leading character, the president of the Council of Ministers, who was too ill to govern at the time. Thomaz's efforts to mobilize private financial support suggest that this personal project had a strong symbolic component. Thomaz may have sought to leave a presidential legacy without drawing on public funds. The initiative also tested his political ability to engage with civil society.

Thomaz proposed the new name for the foundation during an official visit to Porto in 1968, at the inauguration of a state-supported residential complex.[4] The aim of the foundation was to enlist Portuguese society, including those in colonial circles, to free the state from sole sponsorship of low-income housing through charitable donations. The patronage the FS attracted among Portugal's business elites may have been based on their expectation that social peace might also assist state budgets. The FS would supplement institutions already within the complex bureaucratic and technical framework for tackling housing precariousness and shortages in Portugal.[5] This framework cut across the entire territory under the Portuguese administration, extending to the African and Asian colonies.

Most agencies that dealt with housing in Portugal were linked to public works services and/or technical offices, in a technical-administrative hierarchy running from decisions made within leading governmental agencies (metropolitan and colonial) down to those of municipalities.[6] The main Portuguese institutions involved in housing research were central to defining policies and strategies; these included the Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil (LNEC), or National Civil Engineering Laboratory, in Lisbon.[7] This public body organized important meetings such as the Colloquium on Urbanism, held at its headquarters in 1961, the debates of which I explore below.

Yet the FS was an exception in the intricacies of Portuguese housing because of its private nature. It was

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Figure 1 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967, approved by the municipality in 1971 (author's photo, 2022).

created as a "private institution of public utility," with the "aim of providing housing in good economic, hygienic, and moral conditions to those who, due to their limited resources, could not obtain it in any other way."[8] The fact that it operated simultaneously in Portugal and in Portugal's "overseas territories" makes it particularly relevant to current research into the impact of the colonial war on housing programs.[9] Echoing the idea of a "multicontinental country" that was often used to support the Portuguese colonial "empire-state," the FS was also financed by Portuguese capitalists and important philanthropic organizations, such as the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (FCG), or Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.[10] Civil society was represented by anonymous individuals and small professional groups. Most of these stakeholders aimed to eliminate the *barracas*, *musseques*, or *caniços*—the slum neighborhoods on the fringes of large planned cities such as Lisbon, Luanda, and Lourenço Marques (now Maputo).[11]

The FS's main goal was to sponsor the construction of small-scale neighborhoods using identical programmatic typologies: four-story collective blocks in urban or suburban locations and single-family homes in rural or peri-urban territories. By 1978, when the institution was dissolved, there were neighborhoods in twenty-four Portuguese towns and nineteen former colonial regions with a total of 2,067 units of FS housing, most completed or started before the April Revolution.[12] In the colonies alone, the FS built 586 dwellings.[13] While these numbers may be lower than those of other agencies that operated between 1969 and 1974, the FS's achievements suited the Portuguese central government's welfare ideology. The treatment of the poor was standardized, regardless of metropolitan or colonial origin, to mitigate racial segregation and its critiques. The FS's impact was so significant that many of these neighborhoods are still popularly identified as "Salazar Foundation neighborhoods" in both Portugal and Africa. In Maputo and Nampula, Mozambique, the designation "apartment in the Salazar Foundation neighborhood" occurs in current real estate advertisements, such as those for housing in the Malhangalene neighborhood in Maputo, completed in 1973 (Figure 1).[14] Other neighborhoods, however, have lost any connection to the history of the FS; these include the former Caputo neighborhood in Luanda and the present-day Bairro dos Navegantes in Benguela (Figures 2 and 3). These Angolan neighborhoods were inaugurated shortly before independence.[15] In Cape Verde, two four-story blocks were also built on the outskirts of the Craveiro Lopes neighborhood in the city of Praia (Figure 4).[16]

The FS's history remains largely unknown.[17] Given the dispersion of the foundation records, this article relies on several documents collected in Portuguese and African archives, along with debates in the National Assembly in Lisbon from 1966 through 1974. One of the key sources is the Portuguese Overseas Historical Archive (Arquivo



Figure 2 Caputo neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Luanda, Angola, 1974 (author's photo, 2024).



Figure 3 Navegantes neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Benguela, Angola, ca. 1973 (author's photo, 2023).

Histórico Ultramarino) in Lisbon, where many architectural and urban plans join administrative reports on housing. For FS work in Portugal, documentation was found mostly in municipal archives, namely, those of Estremoz and Évora.[18] Among the African archives, documentation was consulted in Maputo (Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique), Luanda (Instituto de Planeamento e Gestão Urbana de Luanda), Bissau (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, although no neighborhoods were built in Guinea-Bissau), São Tomé (Arquivo Histórico de São Tomé e Príncipe), and Praia (Instituto do Arquivo Nacional de Cabo Verde).[19] Given the close financial relationship between the FS and the FCG, reports and architectural projects carried out under the partnership between the two institutions before and during 1978 were also surveyed.

This archival work was supported by on-site missions to FS neighborhoods in São Tomé (2012), Mozambique (2016, 2022), Angola (2014, 2023, 2024), and Cape Verde (2025). These visits allowed me to gain a loose understanding of FS work outside Portugal and to recognize the foundation's collaboration with local organizations, such as the Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares (JBCP) in Mozambique and the Comissão Administrativa do Fundo dos Bairros Populares (CAFBP) in Angola.[20] These agencies already worked with populations encompassed by FS projects in Africa. News reports from the archives of Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP), the nation's public radio and television broadcasting organization, allowed the tracing of some of these estates, particularly



Figure 4 Outskirts of the Craveiro Lopes neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Praia, Cabo Verde (author's photo, 2025).

in Benguela and Luanda. Concurrently, as a result of fieldwork and investigation of geographical references found in the archives, the locations of FS neighborhoods in the cities of Namibe, Huambo, Beira, and Nampula were determined. This survey was also cross-referenced with documentation collected in 2015 at the Africa Archives in Brussels (State Archives) on the Office des Cités Africaines (OCA, 1952–60), to explore entanglements with non-Portuguese colonial territories that were geographically close and equally engaged in the debate on housing for local populations.

The work of the FS raises multiple critical issues about housing production, including how the Portuguese state managed the problem of urban housing for rural populations at the end of the colonial period, how and to what extent interventions were articulated between Portugal and Africa, and how an economic and managerial balance between public and private agencies was achieved. By examining some FS projects in the former Portuguese colonial territories, this article first posits that the housing program was a key strategy by which the Portuguese state controlled African populations and delayed the anticolonial struggle.[21] Next, it addresses part of the foundation's work in Portugal and then surveys different colonial programs and goals in Africa and Asia, considering efforts to disrupt the demographic scale of "urbanized" neighborhoods and "Westernized" houses within the *musseques* and the proximity of everyday facilities in the city. Finally, the article discusses accommodation for the "economically weak" population. The conceptualization of the "economic/affordable neighborhood" by the Portuguese sociologist Amadeu Castilho Soares (1930–2021) provides a key through which to understand this historical context. The idea shaped many of the professional debates of the 1960s in numerous publications—notably, in the proceedings of the aforementioned 1961 Colloquium on Urbanism.[22] The concept would also intersect with parliamentary debates in the Portuguese National Assembly, especially through the preliminary draft statement "on the housing problem of the economically weak classes of Overseas Territories" proposed in 1966 by Manuel Henriques da Nazaré (1911–2003), a member of the Mozambique Electoral Circle.[23] The draft claimed that housing would provide a way of "pacifying" struggles for independence.[24]

The Salazar Foundation in Portugal (1969–78)

During the inauguration of a housing estate on 23 September 1961, Américo Thomaz first conceived the idea of a private foundation to promote low-income housing. The new neighborhood sponsored by the state was in the town of Barreiro, on the southern shore of Lisbon.[25] Its location helps clarify the scope of Thomaz's endeavor: Barreiro housed the largest industrial complex of the Companhia União Fabril (CUF), a major holding company of industrial producers in Portugal. Eight years after this visit, CUF would be one of the FS's greatest patrons, and its last president, Jorge de Mello (1921–2013), became a member of the foundation's board of directors. The relationship between CUF and the FS grew close, not only through funding but also through the free provision of services. The Industrial Projects Center, one of CUF's subsidiaries, provided "technical and project services," while Profabril, also part of the CUF group, was responsible for the architectural designs for multifamily housing built by the FS in Portugal from 1969 onward.[26]

During a second visit to Barreiro for the inauguration of the next phase of construction, Thomaz reinforced the interplay between political discourse in Portugal and the speeches of businessmen who promoted assisted housing for their workers.[27] The title of CUF's internal newsletter report on his visit, "A Decent Home for Every Family," bore a strong similarity to the FS's "welfare" narrative in the Portuguese press.[28] Thomaz insisted on the motto, "To give a decent home to many families who desperately needed it."[29]

The FS's organizing committee was appointed in early 1969, with art collector António de Medeiros e Almeida (1895–1986) named as chair.[30] The four other members

were de Mello, the above-mentioned director of CUF; José Frederico do Casal Ribeiro Ulrich (1905–82), a former minister of public works and communications services; Tito de Castelo Branco Arantes (1900–?), a member of the National Assembly; and the architect Carlos Ramos (1897–1969), former director of the Porto School of Fine Arts. On 31 July 1969, this group became the FS board of directors, with the reappointment of all members, except Ramos, who had recently passed away.[31] These men represented the Portuguese elite of the Estado Novo during the Marcelist period.

The goal expressed by Thomaz in front of national television cameras, of "building as many houses as possible in the shortest possible time and in all the places where they are most needed, which, of course, could be located indifferently on the mainland and overseas," was multicontinental in scope, as befit an agency sponsored by the president of the Portuguese Republic.[32]

The FS focused on regions with housing shortages. Before 1970, projects were launched across Portugal (including at Salazar's birthplace, Santa Comba Dão), as well as in the "overseas provinces" in Africa and Asia: Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique, and Timor.[33] The FS resembled a private company, with an agile organization chart encompassing three sectors: administrative, technical, and social.[34] Its staff consisted of seven employees, of which three were full-time. As part of its strategy for fundraising and political consolidation, the foundation sought to influence the public through the media, particularly through newspaper and television coverage.

The funds raised by the foundation through donations were invested in the construction and maintenance of residential units, as well as occasional "social and welfare activities" such as surveys to select residents or to monitor the installation of new families. A controlled-cost rent was applied to maintenance costs, creating a source of income that accounted for 4.1 percent of total funding in 1972, to be increased by 1978.[35]

In Portugal, the FS's modus operandi was to establish protocols with the municipalities to "obtain suitable urbanized land and define the characteristics of the houses." From 1970 through 1973, 2,784 houses were to be built throughout the country. The first ones were inaugurated in 1971 in Braga, in northern Portugal.[36] The FS had announced 158 units for the region, while the Federação das Caixas de Previdência (Federation of Pension Funds) planned to build 766.[37] These numbers reflect not only the housing shortage at the time but also the constraints faced by the foundation. Across the new FS neighborhoods, the number of housing units ranged from 6 to 68, confirming the initial preference for small and medium-size initiatives.[38] The report for the first year of activity, however, was based on the "modesty of the work carried out."[39] The goal of building at least a thousand units a year by 1973 would not be achieved. Difficulties in accessing urban land, particularly in Lisbon, led to low numbers of completed dwellings.

The choice for standard layouts was an FS protocol. In 1972, projects for single-family houses of the "F3/4 type for rural and suburban areas" were completed, while the "8-apartment blocks" (four floors, with left–right distribution) were considered structurally optimized.[40] As mentioned above, Profabril was the main design office for FS proposals for collective housing in Portugal. But there were other collaborations, including with the Housing Studies Office of the Directorate-General for Urbanization of the Ministry of Public Works, where architects such as Ruy António da Silveira Borges (1916–78) were experienced in the production of serial collective housing.[41] A project by Borges from 1957 was indeed the source of the design for the first six FS houses in Santa Comba Dão.[42]

Nevertheless, projects competing with those from Profabril were successively discarded. An episode with the FS's main funding partner, the FCG, illustrates this process. The construction of Bairro dos Povos in Vila Franca de Xira in 1973 resulted in a confrontation between the latter's Projects and Works Service (SPO/FCG) and the FS technical team, represented by engineer Wilton Pereira. Probably because of the elementary nature of Profabril's design, the SPO advised the adoption of Borges's projects.[43] Yet the suggestion was promptly rejected by the FS. The foundation argued that a new approach would negate prior construction experience with buildings designed by Profabril, thus undermining the institution's "entire technical and bureaucratic apparatus" that had been established for the "rapid launch of tenders" based on these projects.[44] The design for blocks of eight two-bedroom and three-bedroom apartments had been in development since 1970 and featured optimized apartments of approximately 67 square meters. In contrast, Borges's proposals entailed more complex housing units, with larger distribution areas, which Pereira perceived as an inefficient use of space (Figure 5). This episode reinforced the existence of the FS's cohesive protocol in Portugal. The Profabril blocks would be replicated throughout the country, forming large neighborhoods, as in the Ajuda area of Lisbon, where 304 dwellings were under construction in 1973, or built separately, as in Estremoz, where a single block of 8 dwellings was constructed (Figures 6 and 7).[45]

Through building operations such as these, which often had a strong urban impact, as in the Ajuda neighborhood, the FS established itself in Portugal as a housing agency at the service of the neediest families. The projects included designs for outdoor spaces and depended on the



Figure 5 Ruy António da Silveira Borges, Ministry of Public Works, plan for Salazar Foundation buildings (top); Profabril, Industrial Projects Center, plan for the standard building of the Salazar Foundation, block type F-3, Ajuda (Lisbon) or Estremoz, 1970 (bottom) (redrawn by L. M. Silva and author; SPO 02035, Archive of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

collaboration of the municipalities for their implementation. Documentation in municipal archives in Portugal provides evidence that the foundation engaged in negotiations with local councils to that end.[46]

In Africa, by contrast, developments were smaller and FS activities followed locally adapted protocols (apparently excluding the designs of exterior areas). Rather than imposing a single standard architectural design, the foundation adopted different models and typologies planned by local public works services, as described below. This approach resulted in a greater diversity of housing solutions and urban arrangements.

The Salazar Foundation in Africa (1970–74)

By the end of 1971, about a quarter of the 1,216 houses completed or under construction by the FS were in the colonies. In Africa, the target was 624 units by 1973. In this context,



Figure 6 Profabril, Industrial Projects Center, Ajuda neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Lisbon (author's photo, 2024).



Figure 7 Profabril, Industrial Projects Center, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Estremoz (photo by J. Cardim, 2023).

the process began in the early 1970s, with the housing programs managed and defined by various "provincial governments." The same medium-scale residential approach, comprising four-story collective blocks and single-family detached, terraced, or town houses, was promoted in colonial cities, first with investment in single-family typologies. In this scope, the first project to be announced in Africa was the construction of "40 housing units on the island of São Tomé and 12 . . . in Príncipe," following the opening of the regional office in the archipelago.[47] Using a locally developed design, the FS neighborhoods in São Tomé and Príncipe were to be integrated with other ongoing public initiatives (Figures 8 and 9).

The layout of these houses attested to the transfer of experiences between the Portuguese colonies, while also hinting at transcolonial contaminations. The most significant source was probably a set of rural housing projects designed for Angola in 1952–53 by the architect Fernando Batalha (1908–2012), delegate of the Gabinete



Figure 8 Salazar Foundation neighborhood, São Tomé, São Tomé and Príncipe, 1971 (Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971* [Lisbon: FS, 1971], PRE 886, Archive of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).



Figure 9 Salazar Foundation neighborhood, São João dos Angolares, São Tomé, São Tomé and Príncipe (author's photo, 2012).

de Urbanização do Ultramar (GUU), or Overseas Urbanization Office, in that territory.[48] These were single-family houses with basic architectural elements, each structured around a living room, with two bedrooms and a gabled roof. The entrance was through a porch that doubled as a veranda (Figure 10). Batalha's drawings were sent to the São Toméan services in 1954. In the late 1950s, this design was then followed by local agents, such as Hermínio Augusto Fernandes of the Technical Directorate of Public Works of São Tomé and Príncipe, in the Dr. Bruto da Costa neighborhood in Santo António on the island of Príncipe (Figure 11). Unlike Batalha's houses, each of these had a bathroom and a kitchen inside.[49] The neighborhood was built by workers from São Tomé, with materials imported from outside the islands. It was still inhabited when I visited the island in 2012 (Figure 12).[50]

Given the proximity of Angola to the former Belgian Congo, it is likely that some design elements developed by OCA technicians were also echoed in the Portuguese proposals.[51] Reflections on the construction of Indigenous settlements near large Belgian colonial cities, some even

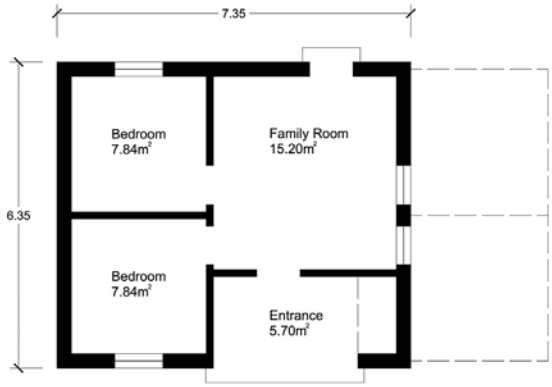


Figure 10 Fernando Batalha, plan for rural houses for Indigenous people, 1952–53 (redrawn by B. Serrazina and author; letter no. 834/54, 26 Oct. 1954, Gabinete de Urbanização do Ultramar, Arquivo Histórico de São Tomé e Príncipe).

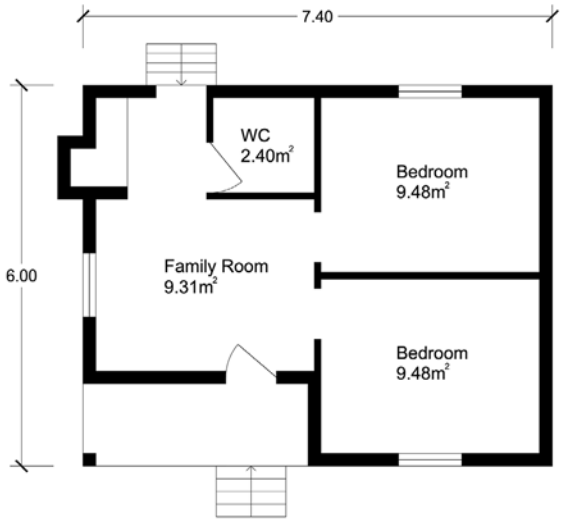


Figure 11 H. A. Fernandes, Departamento Técnico de Obras Públicas, Gabinete de Estudos e Projectos, neighborhood for native people, Santo António, Príncipe, 1958 (redrawn by B. Serrazina and author; Arquivo Histórico de São Tomé e Príncipe).

preceding the OCA's establishment, were often closely linked to Portuguese arguments and designs. The Belgian colonial authorities declared that houses, although modest, would meet the basic requirements of "healthy domestic architecture," including the "simplicité du plan et du parti de construction" (Figure 13).[52]

A systematic analysis of the transcolonial circulation of rural and peri-urban housing design remains to be carried out. However, collections from Belgium, such as those belonging to Queen Astrid, clearly demonstrate the



Figure 12 House in the Dr. Bruto da Costa neighborhood, Santo António, Príncipe, São Tomé and Príncipe (author's photo, 2012).

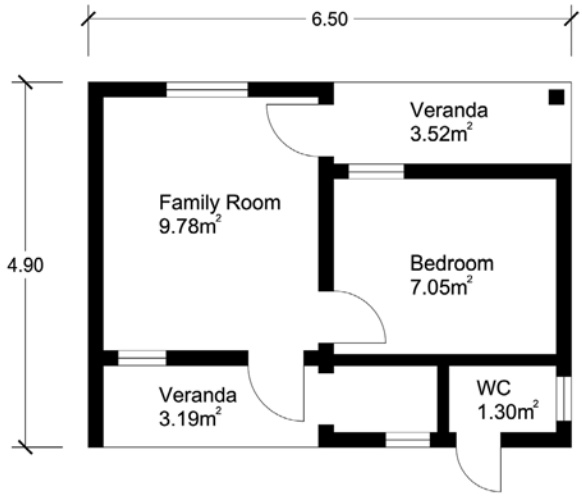


Figure 13 Office des Cités Africaines, Centre Extra Coutumier de Costermanville, plan of a single-story house, 1951 (redrawn by B. Serrazina and author; A 46 3eme DG 1097–1098, OGEC/Conseil Supérieur des Cités Indigènes, 1948–52).

proximity of solutions. In the case of São Tomé, via Angola, there seems to have been a formal proximity between, for example, the houses in Idiofa (Léopoldville) and those on the island of Príncipe (Figure 14; see Figure 12). Furthermore, the architects engaged by the Portuguese public works services had been in contact with international networks since at least the postwar period. This was clear at the Twenty-First International Congress on Housing and Urbanism, held in Lisbon, and in subsequent publications, including the 1952 book *L'habitation dans les pays tropicaux*, by João António Aguiar (1906–74), which presented an initial synthesis on colonial housing considered by the Portuguese technicians.[53]



Figure 14 House in Idiofa, Léopoldville, before 1950 (1029/5, Fund Reine Astrid, Africa Archives).

Pictures of São Tomé were published in the 1971 FS report, promoting the new neighborhoods of semidetached houses, the interior structure of which was similar to that in the units in the aforementioned Dr. Bruto da Costa neighborhood. Of the 268 dwellings completed that year, 162 were in the colonies and followed the single-family typology. In the cities of Beira and Nampula, Mozambique, the number of houses had already exceeded 100, "at an average cost of about 74 contos per dwelling."[54] Although lower than the cost in Portugal, this figure was higher than that calculated a decade earlier at the LNEC Colloquium on Urbanism.[55] The efforts of FS operations were justified by the visibility and "exemplary" nature of the developments.

New delegations were then opened in Cape Verde, Angola, and Timor, under the chairmanship of local governors; each maintained a direct link with the highest bodies of the Portuguese colonial administration and benefited from the work done on the ground by local agents. In 1971, a "standard FS house" was designed in Timor by the local technical team of the public works department; the government entrusted the management of the construction of six houses to the FS (Figure 15). The residence was organized through a corridor accessed by a veranda and had a living room and three bedrooms, with toilets and a kitchen at the back. This functional structure differed from those proposed for the African colonies, reflecting the varying public works cultures in the African and Asian territories.

In 1972, the FS sought to increase its visibility by presenting a more ambitious plan that favored the largest urban centers. Initiatives continued in Dili, the Timorese capital, and included the Cape Verdean cities of Praia and Mindelo. In Mozambique, 116 units were to be completed in Lourenço Marques and the northern regions of Niassa (Vila Cabral, now Lichinga) and Cabo Delgado (Porto Amélia, now Pemba).[56] The Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, already seen as the main actor in producing

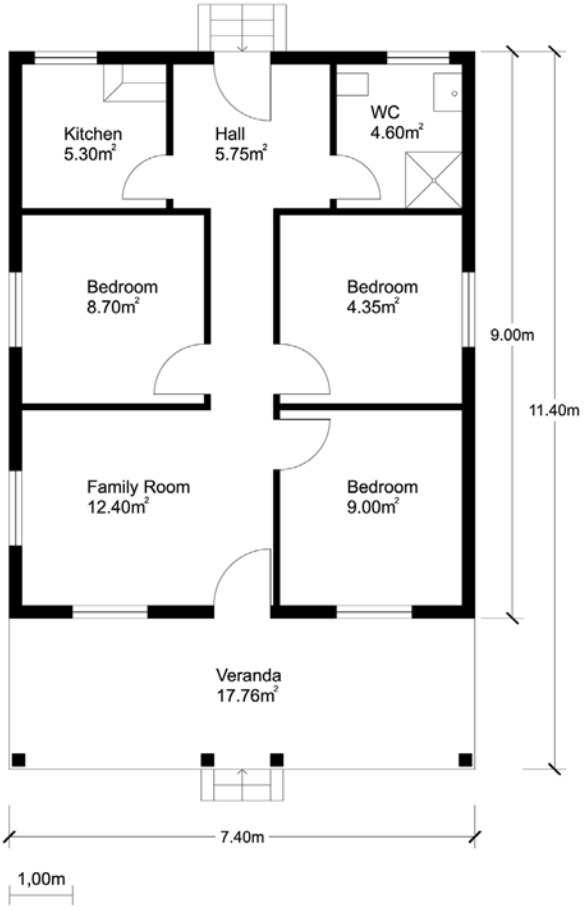


Figure 15 Salazar Foundation and Timor public works services, model house for Timor, 1971 (redrawn by B. Serrazina and author; PRE 712 88/1, Archive of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

"popular" neighborhoods, oversaw the design and construction of the FS units. For this reason, FS neighborhoods were often located near the JBCP's neighborhoods and presented identical architectural solutions, especially in Maputo, Beira, and Nampula.[57]

In Angola, the FS planned to build 238 units in several locations of varying size and population density, with neighborhoods in Nova Lisboa (now Huambo), Pereira d'Eça (now Ondjiva), Serpa Pinto (now Menongue), São Salvador (now M'Banza Congo), Lobito, Benguela, Luanda, Moçamedes (now Namibe), and Carmona (now Uíge). The number of dwellings completed in the colonial territories that year was almost as high as in Portugal, reaching 254 (Figure 16).[58] Economic deprivation was at its highest, and the *musseques* and *caniços* had a strong presence in the urban landscape. The FS's implementation was also expected to counter the hegemony of the large self-built African neighborhoods while reinforcing the consolidation of the colonial cities in line with the recommendations of experts.

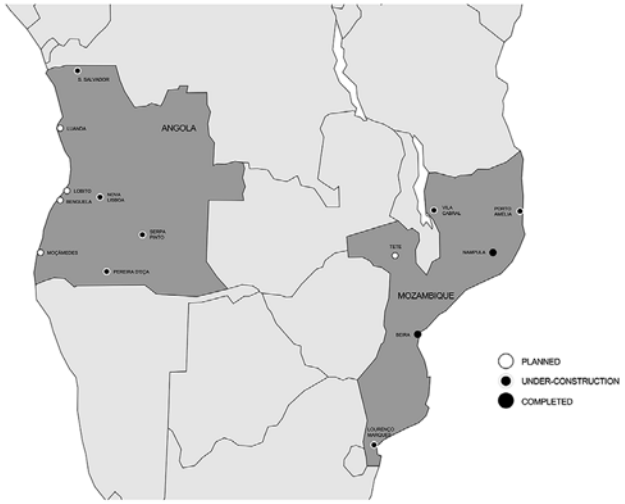


Figure 16 Salazar Foundation neighborhoods completed, under construction, and planned, Angola and Mozambique, 1971 (redrawn by B. Serrazina and author; Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971* [Lisbon: FS, 1971], PRE 886, Archive of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

The importance of collective housing typologies, which were introduced alongside detached houses, also grew. The model was a four-story block (thus avoiding the need for elevators) with a left–right distribution, as built in Maputo (eight blocks/sixty-four units), Nampula (allegedly five blocks/forty units), Luanda (three blocks/forty-two units), and Praia (two blocks/thirty-two units).[59] This typology corresponded to Profabril's metropolitan one, and, at least in Cape Verde, the design that was applied is consistent with this project (Figures 17 and 18).[60] This typological correspondence suggests a recurring model of multifamily housing in neighborhoods classified as "economic/affordable." In Portugal, most were intended to house former rural populations in transition to urban life. In Angola, Mozambique, and Cape Verde, however, this model was considered appropriate for "assimilated" families or more economically disadvantaged "white settlers."

The Mozambican flats stood out for the quality of their design, which was higher than that of their Portuguese and Cape Verdean counterparts. For example, they had balconies for individual use, and the average gross area per unit was 73.87 square meters, some 8 square meters more than the flats built by the FS in Portugal and Cape Verde (Figures 19 and 20). Cross-ventilation was also included, plus ventilation and natural light in the bathrooms. The communal staircases were sealed with horizontal grilles for a ventilated and sun-protected environment (Figure 21). The entrance to the block was marked by an entrance overhang and a bench that created an outdoor area for socializing.



Figure 17 Salazar Foundation building seen from the Craveiro Lopes neighborhood, Praia, Cape Verde (author's photo, 2025).

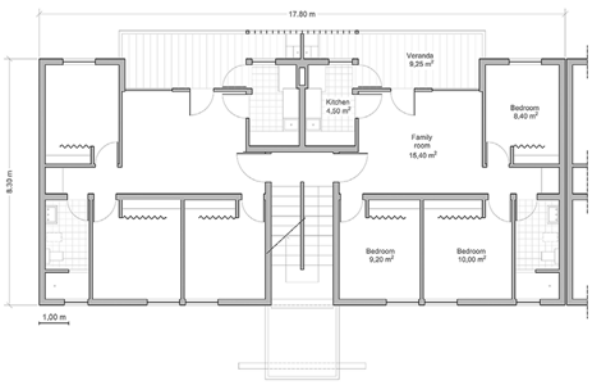


Figure 19 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967 (redrawn by L. M. Silva and author).

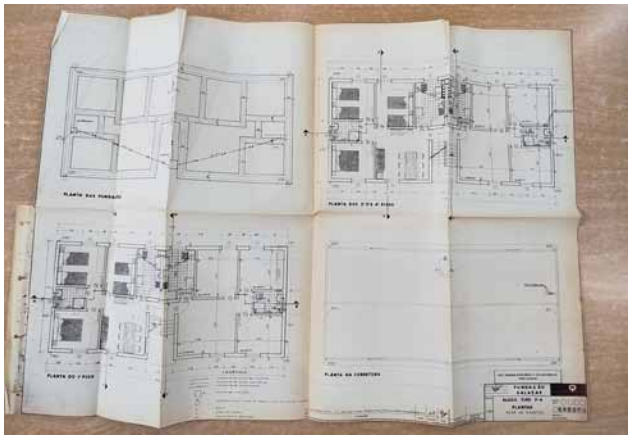


Figure 18 Profabril project for the Salazar Foundation, 1970–71 (Box 572, MIT, Instituto do Arquivo Nacional de Cabo Verde, Praia).



Figure 20 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967 (PRE 886, Archive of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

In Luanda, the three blocks of Bairro do Caputo, inaugurated by Governor Fernando Augusto Santos e Castro (1922–83) in 1974, followed the same pattern. Each housing block comprised two entrance areas, with a left–right distribution and two- and three-bedroom typologies (Figure 22). The forty-two families residing in the blocks were described by one of their members as having "modest resources, relying only . . . on the salary of the head of household."[61] A single balcony, delineating the front of the apartment, served both the living room and one or more bedrooms. The rear elevation revealed the kitchen area and the windows of one of the bedrooms and the bathroom. In 2024, I was able to visit only a two-bedroom apartment, and I could not survey the side gables, whose organization differs partially from the standard (Figure 23).[62] Ultimately, the gabled roof that was a defining feature of FS blocks in Portugal would be replaced by a terrace in the Mozambican examples. In Luanda, the gabled fiber-cement roof was not visible from the exterior and was perceived as a terrace.

The FS dwellings in Mozambique and Angola had family-centered typologies and functional values similar to their metropolitan counterparts, reflecting the Eurocentric architectural culture emerging in the late 1960s. According to testimonies gathered during a visit to the Malhangalene neighborhood, Maputo, in 2022, the flats were intended for former African soldiers of the Portuguese colonial army injured in conflicts against liberation military groups.[63] These typologies were also common to other colonial experiments, such as those featured on the cover of a 1960 issue of the Belgian magazine *Rythme*, included by Sofie Boonen and Johan Lagae in their essay on the OCA's housing production: three-story blocks, a central staircase, and balconies (Figure 24).[64] The "civilizing" and "progressive" goals of these buildings were expressed in the architectural language and the definition of specific urban layouts.

Two colonial realities thus coexisted in the Malhangalene neighborhood, measured by the degree of urbanity indicated by the layouts of the different blocks (Figure 25). Separated by a street (now Rua da Malhangalene), the neighborhood consisted of two clusters of residential

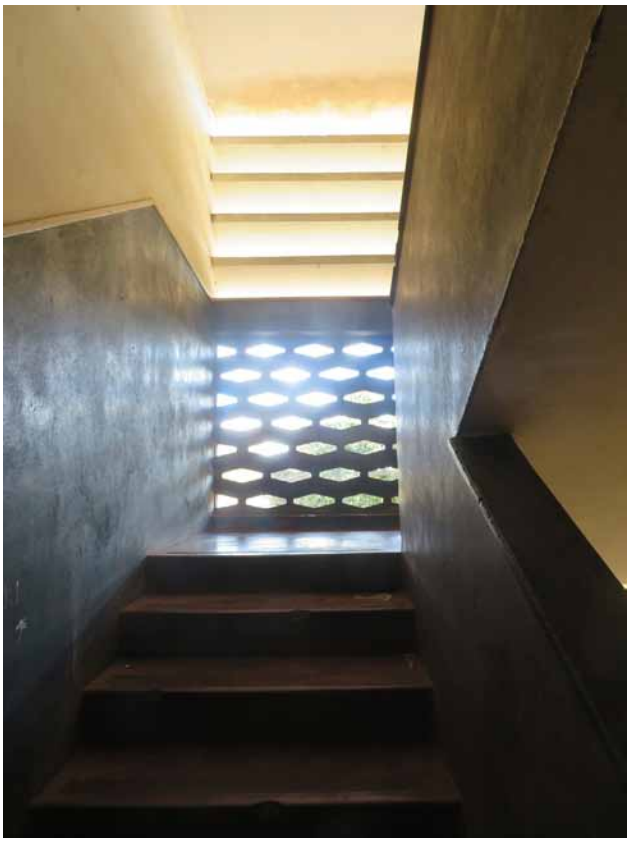


Figure 21 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967, grille on stairwell for ventilation (author's photo, 2022).

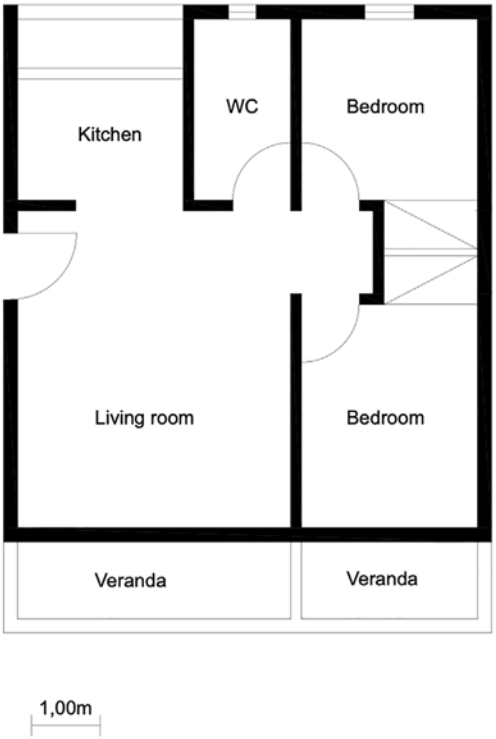


Figure 22 Caputo neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Luanda, Angola, 1974, plan of an apartment (redrawn by B. Serrazina and author).

buildings, all of which followed the same architectural program, construction technology, and internal functional structure. The smaller cluster, made up of eight (plus two) FS blocks, was lined up parallel to the Rua da Malhangalene, around an internal square, while closing off the surrounding area (now a car park restricted to residents) (Figures 26 and 27). The remaining eighteen blocks, funded by the JBCP, were located obliquely to the same street, following an urban layout intended to maximize sunlight and natural ventilation. This complex remains invisible from the main street. Today, its social areas are characterized by vegetation and large trees, surrounded by casually arranged benches, as no conventional roads or public gardens have yet been built (Figure 28).

This difference in the original urban layout reinforces the FS's aim to position itself as a factor of social differentiation within colonial society, the memory of which still seems to linger in the collective imagination of today's population and is reflected in the current state of conservation of the buildings. Despite this alleged original urban differentiation, no studies have confirmed that the colonial inhabitants had different backgrounds. What prevails is the notion of status conferred by the label "FS neighborhood." Similarly,



Figure 23 Caputo neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Luanda, Angola, 1974 (author's photo, 2023).

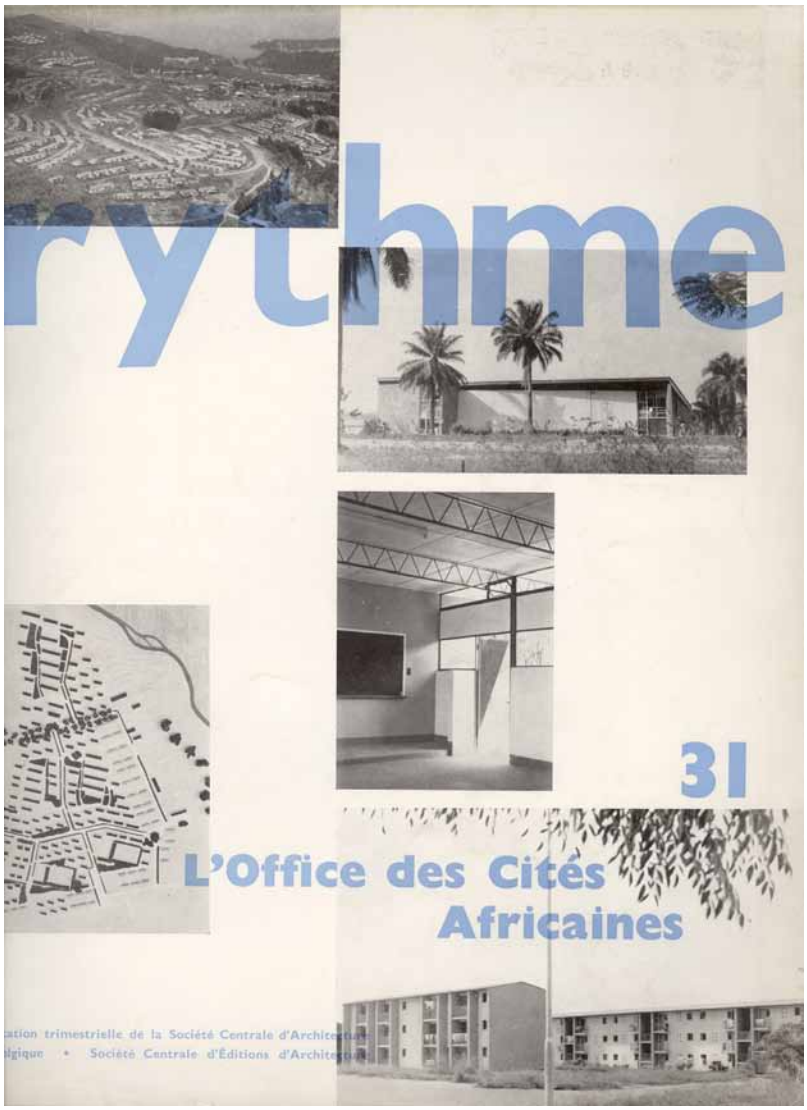


Figure 24 Cover of a themed issue of the Belgian magazine *Rythme* devoted to the production of the Office des Cités Africaines, 1960 (courtesy of Johan Lagae).

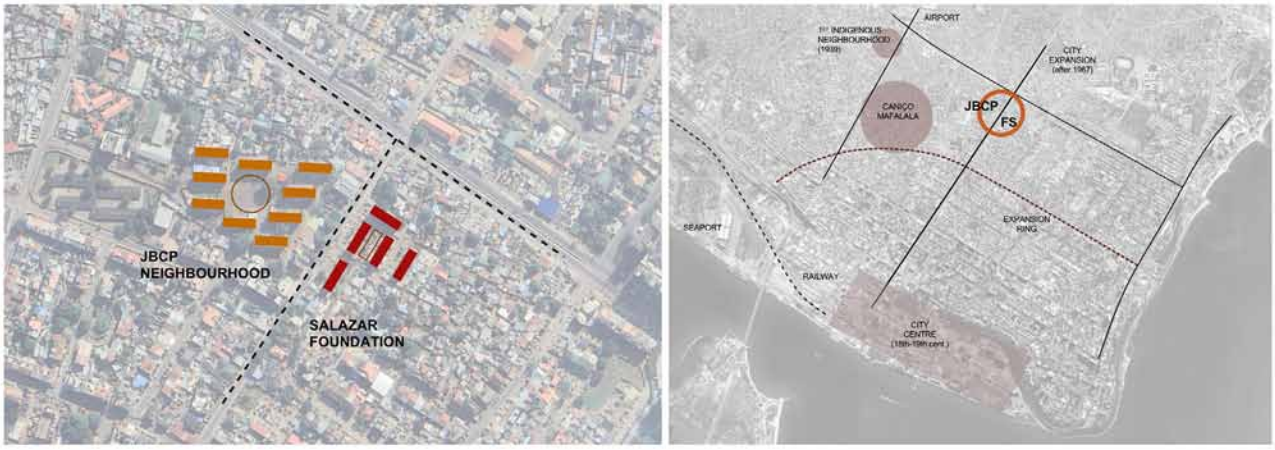


Figure 25 Malhangalene neighborhood, consisting of the former Salazar Foundation neighborhood and the Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares neighborhood, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967 (drawings by B. Serrazina and author).

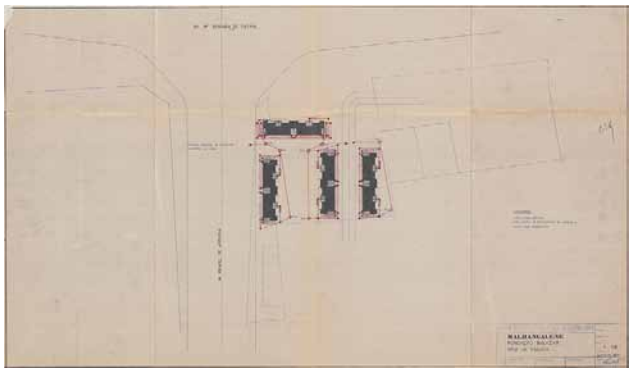


Figure 26 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967, layout showing orientation toward the best sunlight (Historical Archive of Mozambique; courtesy of Patricia Noormahomed).



Figure 27 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood square, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967 (author's photo, 2022).

in Luanda, the three blocks are separated from five other blocks of the same design by a road linking today's Rua Lino Amezaga to Largo Demóstenes de Almeida, reinforcing their individuality as landmarks (Figure 29).

Finally, in 1973, the foundation's strategy changed again, probably because the Portuguese elite became more cautious about investing in African colonies (further research is needed to substantiate this claim). By this time, the FS board had decided to focus only on Lisbon and its metropolitan area, while colonial efforts were reduced to completing work already started.[65]

From "Indigenous" to "Economically Weak": Housing Plans and Strategies

The activities of the FS raise important questions about the role of Portuguese colonialist housing in Africa and offer new insights into its debates and strategies. In relation to this, social science research has long addressed issues of housing for African communities in the context of Portuguese colonial urbanism, denouncing the discriminatory and segregating nature of colonial cities.[66] More recently, histories of colonial architecture have contributed to this analysis, but without examining the context in which the problem of "Indigenous" housing began to be systematically debated.[67] Given the geography of the Portuguese Empire, much of which was concentrated in Southern Africa, an interimperial approach to housing helps reveal strategies and policies, as well as concepts and designs, on the part of the FS and the Portuguese government. From 1952 onward, following the aforementioned Twenty-First International Congress, a series of conferences, meetings, training sessions, and visits took place throughout Africa that help describe this interimperial approach.



Figure 28 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, Malhangalene neighborhood square, Maputo, Mozambique, ca. 1967 (author's photo, 2022).

Most housing policies and forms took shape "within a larger frame of the colonial discourse of subordination and pacification."[68] In the case of Portuguese late colonialism, this process was set up as a confrontation with the liberation movements and eventually found an echo in other settings—namely, in Algeria, where the war for independence had a strong interplay with the promotion of urban housing and rural structures.[69] It is also worth noting that the FS emerged when support for housing African populations gained momentum on the Portuguese national political scene, following local and global sociopolitical shifts. Portuguese technicians were called upon to bring their accumulated knowledge from field experience and academic-theoretical discourses to assist the colonial state in maintaining urban and social peace. A dominant idea across geographies was the shift in focus from "Indigenous worker's house" to "Indigenous family housing."[70]

After the mid-1940s, the Estado Novo had begun to address the "Indigenous" housing deficit more systematically.[71] Yet it was up to provincial governments to assume local leadership. The development of new neighborhoods with certain territorial dimensions was reported in colonial



Figure 29 Caputo neighborhood, former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Luanda, Angola, before 1974 (drawings by B. Serrazina and author).

propaganda, with outputs measured in terms of rooms (rather than housing units) built. In Luanda, for example, "the action carried out by the government through the Indigenous Neighborhood Funds" was quantified for "355 houses already built, with a total of 899 rooms."[72] It was argued that these new sites would foster a "neighborhood spirit, without being dissociated from the city to which they belong."[73] Such ideas reveal the colonial administration's concern to promote integration or assimilation even before the outbreak of the colonial war, although the pervasiveness of segregated spatial practices was still evident in several later projects. The important *Preliminary Study of the Housing Problem in Luanda*, issued in 1962, proposed the creation of three types of neighborhood units based on the economic and racial profiles of the colonial population, with two of the types being exclusively for "Africans."[74]

In architectural expression, a significant shift in discourse was also noted. Whereas in 1955 the *cubatas* (native houses) were considered "unhygienic and unaesthetic," by 1958 initiatives combining "native tradition" with contemporary "technique" were praised.[75] From then on, experts were to consider local traditions and promote designs that were (supposedly) faithful to Africa's "cultural heritage."[76] The "model" house had a circular floor plan, brick walls, and a conical roof, representing a Western stereotype of vernacular architecture. This was the case in a neighborhood in present-day Namibe, identified as "Caracul style" (Figures 30 and 31).[77]

By the end of the 1950s, "Indigenous supported housing" was no longer seen only as a health issue but as a political one as well (besides remaining key in urban planning). As a founding member of the Commission de Coopération Technique en Afrique au Sud du Sahara (CCTA), Portugal took part in international debates. Internally, the acceleration of the colonial war, which the Portuguese military had been predicting since at least 1958, was a warning sign for the colonial authorities and social scientists in public



Figure 30 Manuel Santos Pereira, urban houses in the "Caracul style," Namibe (former Moçâmedes), Angola, before 1958 (author's photo, 2023).



Figure 31 Indigenous neighborhood with "Caracul style" construction, Namibe (former Moçâmedes), Angola, before 1958 (IPAD 16195, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon).

administration.[78] In this context, Castilho Soares's ideas on how to accommodate African populations in large colonial cities were crucial. They were related to the Portuguese



Figure 32 Navegantes neighborhood's location in Benguela, Angola (drawings by B. Serrazina and author).

political-administrative reforms carried out since the 1960s because of numerous missions to Africa, publications on the "well-being" of rural communities, and their impact on preventing the exodus from rural areas to African cities.[79]

Soares drew up a program for the design and implementation of economically assisted neighborhoods, distinguishing between "urban" and "suburban" neighborhoods. He associated the former with an economic criterion and the latter with displaced rural African communities, as the former were organized based on income and were intended for families already living in cities, or *assimilados*, while the latter were designed for families coming from rural areas, regardless of their financial circumstances.[80] Referring to the "suburban" neighborhoods, Soares outlined their main characteristics as location (suburban areas near industrial zones with access to the transport network), density (small, low-density areas), urban layout (preference for radial structures), unity (self-built structure and backyard; Soares proposed a model house), and guaranteed basic sanitation.[81]

By contrast, "urban" neighborhoods should be in cities, adapted to family incomes, and capable of reproducing the densities tested in comparable residential areas (including European ones), but also able to maintain a balance between different ethnic groups (so that the "white" population did not feel "excluded") and to promote shared health and education facilities.[82] Soares proposed to use the "generic term of economic neighborhoods" for "economically weak" populations, and this name subsequently became part of the jargon of technicians and politicians.[83]

The FS operated within these "economic/affordable neighborhoods," promoting the construction of collective blocks near the city's center and single-family homes in peripheral or rural areas (Figure 32). The ideally antisegregational agenda of these areas was celebrated in the Portuguese news. Publicity in the national media about the handing over of the keys to the FS neighborhood in



Figure 33 Inauguration and handover of houses in Bairro Salazar, offered by the Salazar Foundation to several families, with the presence of the governor of the district of Benguela, Angola, 6 June 1973 (*Notícias Nacionais*, 1973, Archives of Rádio e Televisão de Portugal).

Benguela was designed to confirm the cohabitation of "white" and "black" residents. Amid the colonial war, the FS's actions were praised for supporting this allegedly "integrating" policy (Figure 33).[84]

The main strategy of the FS was therefore to finance so-called formal housing. According to public works experts, similar housing solutions seemed to resonate with urban African communities, who wanted to emulate European lifestyles. Portuguese authorities also perceived a growing interest in Westernized housing. At a meeting in Nairobi in 1959, for example, it was noted that "African heads of households prefer Western-style housing more and more."[85]

Given the high demand for houses, the public works technicians stressed the impossibility of accommodating the entire "economically weak" population in newly built houses based on metropolitan models. This argument, based on the number of people to be housed, had already been put forward by Aguiar in 1952. Recognizing the enormous task of housing the "native" population—which in Mozambique alone, for example, numbered 5,732,767 people—he proposed the construction of "autochthonous residential units" for between 5,000 and 15,000 inhabitants.[86] These units would function like "satellite towns."[87] For the remaining Africans, Aguiar limited public intervention to urban areas and infrastructure, with the state building facilities and laying out roads. The construction of housing would then be left to the population.

As the threat of colonial war loomed, the construction of large settlements for Africans began to be questioned and even rejected. Amid the various options, self-produced housing remained the only reasonable one for the technical agencies to promote. It was precisely these agents who were most aware of and committed to addressing the economic limitations of state budgets.

Density-controlled neighborhoods and self-building were two solutions that the colonial apparatus also welcomed. Such approaches were reaffirmed at the 1961 Colloquium on Urbanism, in the session on colonial territories. Eurico Machado, engineer at the Urbanization and Housing Services Board of the General Directorate of Public Works and Communications of the Ministry of Overseas Territories, stressed the importance of involving the new urban population in housing construction.[88] For Machado, the colonial city already met exemplary conditions: In his words, it was "pluri-racial," it promoted "acculturation" and "assimilation" (both interpreted as "inevitable" colonial conditions), and it allowed for the "Indigenous" status of the newcomers to be transitory. Machado even criticized the process of settling "economically weak" groups on the peripheries.[89] The urban solution, he argued, lay in "mixed communities" of 10,000 inhabitants, organized into neighborhood units, with "spaces for the Indigenous people" allocated "in convenient proportions."[90]

As for the houses themselves, they should be self-produced by the occupants, with the principle of accommodating all the "rudimentary types of housing" in areas with adequate infrastructure while allowing for "the future evolution of the 'habitat' to higher levels."[91] This protocol was intended to avoid unnecessary expenditure by the colonial apparatus on housing types that would prove unsuitable for the population. In this way, the public works technicians trusted the capacity of urbanism and architecture to gradually influence the way of life of Indigenous communities.

Machado's speech was in line with other plans to increase social miscegenation. In Luanda, for instance, the architect Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho (b. 1929) intended to experiment with housing types for different "precarious" ethnic/economic groups by constructing collective buildings, two-story continuous bands, and single-family houses. Later, in the Fishermen's neighborhood for the island of Luanda (1963–66), promoted by the CAFBP, he and his team ended up promoting a single-story residential typology in a project that arguably influenced the "popular" neighborhoods of Benguela and Namibe, where the FS developed groups of single-family houses (Figures 34 and 35).[92] These houses were built according to Western design standards, although they also incorporated elements that were understood to be derived from African culture, such as interior patios (Figure 36).[93]



Figure 34 Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho with José Pinto da Cunha, model house, Fishermen's neighborhood, Luanda Island, Angola, 1963–66 (author's photo, 2023).



Figure 35 Former Salazar Foundation neighborhood, Namibe, 1972–74 (former Moçâmedes), Angola (author's photo, 2023).

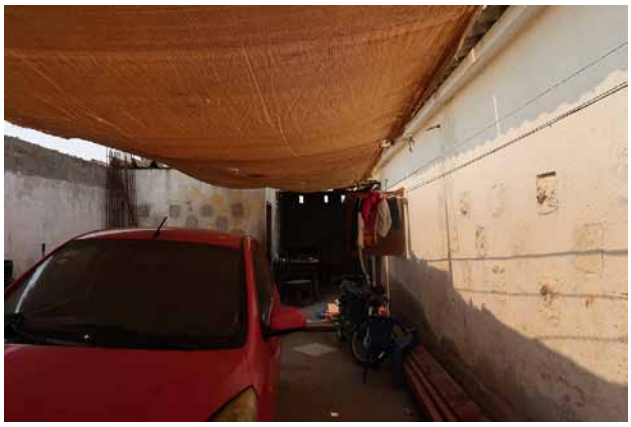


Figure 36 Courtyard of a house in the Navegantes neighborhood, Benguela, Angola, ca. 1973 (author's photo, 2023).

Meanwhile, architects did not give up their control over the design of the housing block.[94] The debate in Portugal was polarized between the pragmatism reflected in public services and the idealism of architectural culture. The dominant conviction, however, was that "no provincial or national budget could bear the burden of resolving the problem" of promoting assisted housing or affordable rents

(even considering 30 contos per "Indigenous dwelling," for example).[95] One of the possible solutions for the funding problem would be to entrust part of the task to "private nonprofit organizations." That was precisely the scope of the FS, since its strategy consisted of promoting homes for conditional economic rent as part of a "package" of solutions debated by the Portuguese political circle in Lisbon.

The Political Agenda from a Metropolitan Perspective

During the colonial war, the housing problem was discussed in the National Assembly in Lisbon on at least three legislative occasions. Two initiatives focused on the colonial territories (1966 and 1974), mediated by the interventions of Deputy Alberto de Alarcão (1931–?) on the lack of housing in Portugal (1971 and 1972). After the first initiative in March 1966, by Henriques da Nazaré, on 20 April 1974 the issue was revisited for the last time before African independence by José d'Almeida Santos Júnior (1922–?), who proposed the creation of a plan for state housing and urban planning in the states of Angola and Mozambique.[96] This final proposal illustrates the failure of the Portuguese administration to implement strategies regularly discussed during the last fifteen years of colonization.[97] Nevertheless, in 1974 Portuguese politicians still wished to implement a "process of housing development in conditions of comfort, hygiene and health, [for] the populations of the urban centers with the greatest economic concentration"—thus echoing arguments launched in 1966.[98]

During those early debates, Gustavo Neto de Miranda (1918–?), the representative of the Benguela region, had already drawn attention to dramatic demographic changes in Angola. He had shown that between 1940 and 1950 the urban population had doubled from 5.4 percent to 11 percent of the total. Luanda's population had increased by 267.9 percent in less than twenty years, reaching 224,540 in 1960.[99] In one decade, the African population of the Angolan capital had grown at about four times the rate of the European population, although the latter accounted for 25 percent of the total in the city.[100] This picture of Luanda was confirmed by the geographer Ilídio do Amaral (1926–2017). In 1968, he found that of the total population of Angola, the city was home to around 4.6 percent of the "blacks," 32 percent of the "whites," and 25 percent of the "mestizos."[101] Statistical data indicated that the urban area was the domain of European settlers. Amaral denied the existence of segregation in Luanda based on race, arguing that there were no "ethnic" impediments that prevented any family from settling in any of city's neighborhoods. He did, however, acknowledge the existence of "economic and social separation," which acted as a segregating factor.[102]

The final debate on colonial housing of the Portuguese National Assembly showed that the "problems of social discomfort" persisted and that these were seen as resulting from the continued "displacement of significant rural masses to the city."[103] Rural–urban migration had continued, despite calls from technical experts to curb it, putting increasing pressure on urban planning and exacerbating the general shortage of housing. Unable to defend masonry houses for all, the deputies representing the "interests" of the colonial regions in the National Assembly called instead for "modest solutions." Only those who could afford to buy or rent brick houses would have access to more permanent solutions, of the kind that the FS was keen to promote.[104] In this sense, the use of "lasting" building materials (such as brick or concrete) and the very fact of building design continued to index urban and social discrimination.

The difficulty faced by the JBCP, the FS's partner in Mozambique, in building houses in significant numbers was cited as an example. Tasked with "the construction, in urban and suburban areas, of houses equipped with the functional conditions that are indispensable for the low-income population," the JBCP had completed only 800 units since it was founded, with an estimated 30,000 units still needed in the Lourenço Marques region alone.[105] In the administrative post of Machava, Matola, the current Bairro Infulene illustrated the type of houses built, while on the outskirts of the city of Beira, a huge plan for the Bairro de São Benedicto presented the urban model that was planned for the African working class (Figures 37 and 38). Yet the project would never get off the drawing board. Using the same argument as the technicians, the politicians asked, "How much will it cost to house these families?"[106] Apparently, the debate ignored the experience of other colonial states that had used housing to promote "social welfare." From 1952 through 1960, for example, before the independence of the DRC, the Belgian state, through the work of the OCA, was able to provide 40,000 new homes in the cities of Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, Kisangani, and Bujumbura.[107]

To house the largest number of people, the construction of complete residential units would have to be abandoned. The state would invest only in basic sanitation and street layouts. Consequently, the *palhota*, or hut, would endure in this new urbanized landscape.[108] Colonial administrators agreed on this solution, although there was also room for assisted housing as an insignificant part of the overall program. The burden of housing was to be shifted to municipalities, freeing up central and provincial government funds for infrastructure construction. Some incentives, such as credit facilities, were provided to address the lack of private initiative and to encourage speculators or cooperatives to enter the sector. Land concessions and the provision of architectural projects to interested private entities were also facilitated.



Figure 37 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, semidetached house in the Infulene neighborhood, Machava administrative post, Matola, outskirts of Maputo, Mozambique, 1962–75 (author's photo, 2022).

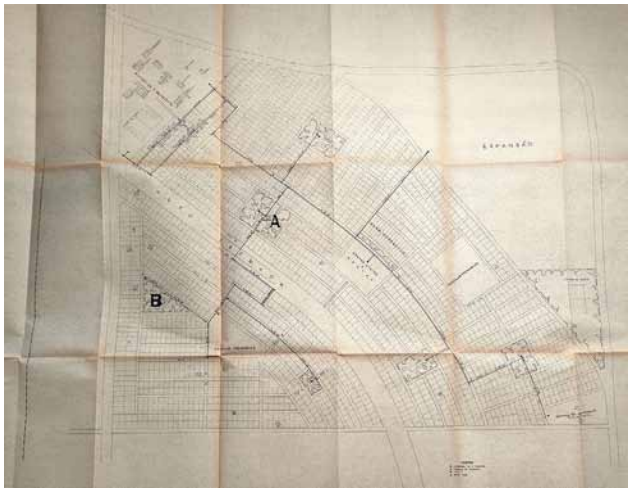


Figure 38 Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares da Beira (with signatures: [Fernando Martins de] Sousa; Viegas; and illegible), urban planning project for the São Benedicto neighborhood, Mozambique, 1963–67 (IPAD 14306, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon).

The FS neighborhoods benefited from these conditions. They occupied public and municipal land, and they used existing infrastructure and standard projects supplied by different colonial agencies. In Africa, the FS pursued objectives that were different from those it had in Portugal, where it focused on serving the poorest. In all colonial settings, the aim was to provide alternatives for populations in the process of consolidating their "Westernized" urban habits and with the capacity to secure controlled rents. The so-called assimilated populations were thus the targets of the FS. In particular, the organization of the home was considered an educational tool that could influence behavior and even beneficially alter the constitution of the family nucleus. Having many children was criticized as a cause of impoverishment, in part because large families demanded more costly housing.[109] The FS sought to use the layout of the house to encourage ways of living that were close to Western models.

Final Remarks

Four days before the April Revolution, the Portuguese National Assembly debated the problem of housing in the colonial territories for the last time. It was openly admitted that "economic segregation [ended up] being racial."[110] The concentration of "economically weak" populations in large neighborhoods far from the city center was considered contrary to the "multiracial policy" praised by the Portuguese administration, as such distribution made it impossible for the residents of those neighborhoods to have "intense daily social contact with individuals from other sociocultural strata."[111] In this context, the FS neighborhoods represented a "fine line" of segregation, encouraging populations to settle in areas close to the formal city as well as urbanized areas. Amid the colonial war, these neighborhoods also helped to break the perceived "hegemony" of the *musseque* by occupying its margins or even by "colonizing" its interior. FS projects were often located in areas in which the colonial housing agencies planned to work. This alone could lead to segregation through the way the buildings were implanted in these urban structures.

Yet the actions of the FS were practically negligible in the fight against precarious housing and the consideration of the general lack of solutions for African populations. Most FS neighborhoods had a symbolic character that still lingers in some communities, as, for example, in Maputo. In other cases, as in Angola and Cape Verde, it has been difficult to locate these former residential complexes simply by their colonial name since they seem to have disappeared from the imaginaries of urban and rural populations. Significantly, the efforts of the FS do not seem to have had a lasting impact, given their dispersal into many small-scale neighborhoods across the metropolitan and colonial territories. By 1974, these added up to thirty-three new neighborhoods. Rather, the FS supported the idea of a multicontinental "empire-state," promoting residential structures on a controlled scale around the Westernized city centers. The foundation's activities were essentially aimed at populations that were in the process of "assimilation," and thus contributed to the consolidation of an African colonial working class. This social strategy was adopted in the last years of the Estado Novo.

In collective housing, the internal structure of the dwellings, the layout of the blocks, and the predictable socialization were expected to contribute to an increasingly "urban" life. If social scientists, such as Soares, saw the new

"urban neighborhoods" as vehicles for social mobility, and the technical heads of urban planning bodies, such as the engineer Eurico Machado, believed in the irreversibility of the process of Westernization of African societies, then the FS's actions fit perfectly into the logic of late Portuguese colonization.

In view of the FS's initial objectives, which set a target of 624 homes to be built by the end of 1973, the 586 units built by April 1974 indicated a satisfactory balance. These figures also underline the symbolic nature of these operations from the outset, a fact that amply justifies the presidential patronage associated with political acts of representation rather than the actual exercise of power. Although the FS did not seek to solve colonial needs, it did seek to illustrate Portuguese "welfare" policies through its operations and the propaganda in which they were reported.

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Abstract

The Fundação Salazar, or Salazar Foundation, was a private agency set up in the late 1960s to build assisted housing for the "economically weak" urban and rural populations across Portugal and former African and Asian territories under Portuguese rule (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor). It developed small-scale neighborhoods using consistent programmatic typologies (collective four-story blocks in urban/suburban locations and single-family houses in rural or peri-urban areas). By 1978, when the Salazar Foundation was dissolved, it had built neighborhoods in twenty-four Portuguese cities and nineteen former colonial regions, with a total of 2,067 housing units. This article examines the foundation's activities, which were supported at the highest levels of metropolitan and colonial powers and also became the subject of political propaganda. It questions the housing program as a key strategy of the Portuguese rule to control populations and delay their potential involvement in the anticolonial struggle.

Keywords: Salazar Foundation; housing programs; Africa; Portuguese colonialism

Notes

1. I am grateful to Beatriz Serrazina and João Cardim for their careful review of the manuscript for this article. The research was funded by the European Union (ERC, ArchLabour, 1101096606). The views and opinions expressed are, however, those of the author only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

2. See Adriano Moreira, *Política ultramarina* (Lisbon: Overseas Research Board, Center for Political and Social Studies, 1960). Before becoming minister for overseas affairs, Moreira was one of the leading politicians to point to the United Nations as a critical forum for colonial policies and to reflect on the shortcomings of the Portuguese state in the governance of its colonies. The Estado Novo (1928/1933–74) was a fascist-inspired political regime in Portugal that lasted until the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974. António de Oliveira Salazar was the regime's main ideologue, and he ruled the country until two years before his death. The end of the regime also served to promote the independence of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa.

3. See, for example, "Dominance and Mass-Violence Through Housing and Architecture During Colonial Wars: The Portuguese Case (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique)," funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, Portal SciPROJ, http://doi.org/10.54499/PTDC/ART-DAQ/0592/2020 (accessed 6 Jan. 2026); Francesca Vita, "Arquitetura doméstica em diálogo: O papel da colonização portuguesa na forma de construir e habitar o espaço doméstico contemporâneo na Guiné-Bissau" (PhD thesis, FAUP, 2023); Filipa Fiúza and Ana Vaz Milheiro, "Colonizing and Infrastructuring the Angolan Territory Through Colonial Settlements: The Case of the Cela Settlement," in *Routledge Handbook of Urban Planning in Africa*, ed. Carlos Nunes Silva (London: Routledge, 2020), 90–106; Ana Vaz Milheiro, "Africanidade e arquitectura colonial: A casa projectada pelo Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial (1944–1974)," *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 25 (June 2013), 121–39. The name Marcelist Spring was given to the government of Marcelo Caetano, who succeeded Salazar as president of Portugal's Council of Ministers and served from 1968 to 1974.

4. "Para 'a obra urgente de substituir as chamadas casas de lata'—A Fundação Salazar começa a transformar-se em realidade" [For 'the urgent work of replacing the so-called tin houses,' the Salazar Foundation begins to become a reality], *Diário de Notícias*, 31 Jan. 1969. See also "Visita oficial de Américo Tomás ao Porto" [Official visit of Américo Thomaz to Porto], 26 Oct. 1968, and "Tomada de posse da Comissão Organizadora da Fundação Salazar" [Inauguration of the Organizing Committee of the Salazar Foundation], 29 Jan. 1969, Archives of Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, Lisbon (hereafter RTP Archives). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

5. See Martina Barker-Ciganikova, "Introduction," in *The Politics of Housing in (Post-)Colonial Africa: Accommodating Workers and Urban Residents*, ed. Martina Barker-Ciganikova, Kirsten Rüther, Daniela Waldburger, and Carl-Philipp Bodenstein (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 1–30.

6. See Ricardo Costa Agarez, "Cem anos de políticas públicas para a habitação em Portugal: Notas para uma história em construção," in *Habitação: Cem anos de políticas públicas em Portugal, 1918–2018*, ed. Ricardo Costa Agarez (Lisbon: IHRU, 2015), 29.

7. LNEC also inspired the creation of similar organizations in the colonies, such as the Angolan Engineering Laboratory (LEA) and its counterpart the Mozambican Engineering Laboratory (LEM). The former hosted the commission that conducted the preliminary study of the housing problem in Angola's capital city, Luanda, in 1962.

8. Statutes approved by the Minister for Health and Welfare, 31 July 1969, Decree-Law 721/73, 31 Dec. 1973, *Diário do Governo* 302/1973, series I, 2567–68.

9. In 1969, the Portuguese "overseas provinces" consisted of five territories in Africa (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Mozambique) and two on the Asian continent (East Timor and Macau).

10. See Fernando Tavares Pimenta, *Portugal e o século XX: Estado-império e descolonização (1890–1975)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2010).

11. See, for example, Ilídio do Amaral, *Luanda (estudo de geografia urbana)* (Lisbon: JIU, 1968), 27. For a broader recent study on Portuguese expertise in

Portugal, Africa, and Asia, see Eduardo Ascensão, "Following Engineers and Architects Through Slums: The Technoscience of Slum Intervention in the Portuguese-Speaking Landscape," *Análise Social* 48, no. 206 (2013), 153–80.

12. "O Ministério dos Assuntos Sociais extingue a Fundação Salazar" [The Ministry of Social Affairs abolishes the Salazar Foundation], Decree-Law 295/78, 26 Sept. 1978, *Diário do Governo* 222/1978, series I, 2021–22; A. de M. e Almeida, "Comunicado do presidente do Conselho Administrativo da Fundação Salazar," *Diário de Notícias*, 14 Oct. 1978.

13. Narana Coissoró, "A extinção da Fundação Salazar—Um caso de desvio de poder," *Tempo* (Lisbon), 23 Nov. 1978.

14. "Inauguração e entrega de casas no Bairro Salazar, oferecidas pela Fundação Salazar a várias famílias, com a presença do governador do distrito de Benguela" [Inauguration and handover of houses in the Salazar Neighborhood, offered by the Salazar Foundation to several families, with the presence of the governor of the Benguela District], 6 June 1973, RTP Archives.

15. Província de Angola, "Inaugurados três blocos residenciais no Bairro Caputo, construídos pela Fundação Salazar," 3 Mar. 1974, RTP Archives; "Governador de Angola, Santos e Castro, inaugura blocos residenciais em Luanda," *Telejornal*, 7 Mar. 1974, RTP Archives, https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/pais/inauguracao-de-edificios-num-bairro-em-luanda-era-noticia-ha-50-anos_v1555920.

16. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1970* (Lisbon: FS, 1970).

17. From the scarce bibliography on the FS neighborhoods in Portugal, see Dulce Freire and Pedro Namorado Borges, "O problema da habitação rural: Debates e políticas públicas durante o Estado Novo," in Agarez, *Habitação*, 150–52.

18. This survey was supported by João Cardim during 2023.

19. In Luanda, most of the documentation was found in newspaper clippings, collected and generously provided by Maria Alice Correia (IPGUL).

20. Legal Diploma no. 2.297, 13 Oct. 1962 (names and attributes of the Junta dos Bairros e Casas Populares, created by Legal Diploma no. 1.794, Boletim Oficial, no. 37/1958), *Boletim Oficial de Moçambique* 41 (1962). Legal Diploma no. 3117, 12 June 1961, created the "Administrative Commission of the Popular Neighborhoods Fund [Comissão Administrativa do Fundo dos Bairros Populares], which [was] responsible for overseeing, promoting, and assisting the construction of housing for the less well-off classes." Neto de Miranda, *Diário das Sessões* 31, 9 Mar. 1966, 517.

21. The FS was inactive in Macau and Guinea-Bissau. On the hypothesis about the sociospatial strategy of the Portuguese state, see Ana Vaz Milheiro and Inês Lima Rodrigues, "Neighborhood Units in Colonial Africa: Controlling the Musseque Through Models from the Global North," in *Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes II: Architecture, Colonialism, War in Africa; ArchWar Researchers' Book*, coord. Ana Vaz Milheiro (Lisbon: Dinâmia'CET–Iscte, 2026), 103–24, paper first presented at the Lieux et Enjeux Seminar, ENSA-PVS, 2023.

22. Amadeu Castilho Soares, "Introdução a um estudo do urbanismo em Angola: Bairros indígenas nos centros urbanos," *Estudos Ultramarinos* 1 (1960), 119–55; Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização, *Colóquio Sobre Urbanismo* (Lisbon: LNEC/MPO-DGSU, Centro de Estudos de Urbanismo, 1961).

23. Early notice "on the housing problem of the economically weak classes. . . . The promotion of the policy of self-building and conditional ownership," Manuel Henriques da Nazaré, proposal to the National Assembly, *Diário das Sessões* 16, 28 Jan. 1966, 246.

24. In the field of architecture, on rural and military resettlements and their impact on independence struggles, see, for instance, Rui Aristides Lebre and Tiago Castela "Wartime Villagization in Portuguese Colonialism in Guinea-Bissau," *e-Cadernos CES* 37 (2022), 35–59, https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.7122. On the relationship between rehousing and colonial war, see Francesca Vita, "The Entanglement Between Traditions and Colonial Spatiality: The Resilience of the Guinean Domesticities in the Ajuda Neighborhood, Bissau," and Ana Vaz Milheiro, "What Portuguese Late Colonialism? Residential Strategies in the Service of the War Effort (1961–1974)," papers presented at the annual conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments, Singapore, 2022. In the field of social science, see, for example, Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, "Rural (In)Securities: Resettlement, Control and 'Development' in Angola (1960s–1970s)," *Comparativ* 27, no. 2 (2017), 75–97.

25. The episode is recalled in an internal information pamphlet published by the Companhia União Fabril: "Um lar condigno para cada família," *Informação Interna da CUF* (1969), 19.

26. "A lista dos donativos da Fundação Salazar," *Diário de Notícias*, 1 Aug. 1969.

27. For a framework of CUF's residential strategies during the colonial war, see Ana Vaz Milheiro and João Cardim, "Residential Landscapes Sponsored by Companhia União Fabril (CUF) in Barreiro (1945–1972): Promotion of Multi-Family Working-Class Housing in Post-WWII Portugal," *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale urbaine et paysagère*, no. 15 (2022), https://doi.org/10.4000/craup.11178.

28. "Um lar condigno para cada família," 19.

29. A. Thomaz, speech, 31 July 1969, RTP Archives.

30. A. M. Almeida expressed his intention to "give all the Portuguese a decent home" (dar um lar condigno a cada português). "Tomada de posse da Comissão Organizadora da Fundação Salazar."

31. "Em prol de uma habitação condigna para cada família portuguesa, 'O começo da realização de um sonho'—A Fundação Salazar já tem uma comissão organizadora que ontem foi empossada pelo presidente da república" [In favor of decent housing for all Portuguese families, 'the beginning of the realization of a dream'—the Salazar Foundation already has an organizing committee that was appointed yesterday by the president of the republic], *Diário de Notícias*, 31 Jan. 1969.

32. Thomaz, speech, 31 July 1969.

33. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1970*.

34. Salazar Foundation.

35. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1972* (Lisbon: FS, 1972).

36. Conceição, Legislative Session, 28 Apr. 1971, 1948.

37. Order no. 17.967, 23 Sept. 1960, *Diário do Governo* 222/1960, series I, 2010–73; Conceição, Legislative Session, 28 Apr. 1971, 1948.

38. The exception would be Lisbon. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971* (Lisbon: FS, 1971).

39. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1970*.

40. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1972*.

41. Little is known about Borges, who worked for the Ministry of Public Works as an employee of the Directorate-General for Urbanization from 1945. In 1966, he designed the plans for the Social Services of the Public Security Police, also under the Ministry of Public Works. These are four-story collective housing buildings identical to the typologies promoted by the FS. "Conjunto de blocos de habitação localizados na Calçada do Galvão, n.ºs 187–195" (five blocks built at Calçada do Galvão, nos. 187 to 195), Lisbon, in the Restelo neighborhood; see Patrícia Bento de Almeida, "Bairro(s) do Restelo, panorama urbanístico e arquitectónico" (PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013), 145ff., 445–68. To learn more about Borges see Arquitectura Aqui, https://arquitecturaaqui.eu/pt/agentes/pessoas/4324/ruy-antonio-da-silveira-borges.

42. See Maria Tavares and João Miguel Couto Duarte, "O arrendamento social público (1945–1969): Nova escala, novos programas e agentes," in Agarez, *Habitação*, 216.

43. The SPO referenced an architectural project by Borges that was already being implemented.

44. V. Wilton Pereira, "Doação do terreno Povos II pela Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian" [Donation of the Povos II site by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation], 25 Jan. 1973, SPO 02035, Archive of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

45. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade* em *1973* (Lisbon: FS, 1973).
46. For example, in April 1975, the FS sent a request to Évora Town Hall asking that the landscaping be carried out in its Horta das Figueiras neighborhood, which was already home to ninety-six families. The request was signed by civil engineer Joaquim Pereira dos Reis on behalf of the foundation. Salazar Foundation, "Urbanização do Bairro da Fundação Salazar em Évora" [Urbanization of the Salazar Foundation neighborhood in Évora], 11 Apr. 1975 (courtesy of J. Cardim).
47. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1970*.
48. [Fernando Batalha], "Projects for Rural Residences for Indigenous People from the GUU" [in Portuguese], letter no. 834/54, 26 Oct. 1954, Gabinete de Urbanização do Ultramar, Arquivo Histórico de São Tomé e Príncipe.
49. The location of kitchen and sanitary facilities in houses for African populations has been studied in different colonial and postcolonial contexts. The impact of African communities in Brazil, for example, with some repercussions in Portuguese academia, was first addressed by Luís Saia, *Morada Paulista* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1972); and Carlos Lemos, *Cozinhas* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1976). In the Portuguese context, there have been a few recent approaches; for example, see Vita, "Arquitectura doméstica."
50. Ana Vaz Milheiro, "Nos trópicos sem Le Corbusier: Arquitectura e cidade luso-africana de promoção pública no período final da colonização portuguesa (1944–1974); Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe," in *Modernidades ignoradas: Indagaciones sobre arquitectos y obras (casi) desconocidas de la arquitectura moderna*, ed. Roberto Goycoolea Prado (Mexico City: UAH-RNIU, 2014), 162–80.
51. See Sofie Boonen and Johan Lagae, "Ruashi, a Pessac in Congo? On the Design, Inhabitation, and Transformation of a 1950s Neighborhood in Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic of the Congo," in Barker-Ciganikova et al., *Politics of Housing*, 86.
52. "Concernat la construction des cités indigenes dans le cadre du Plan Decennal," 2nd Direction Générale, 2 Mar. 1951, 11-1, 3rd DG (1097), 15, Africa Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels. The Office des Cités Indigènes, which preceded the OCA, was a semigovernmental agency intended to build the new "indigenous cities" in what were then the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, as part of the Ten-Year Plan for the Social and Economic Development of the Belgian Congo of 1949.
53. *International Congress of Housing and Urbanism (Lisbon, 1952)*, FIMS/MONOGRAPHS/MSMS/Div-1746, Marques da Silva Foundation Archives, Porto; João António Aguiar, *L'habitation dans les pays tropicaux* (Lisbon: Federation Internationale de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme, 1952).
54. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971*.
55. M. Girão, in Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização, *Colóquio Sobre Urbanismo*, 236.
56. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971*.
57. See one of the few studies on the FS in Africa, on Mozambique: Patricia Noormahomed, "(Re)habitando la ciudad dejada: Apropiación y resignificación del proyecto moderno en Mozambique" (PhD thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2023). During my July 2022 field mission to Beira, Mozambique, to identify FS neighborhoods, residents I spoke with attributed the construction of their houses to the JBCP. However, comparing practice in Maputo with FS reports, I would argue that some of the blocks were in fact developed by the FS; see Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971*.
58. Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1972*.
59. The 1971 FS report mentioned sixty-eight detached houses in Nampula. See Salazar Foundation, *Relatório da actividade em 1971*.
60. Profabril, Salazar Foundation, block type F-4 ("Salazar Foundation Project; reinforced concrete, plans," Dec. 1970–Jan. 1971), Box 572, MIT, Instituto do Arquivo Nacional de Cabo Verde, Praia.
61. Quoted in Província de Angola, "Inaugurados três blocos residenciais."
62. I have not yet been able to determine either the architectural process used or the identity of the local developer.
63. See Noormahomed, "(Re)habitando la ciudad dejada," 114. I witnessed some of these testimonies during visits with Noormahomed on the 2022 field trip to the FS neighborhoods.
64. Boonen and Lagae, "Ruashi, a Pessac in Congo?," 71.
65. It is likely that in making this decision the board considered the recent publication of Decree-Law 583/72 of 30 December 1973, which included state-sponsored operations to create affordable housing in Portugal in the newly created Housing Development Fund (1969). The Third Development Plan (1968–73) also showed less investment in the African colonies compared to Portugal; see Ricardo Ferraz, *Os planos de fomento do Estado Novo: Quantificação e análise* (Lisbon: Edições Sílabo, 2022). This approach at the end of Portuguese colonialism may also have been followed by the FS in its colonial operations.
66. See, for example, two chapters in the collection organized by Nuno Domingos and Elsa Peralta, *A cidade e o colonial* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2013): Isabel Castro Henriques and Miguel Pais Vieira, "Cidades em Angola: Construções coloniais e reinvenções africanas," 7–58; Nuno Domingos, "A desigualdade como legado da cidade colonial portuguesa: Racismo e reprodução de mão-de-obra em Lourenço Marques," 59–112. For a critique of Portuguese architectural historiography, see Nuno Domingos, "Arquiteturas coloniais, planeamento urbano e a representação da história imperial portuguesa," in *(Des)controlo em Luanda: Urbanismo, polícia e lazer nos musseques no império*, ed. Bernardo Cruz (Lisbon: Outro Modo, 2020), 25–59.
67. The studies produced by architects on urban design in Portuguese colonial contexts have evolved from physical descriptions to more critical analyses. See, for instance, José Manuel Fernandes, *Geração africana: Arquitectura e cidades em Angola e Moçambique, 1925–1975* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2002); Manuela Fonte, *Urbanismo e arquitectura em Angola: De Norton de Matos à revolução* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2012); João Sousa Morais, *Maputo* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2001); Paulo Tormenta Pinto, Ana Vaz Milheiro, Elisiário Miranda, and Pedro Luz Pinto, "From Monumentality to Diversity—Lourenço Marques Between the Urban Plans of Aguiar and Azevedo (1950–1970)," *Planning Perspectives* 37, no. 2 (2022), 401–14.
68. Barker-Ciganikova, "Introduction," 7.
69. Samia Henni, *Architecture of Counterrevolution: The French Army in Northern Algeria* (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2017).
70. This argument is similar to that raised regarding the production of housing in the former Belgian Congo; see Boonen and Lagae, "Ruashi, a Pessac in Congo?"
71. In Luanda, the first "Indigenous neighborhood" of this period was built under the government of Álvaro de Freitas Morna (1942–43). This neighborhood was demolished during the colonial period, although residential units of the same model still exist in other quarters.
72. "Bairros indígenas de Luanda," *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* (Lisbon), no. 356 (1955), 265.
73. "Bairros indígenas de Luanda," 266.
74. Angolan Engineering Laboratory, *Preliminary Study of the Housing Problem in Luanda* (Luanda: LEA, 1962), IPAD 9810, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon. Research on the neighborhood units in Luanda has focused only on type 1, which was intended for white settlers and Africans with sufficient income to finance their housing (including through self-building). See Ana Vaz Milheiro, Filipa Fiúza, Rogério Vieira de Almeida, and Débora Félix, "'Radieuse' Peripheries: A Comparative Study on Middle-Class Housing in Luanda, Lisbon and Macao," in *Post-War Middle-Class Housing: Models, Construction and Change*, ed. Gaia Caramellino and Federico Zanfi (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 211–40.

75. "Bairros indígenas de Luanda," 265; "Bairros indígenas em Angola," *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* (Lisbon), no. 395 (1958), 256. This change in discourse may also be linked to Portugal joining the United Nations in 1955. See Emma Bekaert, "*Habiter*, *c'est Prospérer*: Housing as a Shared Question in Colonial Africa 1930–1960" (master's thesis, Ghent University, 2021).

76. "Bairros indígenas em Angola," 255.

77. "Bairros indígenas em Angola," 255.

78. See Aniceto Afonso and Carlos de Matos Gomes, *Guerra Colonial* (Porto: Porto Editora, 2020).

79. "Amadeu Castilho Soares (depoimento, 2010)," Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, Lisbon.

80. "Amadeu Castilho Soares (depoimento, 2010)," 150–51.

81. "Amadeu Castilho Soares (depoimento, 2010)," 144–49.

82. "Amadeu Castilho Soares (depoimento, 2010)," 153.

83. For example, an article that ran in the Vila Franca de Xira newspaper *Vida Ribatejana* on 28 September 1970 stated: "The problem of urbanization—the possibility of construction by the *economically weaker* classes—also deserves the attention of the mayor [of Vila Franca de Xira]—the fight against clandestine construction" (O problema da urbanização—a possibilidade de construção por parte das classes *economicamente mais débeis* merece igualmente a atenção do presidente da câmara [de Vila Franca de Xira]—o combate à construção clandestina). Emphasis added.

84. "Inauguration and Handover of Houses."

85. Conseil Scientifique pour l'Afrique au Sud du Sahara, *Logement et urbanisation: Conference interafricane*, *deuxieme session*, *Nairobi*, *19–30 janvier 1959* (Commission de Coopération Technique en Afrique au Sud du Sahara, 1959), 39.

86. The population figure for Mozambique comes from João António Aguiar, "Disposition des logements," in *L'habitation dans les pays tropicaux*, 6.

87. João António Aguiar, "Organisation des communautés," in *L'habitation dans les pays tropicaux*, 3. The OCA's projects during late Belgian colonization were outlined as "satellite cities," a term also used by Aguiar in 1952. This similarity points to this concept as a current practice and discourse in colonial urbanism. See Boonen and Lagae, "Ruashi, a Pessac in Congo?," 66.

88. Eurico Machado, "Alguns aspectos do urbanismo no ultramar," in Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização, *Colóquio Sobre Urbanismo*, 208.

89. Machado, 216–18.

90. Machado, 218.

91. Machado, 218.

92. Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho and José Pinto da Cunha, "Memória descritiva e justificativa geral," Comissão Administrativa do Fundo dos Bairros Populares, Província de Angola, Housing Type A, 30/06/1965, IPAD 01458, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon.

93. Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho, *Ilu: Contribution à l'étude du renouvellement des groupes d'habitations des pêcheurs de l'Île de Luanda-Angola* (Paris: IUUP [Sorbonne], 1965).

94. Milheiro, "Africanidade e arquitectura colonial."

95. "Multiplying this figure by 40,000 gives the sum of 1.2 million escudos" (Multiplicando agora este valor por 40 000 casa obteremos o montante de um milhão e duzentos mil contos). M. Girão, in Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização, *Colóquio Sobre Urbanismo*, 236.

96. National Assembly, *Diário das Sessões* 27, 3 Mar. 1966, 441.

97. National Assembly, *Diário das Sessões* 53, 20 Apr. 1974.

98. A. Penicela, National Assembly, *Diário das Sessões* 53, 20 Apr. 1974, 1062.

99. Miranda, *Diário das Sessões*, 9 Mar. 1966, 516.

100. According to Amaral, "more than 60 per cent of the population of the *musseques* was not born in the city." Amaral, *Luanda*, 74.

101. Amaral, 61.

102. Amaral, 73. For a critical view of Amaral's work, see Diogo Ramada Curto, "Os musseques entre a violência e Le Corbusier," in *O colonialismo português em África: De Livingstone a Luandino* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2020), 391–96.

103. A. Pombeiro, National Assembly, *Diário das Sessões* 53, 20 Apr. 1974, 1071.

104. J. J. Neves, National Assembly, *Diário das Sessões* 27, 9 Mar. 1966, 442.

105. Neves, 442, quoting the JBCP's *Synthesis Report*, 1960–63.

106. Neves, 442.

107. See Boonen and Lagae, "Ruashi, a Pessac in Congo?," 66–97.

108. "Each economically weak family [should be] allocated a plot where they could build their temporary or permanent dwelling" (Atribuir-se-ia a cada família economicamente débil um talhão onde poderia construir a sua habitação provisória ou definitiva). Neves, *Diário das Sessões*, 9 Mar. 1966, 443.

109. Pombeiro, *Diário das Sessões*, 20 Apr. 1974, 1071.

110. Penicela, *Diário das Sessões*, 20 Apr. 1974, 1063.

111. Penicela, *Diário das Sessões*, 20 Apr. 1974, 1063.