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It was implemented in partnership between the above institutions (led by Professors Andersen and Jenkins) and the Centre of African Studies at the ISCTE- Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (represented by Dr. Ana Bénard da Costa) and the centre for Development of Habitat Studies in the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique (represented by Prof. Dr. Luis Lage, Prof. Julio Carrilho and Dr. Carlos Trindade) and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (represented by Dr. Adriano Biza).

The fieldwork was undertaken with participation of students of architecture and anthropology from Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, and had key involvement from architect Stijl Sollen and anthropologist Judite Chipenembe.

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Layout and illustrations by Anders Bjerregaard-Andersen.

Maputo, Mozambique 2012
Research Background

The African City

Rapid urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa is now taking place – the last major world region to go through this process whereby the majority of the population live in urban areas. This is initially through migration from rural areas, but rapidly becomes natural increase of urban populations, especially as it is linked to attitudes to family size and structure – i.e. the ‘demographic bulge’ associated with continued ‘traditions’ of high birth rates, yet falling death rates. In Sub-Saharan Africa this process is taking place in an arguably uniquely weak political and economic context. This is the legacy of exploitative European mercantile engagement (approx. 1500-1900) and then colonial dominance (1900-1950 approx.), which led to slavery and arbitrary nation-state creation. It is also the result of subsequent rapid disengagement by dominant capitalist economies (through phases of decolonisation, neo-colonisation and virtual abandonment of global investment flows) yet continued global political subordination (e.g. through foreign aid). Today African governments and the private sectors are relatively weak and thus their action in urban change and transformation or development is very limited – compounded by anti-urban bias in ‘development’ policies.

This context is leading to new forms of urbanism emerging which challenge conventional values of what is ‘urban’. These forms are based on spatially mobile populations with many engaging with multiple economic activities based on social structures, as opposed to industrial based activity distinct from residential environments. The physical form of this urban-
ism is dominated by households’ use of space for living – which often incorporates economic production as well as social reproduction. Although these urban forms are in evidence in other Southern countries, there is much more limited capacity of government to record and service urban space in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, the relative poverty of the majority (and hence lack of profit opportunity for wider formal private sector urban action in this respect) means that the extent of what is typically called ‘informal’ urbanism is much more prevalent in both spatial and temporal senses. In other words it is widespread (including in what is often seen as ‘formal’ urban areas) and has already existed for decades – and its growth will mean it will most likely continue to exist for many more decades.

‘Home Space’ as a concept

The above overview creates the wider context for this study, which seeks to examine the nature of this new form of ‘urbanism as a way of life’ through investigating the nature and impact of ‘home space’. This concept, developed by the research team in a speculative sense, refers to the spaces within which the majority of African urban residents ‘dwell’ - ‘dwelling’ being both a place and a process. Creating ‘home spaces’ thus involves spatial and social practices, but conceptually ‘home’ is above all else a culturally defined concept. Collectively African home spaces create the majority of urban places and are inevitably enacted within political and economic contexts, which (as noted above) establish structural parameters for such agency. Understanding home space thus entails understanding the physical, social, economic, cultural and temporal aspects of urban change. In this, the research programme seeks to understand ‘Home Space in the African city’ as a way to challenge existing assumptions, and inductively seek new understanding which can be the basis for reflection for other more normative activity such as urban policy and development practice.

The research programme is composed of three main research components:

1. A contextual overview to provide an understanding of urbanisation and urban development trends in Sub-Saharan Africa, Mozambique and specifically Maputo – to identify the structural parameters for emerging urbanism based predominantly on home spaces, and provide a wider context for interpreting the findings of the empirical work;

2. A built environment dwelling and household socio-economic study in a representative section of the large peri-urban areas of Maputo city, partly drawing on previous studies in a longitudinal sense, and partly following the trends in urban expansion and morphology (using stratified random sampling based on some 100 sites, half being longitudinal) – to record what is understood as home space and its role in urban change; and

3. An in-depth ethnographic study of a smaller sample of circa 20 households vis-à-vis the wider family and social construction of home, identifying past, present and future perceptions – to understand what is embedded with and underpins the development of home space at the micro-level.

This publication is part of the second study mentioned above, and provides data used in the analysis of physical change in the peri-urban areas (‘bairros’) of Maputo, the case study city.
Introduction

The research programme ‘Home Space in the Africa City’ aims to provide insights to the physical development of African cities in general, with an emphasis on residential issues, based on an in-depth study of one city, Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. This report covers one of three major components of the overall research programme, and has the principal aim of placing the empirical material on housing and urban development in Maputo within wider contexts.

Commenting on Sub-Saharan African cities generally based on one in-depth case study obviously needs some qualification, which is one of the two major objectives of this report. The other aim of the report is to provide contextual background for understanding Maputo’s urban development in Mozambique, focussing, amongst other aspects, on the political economic context of urban land and urban development, including legal and institutional aspects; the history of development of the city in general, including statistical analysis of demographic / housing change and the nature of land use planning; and more detailed historical and contemporary description of neighbourhoods included in the overall research programme study area.

It is important to stress at the start that each city is unique, yet there are similar issues which affect many cities, including those in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The available information on any city is vast and hence this needs to be focussed on specific issues, places and times. In addition,
no study of one city can be representative of all cities in such a large and
diverse global macro-region such as SSA, however there is always some
degree of possible comparison of each individual city with others, espe-
cially in a region with similar historical and contemporary influences such
as Sub-Saharan Africa. For any study which aims to examine a city – and
indeed a part of this city in detail – it is therefore important to define the is-
suess on which the work focuses as well as contextual similarities and dif-
ferences between this city and other cities in the region. This represents
contextualisation at a macro-regional level.

In addition, it is necessary to understand the detailed research in one
city within its national and local context – given that most empirical social
research inevitably narrows down to sampled subject material. This rep-
resents a contextualisation at a meso-level, starting with the nation-state
through the city-region to the city as an entity. Finally, contextualisation at
a micro-level subsequently focuses on selected areas within the city, from
the overall research programme study area, down eventually to detailed
surveys on specific sample sites and populations. In other words, it is
necessary to define the representative nature of the key areas of study at
various levels, contextualising the micro- level empirical information and
analysis at an urban meso-level as well as the regional macro-level noted
above.

In relation to the above, the report examines the representative nature of
the programme’s empirical built environment, socio-economic and ethno-
graphic survey work at various levels commenting on:

• To what extent Maputo reflects Sub-Saharan African cities in general
• How Maputo relates to other urban development in Mozambique
• How the overall research programme study area in Maputo reflects
  the city’s urban development
• How the built environment and socio-economic survey case studies
  reflect the general study area
• How the selected in-depth ethnographic survey cases reflect the wid-
  er case study.

This research programme focuses thematically on physical urban devel-
opment and housing but seeks to go beyond the typical disciplinary analy-
ses of architecture/planning/housing. It aims to do this by understanding
the perception and aspirations of the city’s residents who, it argues, are
in fact making the city. This is undertaken also through an ethnographic
study, however, there is inevitably a limited number of households and
families with which such a study can engage, in this case less than twenty
households. The micro-level ethnographic study is thus contextualised
in this report within the wider built environment and socio-economic re-
search of some 100 case studies in a key section of Maputo’s peri-urban
area, which in itself represents one of the major vectors of urban change.2

Both the selection of the 100 cases (which include longitudinal studies
over 1 and 2 decades) and this peri-urban section are then also contextu-
alised within the city overall. This meso-level, or intermediate, part of the
contextualisation draws on the data produced in the research programme
as well as research projects of 10 and 20 years previous, which preceded
it and which provide the longitudinal data. Additionally it draws on a range
of other contextual information developed over 30 years of working in and
with the city by the author of the report. At this meso-level the study also
begins to draw on statistical information, including the available data on
the housing situation for the city from the 1980, 1997 and 2007 national
censuses and other socio-economic surveys. This information serves to
locate the city within the wider urban context in Mozambique.

Finally, a different data set is used to contextualise Maputo and Mozam-
bique at the macro-level within the Sub-Saharan Africa context – in par-
ticular data compiled by the United Nations. The key source here is the
recently published UN Habitat State of African Cities Report (2010). In-
evitably this level of contextualisation is quite reductive and - due to the
difficulties inherent in such data collection – many queries can be raised
on the nature of the data and hence such comparisons and contextu-
alisation. However this is the most widely accepted set of data for such
comparative work.

The structure of the report is from macro-level to micro-level, with a sum-
mary of the overall contextual relevance and representative nature of the
research at the beginning in an Executive Summary.

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2 The peri-urban area of the city is that which starts where the fully physically developed area of the
city – the urban 'core' known in Maputo as the 'Cidade Cimento' (see glossary) ends, and continues past
the city territorial boundaries to the areas which are physically being 'urbanised' in terms of land use as
well as direct socio-economic engagement.
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Executive Summary

Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: its scale, context, nature and challenges

In global terms, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is a physically very large but politically complex macro-region with a relatively small proportion of global population, but one which is growing fast - and rapidly urbanising. This raises significant issues for the future. Urbanisation in SSA is thus already a major phenomenon and will continue as such for the rest of the 21st century. The key issue in relation to this is the structural poverty which the macro-region has experienced for the past four decades, meaning that rapid urbanisation is arguably taking place in circumstances rather different from that of Latin America and Asia.

In terms of population and urbanisation, according to the United Nations, Mozambique is located in the upper quartile of both the Eastern Africa sub-region and Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole. It is more urbanised than various other countries, but not as much as some major countries in population terms – for example Nigeria. Mozambique’s ranking within the most urbanised countries in the macro-region will possibly change from 12th in 2010 to 9th in 2025, confirming the country’s position as having a significant, but still rapidly growing, urban population for the next decades. In this, the country will experience an even higher rate of urbanisation than the average across the most urbanised SSA countries - its population is projected to expand by 7.8 million, of whom 6.6 million will end up in urban areas (i.e. 85% of the new overall population between 2010-25 will be located in urban areas). As with other countries in the macro-region, this is expected through continued in-migration to urban areas as well as
increasingly higher birth rates than death rates in general but especially in urban areas - and hence the growing statistical importance of natural growth over in-migration. Given the close proximity of the two cities of Maputo and Matola, Greater Maputo needs to be seen as a metropolitan area, unlike most of Sub-Saharan Africa’s major cities, and is projected to have a population increase from 2.5 million (2010), rising to 4 million in 2025. Concerning ‘slum’ populations, as defined in the UN Millennium Development Goals, Mozambique is high on the list of countries with proportionally larger slum populations, with some 80% considered to be in such areas currently.

In summary, Sub-Saharan Africa is entering its demographic ‘bulge’ and urbanising fast, in conditions of uniquely severe social and economic deprivation and political fragmentation. Mozambique will continue to be within the top 20-25% of SSA countries in terms of urban population and urban growth rates in the macro-region, and the Greater Maputo conurbation is a significantly large urban area with high levels of what are considered slums. In this it is on a par with a number of other SSA countries and capital / principal cities, and urban growth will increase dramatically for the city and country in the next 15 year period.

Mozambique: urban structure, political, economic, legal and institutional context for urban development

Mozambique’s urban history is relatively long in Sub-Saharan African terms, especially settlements along the Indian Ocean. However, as in most SSA countries, small coastal proto-urban settlements based on mercantile trade with other countries were eventually replaced or incorporated within a wider urban structure based on colonial administration and wider economic exploitation of natural resources. Although this led to a much broader dispersal of new urban settlement forms such as plantation, agro-industry and market towns, the urban economic flows were still dominated by coastal cities due to the colonial export focus. In Mozambique, however, this export was also of migrant labour to the interior, more dominated by coastal cities due to the colonial export focus. In Mozambique there was some positive effect on cities, but more general negative effects as urban policy was implicit and never explicitly stated - but in general terms was non-supportive of urban development. The colonial urban structure still underpins the urban system today, however urbanisation is much more general and service based (as opposed to industrial), and a wider range of urban settlements forms are emerging – including new forms of ‘semi-urban’ areas, as well as new large ‘peri-urban’ additions to existing urban areas. These forms are predominantly not formalised or underpinned by formal sector economic activity and not recognised as urban in political and administrative terms. In this respect Mozambique is very similar to most other SSA countries, as is the continued primacy of the principal city - in this case Greater Maputo. This conurbation also parallels other SSA major city growth in rapidly expanding beyond the existing administrative boundaries into what is functionally a metropolitan region.

Urban structures change with political, social and economic forces – and they change form because of these forces as well as cultural values, although this normally takes time. The urban structure of Mozambique is undoubtedly changing more rapidly now, whether populations are registered in official urban settlements or not. The important aspect to note here is that Maputo – and even more so Greater Maputo conurbation – still retains a demographic dominance in the urban system. This is also the case for capital cities in the vast majority of Sub-Saharan African countries, although secondary and tertiary urban areas are also fast growing and new urban forms and structures are emerging. As such, in demographic terms, Maputo City can also be seen to be representative of other similar SSA capitals – albeit smaller than some and larger than others - although not all its characteristics will be representative of smaller (secondary and tertiary) urban areas, either nationally or in the macro-region.

However, Mozambican urban areas also have significantly different specific contexts from other Sub-Saharan African cities. At a political level this includes land nationalisation (although a number of other SSA countries also nationalised land after Independence) but a weak national interest in urban areas - and hence the growing statistical importance of natural growth over in-migration.

Attempts to re-structure the economic system after Independence in Mozambique had some positive effect on cities, but more general negative effects as urban policy was implicit and never explicitly stated - but in general terms was non-supportive of urban development. The colonial urban structure still underpins the urban system today, however urbanisation is much more general and service based (as opposed to industrial), and a wider range of urban settlements forms are emerging – including new forms of ‘semi-urban’ areas, as well as new large ‘peri-urban’ additions to existing urban areas. These forms are predominantly not formalised or underpinned by formal sector economic activity and not recognised as urban in political and administrative terms. In this respect Mozambique is very similar to most other SSA countries, as is the continued primacy of the principal city - in this case Greater Maputo. This conurbation also parallels other SSA major city growth in rapidly expanding beyond the existing administrative boundaries into what is functionally a metropolitan region.

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However, Mozambican urban areas also have significantly different specific contexts from other Sub-Saharan African cities. At a political level this includes land nationalisation (although a number of other SSA countries also nationalised land after Independence) but a weak national interest in urban development (probably reflected in the majority of SSA countries).

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1 The UN defines a slum household as a group of individuals living under the same roof lacking one or more of the following conditions: access to improved water; access to improved sanitation; sufficient living area; durability of housing; and security of tenure. However, since information on secure tenure is not available for most countries, only the first four indicators are typically used to define slum households and on this basis to estimate the proportion of urban population living in slum areas.

2 Research has identified a growing number of areas which have urban characteristics in physical, social and economic forms but which are not conventionally considered urban - some in rural areas (termed here semi-urban) and some around urban areas (termed here peri-urban). The report discusses this in some detail.
Relatively recent political-administrative decentralisation programmes, which create politically independent municipalities, are now quite generalised across SSA (and heavily promoted by international agencies), but Mozambican urban areas reflect historical political aspects in their weak autonomy in this respect. At an economic level, while many SSA cities and urban structures had fairly similar historical development trajectories, there are many differences in today’s urban economies within countries as well as across countries. Such differences and similarities in Mozambique’s case are discussed in some detail in the full version of the report. There is no claim that Maputo City is fully representative in this sense, and hence the uniqueness of the economic situation needs to be taken into account when generalising from empirical research. This particularly affects the urban fiscal base and hence the investment capacity of urban local government.

In legal and institutional terms (land and planning), Mozambique also has quite distinctive characteristics, as outlined above, and this significantly affects what happens in urban land access and development – especially in peri-urban areas, both at a legal and institutional level. While there are still some differences between Maputo City and other urban areas in Mozambique in terms of how the legislation is implemented, this may well even out in time as municipal capacity is strengthened. However Mozambican cities reflect the differences from other SSA countries in this respect from before and after Independence with their significant dual spatial systems, long history of ‘informal’ areas and weak government planning / land use control. This particularly affects issues such as land tenure and the proportion of areas considered ‘informal’ – and historic and contemporary approaches to these areas – a key focus of this study. These differences in Mozambique vis-à-vis other Sub-Saharan African cities are thus noted and taken into consideration in conclusions.

**Maputo: urban development, demographic change and the nature of housing land use planning**

Physical urban development in Maputo has been closely tied up with political, economic and social changes through the centuries. From its initial establishment as a temporary southern outpost for Indian Ocean trade in the 16th century, through to the late 19th century there was limited physical development, despite substantial political developments in the region. These included the formation of larger centralised indigenous states and the stand-off with the in-migration of foreigners (Nguni and Boer), creating a small tenuous settlements with a buffer of indigenous clans allied to the Portuguese influence, surrounded by potentially antagonistic stronger states.

In the end the importance of the settlement’s port ensured its survival, this importance being underpinned by the political partition of Sub-Saharan Africa in the late 19th century colonial settlement, when it was contested between Portugal and Britain. After partition, economically the settlement moved rapidly from small town to city to capital of the new country in response to the economic opportunity to tax and service the hinterland capitalist development spurred on in South Africa by the gold rush in the Witwatersrand region. The city became the main port, railway junction, service centre and labour migration point for this economic surge in the early 20th century, only developing its national development role in Mozambique later in the 1960s with political change in Portugal. This led to some initial industrial development, accelerated in the 1960s by political economic change of direction by the Portugal to avoid decolonisation. Ultimately unsuccessful, the ensuing rapid and un-managed decolonisation process opened up a new era in Mozambique – in political, economic and social aspects. During this whole period the city continuously expanded beyond the capacity of the state to plan, regulate or service the urban area – resulting in substantial historic ‘informal’ development around the core central ‘cement city’.

The post-colonial government focussed on national agricultural and industrial development as a priority and tended to ignore physical urban development, and as such - despite some innovative activities in planning and support to self-help housing with a social focus - the majority of the city continued to develop with minimal state intervention. This situation was exacerbated by the civil war from the mid 1980s, and only after the turn of the millennium did the newly decentralised form of local government turn its attention to physical urban development – initially for economic as opposed to political reasons. In the most recent period there has been a resurgence of physical planning – albeit not based on detailed social and economic analyses, but principally stressing forms of physical order with political and economic aims. Nevertheless the state, as represented by the municipality, remains weak in many ways and unplanned development continues by far the main form of urban expansion and consolidation – with the city now expanding far beyond its metropolitan area.

In the second half of the first decade in the new millennium the new legally determined physical planning process focuses on state-led territorial control, based on existing municipal boundaries and as such has done little to promote strategic coordination between city and region. In the case of
Maputo this is essential due to its rapid expansion across the territorial limits created in 1980 – not to mention coordinated planning across the conurbation with the separate municipality of Matola. The result of this physical planning process is an ‘inward-oriented’ structure plan (approved 2010) which focuses on densification of ‘formal’ urban areas and slum removal in ‘informal’ areas, and thus comprehensive re-development, ignoring actual city-region trends of expansion. The higher density models for urban development promoted in the plan inevitably are more expensive in investment terms. While urban expansion is envisioned in the plan, this is predominantly on the south side of the estuary, and is predicated on improved access, proposed in the 10 year horizon by a new bridge. However, given the costs of this, public private partnerships linked to new housing areas for upper income groups are the main focus for this new expansion area. The overall result is a largely physically-focussed structure plan which is legally approved, to guide and control future development but which has ambitions beyond any foreseeable economic basis, and continues a strong tendency to establish state norms for urban development which arguably do not take into account actual socio-economic aspects of housing demand or demographic trends and ignore the tendencies for continued uncontrolled urban expansion in the wide city-region.

**Greater Maputo**

The metropolitan area of Greater Maputo, as a conurbation, includes the towns of Marracuene and Boane as well as the areas between these and the city of Maputo (Marracuene Administrative Post) and city of Matola (Boane Administrative Post) - key areas of actual new urban expansion. In these areas, there is significant urban development and changes in density and nature of land use – as well as social and economic changes – which represent the urban expansion process whether planned or not. It is important therefore that the nature of these changes be considered. This metropolitan population in the census 2007 was just under 2 million, with just 93% in the Maputo and Matola city areas per se – i.e. 7% in the adjoining provincial areas. While city and city region growth rates are always highly dependent on calculations based on territorial boundaries, recent growth rate figures seem to suggest that the city population now is tending to grow naturally, whereas the province population still is growing at higher than natural rates – i.e. from in-migration. However this immigration is less of a rural-urban nature, and more specifically originating from the urban cores of Maputo and Matola, as this research shows. It is also noted that these overall demographic figures do not reflect any forms of circular migration which may be taking place into and across the urban-urban, urban-rural divides.

The metropolitan area remains predominantly an economic service centre, including higher level functions in government, private sector, education, health etc. – although there is some resurgence of industrial activity. The conurbation is also a strong commercial centre – and more so if informal sector is factored in, as much activity in this sector is small-scale commerce with limited manufacturing. In 1997 there was a marked difference in employment structures between the two urban areas. In Maputo, there was a much higher tendency to service sector employment (dominated by the informal sector), whereas Matola had a more limited formal sector, but more industry, and a stronger traditional sector (agriculture). However by 2007 these differences were not marked and Matola’s employment structure had approximated to that of Maputo. Now in both urban areas commercial activity is 5 times more predominant than other forms of employment compared to 3 times in 1997. In general essential (generally state-provided) social services for the city population are limited in terms of direct economic impact, but represent important basis for indirect economic growth (e.g. health and education).

Overall, while the country shows very positive macro-economic growth rates, there is limited transfer of this into new forms of employment, and the growing workforce has been increasingly absorbed into the so-called ‘informal’ sector - reflecting the situation more generally in SSA. While services are concentrated to some extent in Maputo as the capital city, the effects of economic growth without substantial redistribution through employment (or other socio-economic mechanisms) is very visible with a high income elite, including international inhabitants, and a large low income community. Despite strong national macroeconomic growth rates rising, and the turnaround in the food security situation due to peace and favourable weather, it is still estimated that nationally more than 50% of the urban population at national level (and 55% of the rural population) lives in absolute poverty with shortage of sufficient nutrition for prolonged periods. The proportion of Maputo city living in poverty in 2003 was estimated at 53%, slightly above the national average – and had risen from 47% in 1997. Concerning municipal income – for Maputo city this has doubled between 2004 and 2007 to around $16 million, this still represents a very low income per capita – around $14 per resident. Hence overall local government finance remains very weak and with severe limi-
tations on investment and service provision, despite enormous and growing demands on the urban system.

The principal physical, social and economic problems of the Greater Maputo urban area include: i) the trend in rapid population growth, and continuing high poverty levels; ii) the weak economic base with relatively low production in industrial and transport sectors and related employment creation in relation to working age population, resulting in high formal unemployment, especially of the female, younger and less skilled work force, much of which is involved in small-scale survival commerce; iii) the imbalance in quality of housing and access to infrastructure and services between the central and peri-urban areas, which continues with the relative lack of state capacity to develop urban areas formally; iv) the high degree of centralization of social amenities (health, education and recreational facilities) - especially those of a higher order - as well as work places in or near the central Maputo urban area. This aggravates the situation concerning public transport, traffic and general access – although basic education and health provision has been considerably decentralised there limited rationalization of public and private transport services in relation to residential areas and work places; v) growing environmental problems in a wide variety of aspects, with weak institutional and legislative capacity to undertake environmental and land management, especially across municipal borders; and vi) weak local government and the tendency of the division of the metropolitan area into two distinct local authorities leading to loss of opportunity for efficiencies of scale, as well as competition instead of collaboration, e.g. on employment generation and economic development.

Specific physical problems of different urban areas include the long-term unplanned occupation in the "Inner Belt" of Maputo City (Districts 2 and 3) which has a complicated land tenure situation, relatively old buildings, infrastructure etc. and dense population with predominantly overcrowded precarious dwellings - and as a result, severe environmental and public health problems. On the other hand, the 'Outer Belt' of Maputo City (Districts 4 and 5) - and also Matola City Districts II and III - continue to manifest widespread unplanned occupation and informal allocation of land, including areas reserved for non-residential uses and areas unsuitable for residential use. This form of 'bottom-up' urbanisation is now spreading rapidly with unofficial planning across the city boundaries into Marracuene and Boane Districts of Maputo Province. In addition there is under-utilization of existing land (especially in Matola District I and some semi-agricultural areas in Maputo District 4), as well as occupation of well-located land suitable for residential and other uses by other special uses such as military.

Maputo City residential area change overview

Concerning urban residential trends in the city, in the period 1997-07 the vast majority of the increase in city population was in ‘Maputo North’ (Bairros Zimpeto, Maganoine, Mahotas and Albazine), with 86% of the overall increase in population in the city. If the earlier planned housing expansion areas of Ferroviario, Laulane and 3 de Fevereiro (1981-87) are added in to this, this rises to 96% of the city’s demographic growth in the past decade or so. The major demographic change is thus a swing to the north, especially northeast, something that does not stop at the city boundary. This demographic shift, however, is not reflected directly in the spread of new housing stock. Previous housing backlogs have led to a much broader city location of new housing units, in effect physically densifying existing areas, but with limited population gain (and even some losses) as average household size reduces. The Maputo North area only includes 30% of new house units, rising to 36% if the housing expansion areas developing in the 1990s are also included – while it has between housed 86%-96% of population growth. The process of house consolidation thus seems to follow population movement – as the study shows in detail.

According to the 2010 Maputo City Urban Structure Plan, the total municipal area of Maputo is 308 km², of which some third is denominated ecological reserve. Residential use is the second most important land use – some 9200 ha (30% of the total), of which 9% if fully developed, the rest partially developed in terms of infrastructure and house consolidation. Areas used for urban agriculture remain important and represent some 26% of the urban area and other land uses include special reserves (5%), social equipment (4%), and industrial and economic uses (1%). Of the partially developed residential areas, 40% have some form of planned sub-division, 60% are unplanned. The largest contiguous area of planned but not fully consolidated residential area is in District 4, mostly developed in the 1980-90 period, followed by District 5, mostly developed in the 1990-2010 period and these constitute ‘Maputo North’ (as outlined above).

The 2010 structure plan categorised land uses into: a) ‘urbanised’ space with dominant residential use, which is planned and consolidated (housing & infrastructure); b) ‘urbanisable’ space with dominant residential use, which may or may not be planned and needs consolidation; c) space for...
industry, warehouses and repairs; d) space for social equipment, public services etc; e) space for infrastructure networks; f) space for agriculture; and g) space for ecological issues. The first residential category is broken down into 5 sub-categories and generally refers to District 1. The second category is divided into 6 options as follows: i) high density planned areas; ii) medium density planned areas; iii) low density planned areas; iv) high density unplanned areas; v) medium density unplanned areas; and vi) low density unplanned areas. The overall research programme study area includes areas in all of these categories, except the highest density unplanned areas.

As noted above, a key issue embedded within the structure plan is the concept of acceptable urban form. This is seen essentially as fully consolidated, with appropriate infrastructure, and relatively high density – i.e. the urban form of District 1.4 The outcome of this embedded ‘ideal’ is that most of the existing urban form is seen as inadequate and also inappropriate – and thus needing transformation in various ways. This transformation includes formalisation of land use—which is seen as closely linked to infrastructure and social amenity improvements (although this research highlights that formalisation is not general seen as necessary before such improvements are implemented). Importantly the plan sees densification as a way to reduce transport and other infrastructure costs (as these are calculated in linear terms). In this process, horizontal expansion is not seen as an alternative for the majority – i.e. low to medium density development – despite its lower cost and ease of development.

One of the reasons for this approach is the realisation that limited land for new urban development exists within the city limits, except south of the bay in Catembe, where (apart from much land already being allocated and hence awaiting speculative gain) the costs of access are much higher — and hence the continued proposal for a bridge. A second rationale behind this approach to acceptable urban form is the influence of the international ‘cities without slums’ approach, and the subsequent emphasis in the plan on comprehensive redevelopment of ‘slum’ areas — inevitably at a much higher cost form of urban development than new urban areas, as the plan itself admits. Finally, underpinning the whole planning process, is a belief that the state itself needs be the main actor in establishing ‘order’ over urban territory to provide more equitable access to land, housing, infrastructure, services and employment opportunities. However the capacity of the state to invest in creating this physical order is very limited as is amply evidenced in the history of urban development before and after Independence and economic structure detailed above.

In this process, planning in Mozambique is essentially physical, and the structure plan reflects a set of physical aspirations with no clear reference to actual social demand (which is not examined) or the real economic basis for urban development activity. It also, crucially, ignores demographic trends, which are not discussed except in retrospect. As noted above in the Greater Maputo section - the plan is limited to studying the territory of Maputo city, whereas in reality the city functions across the city borders in a dynamic and rapidly expanding city region, including Matola city and the provincial areas of Marracuene and Boane. As a result, the plan arguably displays aspirations of a limited social group due to the nature of the consultation process (potentially key politicians and technical staff with inputs from some economically stronger and socially more vocal groups).5 It is not fundamentally based on an analysis of demographic, social and economic trends, or a realistic assessment of economic and institutional capacities for implementation. Furthermore the process of planning itself as embedded within the new legislation is very top-down and does not easily provide for adequate adjustment based on the urban reality — in physical as well as economic, social, cultural and institutional terms — and hence locks itself in to a process with limited potential for flexibility in implementation.

This assumption of the dominant state responsibility for urban development — and especially residential area development — at Independence, strengthening a trend which emerged prior to Independence (albeit belatedly so when compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa). After a relatively limited start, there was a successful land use planning and development programme in the 1980s but this then collapsed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. While planning new urban areas picked up again in the mid 1990s, few of these plans were implemented in practice, the majority of those which were being linked to essential population relocations. This trend continued into the new millennium and thus for most of two decades state directed urban development remained fragmented and limited in terms of demand. The result was mushrooming of so-called ‘informal’ settlements, mostly unplanned. However a new phenomenon emerged in the 2000s (although some historical precedents existed prior to this) in new unofficially planned/subdivided residential land development. This can particularly be seen in Districts 4 and 5 where most new

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4 Cities used as comparisons in the plan document include Mumbai, Addis Ababa, Barcelona and Abidjan

5 See the main report for details.
urban expansion has taken place since the late 1980s and 1990s (see Maputo North analysis).

Of the total approx. 4500 Ha in the Maputo North area, 68% of the total area is used for residential use, and most of the rest is divided between agriculture and mixed use (agriculture, industry and some formal housing) and military installations. Of the residential use, 51% is unplanned, 36% is officially planned in 19 different layouts, and 13% is unofficially planned. Planned layouts include three areas planned in the 1980-87 city council urban land development programme (1982, 1985 and 1987), as well as the major relocation planned areas from the 1990s and after the 2000 floods. Apart from the continued dominance of unplanned settlement, what is striking here is the proportion of unofficially planned area – at 13% of all residential use (representing nearly 400 ha), this is more than a third of what the state has managed to achieve in the period despite substantial international assistance. This phenomenon is even more marked immediately north of the Maputo City territorial area in Marracuene District of Maputo Province where a large unofficially planned area exists called Gwava.

In the most recent period, now that the Mozambican Territorial Planning law has been approved, a more coherent process of formal planning has begun again in the city. This is, however, top-down, as it starts with the 2010 approved Maputo Urban Structure Plan, and is now in a phase of developing larger ‘district’ urbanisation plans – albeit not aligning closely to existing administrative district boundaries. The main objective of these urbanisation plans is to implant the structure plan proposals in more detail and hence identify land suitable for residential (and other use) as well as infrastructure etc. In the identified residential areas, existing land use is being classified as planned officially only if it has been recorded in the City Cadastre. However, as this has not been updated formally since the colonial period, all existing residential land use is either considered unofficially planned (even if the city authority planned this) or unplanned. The rationale is that the plans in the intervening period from Independence to the new Land Law were not formalised as they had no adequate legal basis for this. The intention of this planning process is to subsequently develop plans ‘regularising’ existing unofficially planned areas and planning upgrading unplanned areas. However, there has been no adequate investigation of the processes this will entail as yet.

The main impetus for the above process is to permit the city council to approve a series of plans as the basis for land regularisation and titling – thus getting access to a source of income through the land registry taxation, as established by the laws on municipal fiscal base. This tax is not ring-fenced in any way, and therefore represents an income without any concomitant funding for further land use planning or urban management. Apart from the difficulties in planning/upgrading of unplanned areas prior to regularisation, there is an assumption that this process is fairly straightforward in the ‘unofficially planned’ areas. However, this does not take into consideration the legal adjudication issues concerning who has the land rights and what form of taxation is appropriate for plot-holders who were actually already allocated land officially in the ‘officially’ planned areas (following the legislation of the period).

In general, the process of land use planning in the city – as in Mozambique overall – is largely seen as a technical problem of producing masterplans for controlling land use and infrastructure (i.e. more of a design issue than one of management). However, the top-down design approach – which relies excessively on satellite imagery and GIS derivatives from this – also ignores much detail of the environment as well as legal issues. It also does not deal adequately with the economic investment needed for the form of planning to which it aspires, especially vis-à-vis infrastructure. While it can be seen as a political imperative to ‘plan’ and ‘order’ the space - and the current study shows this has resonance with residents – the practicalities of this in detail have not as yet been faced. In addition, as noted above, the planning stops at the city boundaries, whereas the unplanned and unofficially planned areas do not, continuing into the province, which has very limited capacity to plan officially.

The study area and the basis for previous surveys (including longitudinal analysis)

For the purpose of this research, a study area in one of the two main axes of urban development and expansion for Maputo City was chosen. This axis includes a section of the whole peri-urban area (including most of Districts 3 and 4) and the area of the province into which the city is de facto expanding within the axis. This area is separated from the other main Maputo axis for urban development / expansion by the airport, located in the middle of the existing peri-urban areas (Districts 2 and 5), and by the FO2 forestry plantation in Maputo Province north of Maputo City limits. This study area has been chosen for two main reasons – it represents one of the two main axes for urban development, and it includes the majority of the sites for the two previous surveys which permit this study to have a quite unique longitudinal basis. Widely published longitudinal urban studies in Sub-Saharan Africa are very rare, with three that
the current research team are aware of to date. These include a set of physical surveys over 2 decades in Lusaka, a separate and un-connected socio-cultural study of peri-urban residents in Lusaka over 14 years; and social and economic studies of migration trends in Zimbabwe. The study reported here is therefore quite unique in that, while rooted physically due to its main interest in physical urban development, it embeds previous social and economic studies and now also an ethnographic study with sampled households.

This Context Report examines the details of the demographics and housing structure of the study area and affirms that this is a robust representation of the peri-urban areas of the city over the last three decades in terms of population and housing (including the nature of change in both), as well as land use patterns - with special emphasis on the expansion in the past decade. The report also details the nature of the previous surveys which are used here for longitudinal analysis, and places these clearly within the physical and socio-economic trends at the time, as well as the then contemporary urban development policy & praxis. It subsequently explains the stratified sampling process for the final 102 case studies covered in the current physical and socio-economic survey, including 52 developed from the previous 1990 and 2000 surveys and 50 which help balance the previous surveys vis-à-vis the general trends in the city and also include the new informal urban expansion areas outside the city territorial limits.

Apart from the approximate 50:50 balance between longitudinal and new cases, the sample for the Home Space surveys is stratified according to land use planning categories as these determine the official approach to formal land tenure as noted above. These four main sample structuring categories are: officially planned areas; areas reordered by the state (but not necessarily formally registered); unofficially planned areas (i.e. without formal state intervention); and unplanned areas. Concerning representativity at micro-level (vis-à-vis meso-level urban structure), due to the nature of different previous study objectives (1990, 2000), the physical and socio-economic survey to some extent under-represents the dominant unplanned nature of land access and land rights in favour of officially planned areas. This is due to the inclusion of the longitudinal cases from previous surveys, a majority of which (and in fact all from the first survey) were in officially planned areas. While efforts have been made to re-balance this in the choice of new surveys sites, the imbalance remains to some extent. In this respect it is important to stress that the sampling process is a structured sample, and hence close representativeness is not per se the objective. However, this caveat concerning the representative nature of the case studies in the Built Environment & Socio-Economic

Study needs to be taken into consideration when findings are extrapolated to the wider study area and – more importantly - the whole city area.

Concerning the ethnographic survey, one of the key objectives was to provide more detailed qualitative information on socio-cultural values concerning house and home / built and open living spaces. It was thus also necessary to retain a certain representative link with the wider study at city, national and international level and hence also selecting cases in line with a stratified sample – within the already stratified samples of the 100 cases. Key to this selection was the need to continue the unique opportunity of the longitudinal aspect of the project and thus the need to select an appropriately proportional number of ethnographic cases from the 1990 and 2000 survey cases as well as from new surveys. To this end nine ‘longitudinal’ cases were targeted for ethnographic study (of the 19 in fact completed) and apart from this temporal issue possible ethnographic cases were selected to represent the 102 case studies in terms of: a) physical issues (including the nature of physical change, level of plot development, land planning typology and land access mechanism; b) socio-economic issues (including current family structure and change and current economic status and change); and c) cultural issues (including religion; marriage type and place of origin. For both the longitudinal and new cases the stratified ethnographic sample was also considered robust and representative.

Learning from Maputo

Overall, therefore, this Context Report permits a clear understanding of the context for the closely examined forms of rationales for actual and aspirational urban development (whether state or individual household) in Maputo – at the micro-level in terms of the sample mechanisms for fieldwork; at meso-level in terms of the general study area and its representative nature vis-à-vis Maputo City and the Greater Maputo conurbation; and at macro-level in terms of Maputo’s role and nature in Mozambique’s wider urban system as well as how this compares with other Sub-Saharan African countries.

As emphasised at the start of this summary, no two cities are exactly the same but a close examination of context can assist highlight the areas where similarities and differences occur and hence how rigorously controlled detailed social and physical examination can be the basis for extrapolation of findings to more general conclusions. In this way this research programme is quite unique and seeks to challenge assumptions
concerning urban development in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as robustly confirm other less scientifically based understandings which emerge from praxis. In so doing this report stresses the importance of ideals and actions of the urban majority in relation to the state – and equally the importance for the government as well as other urban actors to understand and work with both actual capacities as well as ideals.

After nearly forty years working in Sub-Saharan Africa, the author firmly believes that policy and praxis grounded in critically examined and deeply understood socio-cultural values is the key to successful urban development, no more so in the enormous challenges of rapid urbanisation in a context of widespread poverty such as is the case for this world region.

Prof. Paul Jenkins
Edinburgh & Maputo
March 2012
1. Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: it’s scale, context, nature and challenges

1.1. Sub-Saharan Africa – general data of relevance

In terms of territorial structure, there are currently 51 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) out of more than 190 countries worldwide, i.e. SSA represents around a quarter of all nation-states. In terms of geographical structure, the land mass of this macro-region (which constitutes the predominant proportion of the whole African continent) is more or less equal to the land mass of China (9.60 million km²), United States of America (9.37 million km²), Western Europe (4.94 million km²) and India (3.17 million km²) combined. However the population is a fraction of these countries, with the total population of SSA currently estimated (2010) at just over 863 million (UN Habitat 2010). Of this population 322 million inhabitants are estimated to live in urban areas, i.e. some 37%. By 2025 this

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6 This includes Southern Sudan as an independent nation-state as recently accepted by the UN.
7 These are the largest countries/regions in global demographic terms. China leads with 1.34 billion, followed by India 1.19 billion, Western Europe 743 million and USA 312 million = total 3.59 billion, or 53% of the total world population (estimated in 2010 at 6.77 billion).
8 The whole continent is estimated at just over 1 billion. SSA is thus some 12.5% of world population, or in other words 1 in 8 world inhabitant lives in SSA.
9 It is important to note that what is classified as urban varies considerably from country to country, and is essentially based on territorial/administrative definition – see further discussion via-à-via Mozambique below.
statistic is projected to change to 537 million urban inhabitants of a total of 1.19 billion in SSA, i.e. a 45% urban population. This means that in some 15 years there will be an additional 216 million urban dwellers - 65% of the additional 330 million regional inhabitants being in urban areas. In other words, for every three new inhabitants, two will be residing in urban areas in 15 years time. This rapid urbanisation process represents an enormous challenge for the macro-region.

In global terms, Sub-Saharan Africa is a physically very large but politically fragmented macro-region with a relatively small proportion of global population, but one which is growing fast - and rapidly urbanising. This raises significant issues for the future.

Apart from political complexity, such a large macro-region as Sub-Saharan Africa has immense heterogeneity – physical, economic, social and cultural. This is also true for the process of urbanisation, i.e. growth of urban-based populations, as shown below across sub-regions.10

Table 1) SSA population 2010 and projection 2025 by region (prepared by author, based on UN Habitat 2010)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>122,525,000</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>76,469,000</td>
<td>148,483,000</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>88,104,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>327,186,000</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>77,194,000</td>
<td>468,766,000</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>141,973,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>57,968,000</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>34,201,000</td>
<td>62,674,000</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>41,307,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Africa</td>
<td>128,909,000</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>55,592,000</td>
<td>182,891,000</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>96,522,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>349,250,000</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>154,593,000</td>
<td>374,573,000</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>257,327,000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In effect Sub-Saharan Africa is the last world macro-region to urbanise. This process is well underway, but it will continue for decades, the major demographic ‘bulge’ being experienced in this century (Jenkins et al 2009). The UN notes that Eastern Africa, Middle Africa and Western Africa will grow unusually fast in comparison to every other world region through to 2100. In addition, while Southern Africa has seen a decline in life expectancy to a lower level than anywhere else, this will rebound, rising quite rapidly and eventually overtake other African regions. From 2000 to 2100, while Europe’s share of world population will be cut in half from 12.0 to 5.9%, that of the whole continent of Africa will almost double from 13.1 to 24.9 per cent.15

Concerning the economic context for this urbanisation process, some SSA countries actually have a lower absolute GNP per capita than they had in 1975. This economic weakness has been compounded by political instability and hence much weaker states and governance systems than other macro-regions which are further ahead in urbanisation trends. Concerning the general economic context, the International Monetary Fund lists annual Gross Domestic Product per capita for 2010 at Parity Purchasing Power as a proxy for economic development for 182 countries (World Economic Outlook Database-October 2010). Of these, 43 countries have a GDP/capita value of >$20,000, including only 1 SSA country (Seychelles) and the next 44 countries with GDP/capita values >$8000-$20,000 include only four SSA countries (Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Botswana and South Africa), followed by 47 countries with values >$2500-$8000 GDP/capita, including six SSA countries (Namibia, Angola, Swaziland, Congo, Cape Verde and Djibouti). The remaining 45 countries worldwide with GDP/capita values >$340 <$2500 include the other 32 SSA countries – i.e. the vast majority of SSA countries are severely challenged in global economic terms.16

Mozambique ranks 171st with a GDP/capita of $982 in the 2010 IMF tables - with 11 SSA countries below it in ranking, and in fact it is in the middle of the bottom half of the macro-regional median value. The illustration below illustrates the density of GDP/capita (albeit not based on the same 2010 dataset but on a similar one a decade previous), showing the concentration within countries of the economic distribution at a macro-level – and also demonstrating the focus on economic output in urbanised areas.

10 These sub-regions reflect those used in the UN Habitat 2010 report and could be contested for their relevance as they group countries in different sub-regions to previous studies.
11 Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland.
12 Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Togo.
13 Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo.
14 Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Sao Tome & Principe.
15 These projections, world population peaks at 9.22 billion in 2075, but then declines slightly and then resumes increasing slowly, to reach a level of 8.87 billion by 2200.
16 It is important to note that GNP/capita measures are of limited use in reflecting the levels of poverty or wealth of the population – which the human development indicators try to capture through additional social measures (see below).
Prof. Paul Jenkins

Home Space - Context Report

Figure 1) World GDP density (Source: Visualising Economic, referencing Gallup et al 1999)

Adjusting economic data with key social indicators, the 2010 United Nations Human Development Report lists 169 countries by Human Development Index (HDI), with 42 countries in the ‘very high’ category (none in Sub-Saharan Africa); 43 in the ‘high’ category (again none in SSA); 42 in the ‘medium’ category (9 in SSA17); and 42 in the ‘low human development category’ (33 being in SSA). This distribution is shown in the map below.

Figure 2) United Nations Human Development Index world map (Source: http://hdr.undp.org/en/data/map/)

Mozambique is ranked 165th in the UN report – only higher than Burundi, Niger, DR Congo and Zimbabwe. This is due to its low average life expectancy at birth (48 years) and low educational achievement, together with an estimated low GNP/capita of $854 – providing a Human Development Indicator of 0.284.18 Between 1980 and 2010 Mozambique’s HDI rose by 1.3% annually from 0.195 to 0.284 in 2010, but the HDI of Sub-Saharan Africa as a region increased from 0.293 in 1980 to 0.389 in 2010, placing Mozambique well below the regional average. In summary, as noted above, the combination of rapid urbanisation and structural poverty sets SSA aside from other world macro-regions.

Urbanisation in SSA is thus already a major phenomenon and will continue as such for the rest of the century. The key issue in relation to this is the structural poverty which the macro-region has experienced for the past four decades, meaning that rapid urbanisation in SSA is taking place in circumstances rather different from that of Latin America and Asia.19

1.2. General demographic data on Mozambique and Maputo in relation to SSA

Mozambique is included in the Eastern Africa sub-region of Sub-Saharan Africa for UN statistics. In 2010 it was the fifth largest country (of nineteen) in the sub-region (after Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda), with 23.4 million inhabitants, of whom 9 million were considered urban (38%). This was, however, the highest level of urbanisation in this sub-region if the small states of Djibouti (0.9 million inhabitants), Mauritius (1.3 million), Mayotte (0.2 million), Reunion (0.8 million), Seychelles (0.09 million) are discounted. The general demographic data shows Mozambique having similar regional levels of urbanisation to Zambia, Zimbabwe and Somalia and a similar overall urban population to Kenya (9 million) and Tanzania (11.9 million). By 2025 the UN statistics project Mozambique’s population to expand to 31.2 million, of whom 15.6 million (50%) are expected to be in urban areas. According to this estimate, Mozambique will then be considerably more urbanised than Zambia (at 42%) but similar to Zimbabwe (at 47%), with a total urban population similar to Kenya (17 million) and slightly lower than Tanzania (23.6 million). In terms of Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, eight of the 50 countries in the region had a higher population than Mozambique in 2010. These were Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania (Eastern sub-region); Democratic Republic of Congo (Middle region); South Africa (Southern Region); Ghana and Nigeria (Western region). In terms of urban population Mozambique came 11th after most the above (excluding Uganda but including Angola and Cameroon).

17 Gabon, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Equatorial Guinea, Cape Verde, Beaziland, Congo and Sao Tome & Principe – the majority small, mostly oil and/or mineral exporting countries.

18 The highest HDI value is held by Norway at 0.938 and lowest by Zimbabwe at 0.140.

19 This is detailed in Jenkins et al 2009.
Mozambique is thus located in the upper quartile of both the Eastern Africa sub-region and Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, in terms of population and urbanisation. It is more urbanised than various other countries (the smallest countries often having higher urbanisation levels), but not as much as some major countries in population terms—especially Nigeria.20

The heterogeneity of the size of SSA nation-states makes true comparisons somewhat difficult, but the two tables below show the top 12 countries in terms of estimated urban population for 2010 (Table 2) and 2025 (Table 3), according to the UN Habitat 2010 report. In terms of all Sub-Saharan Africa, these countries represent some 60% of all population in the macro-region in both 2010 and 2025, as well as the urban populations for those years (although there are changes in ranking).

Mozambique’s ranking within the most urbanised countries in the macro-region will thus change from 12th in 2010 to 9th in 2025, confirming the country’s position as having a significant, but still rapidly growing, urban population for the next few decades.

The other important factor to note here is the massive scale and rapid nature of the urbanisation process in the macro-region. The UN Habitat 2010 report indicates that Sub-Saharan Africa will expand its population by 367 million in the 2010-25 period, and the urban population by 247.5 million (67% of the new population). The largest 12 countries in Tables 2) and 3) above will expand by 211 million, 153 million of whom in urban areas (73%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2010 pop</th>
<th>2010 urban pop</th>
<th>% urb pop</th>
<th>2025 pop</th>
<th>2025 urban pop</th>
<th>% urb pop</th>
<th>difference total difference urban urb % of difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>186,256,000</td>
<td>78,181,000</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>251,635,000</td>
<td>126,449,000</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>65,259,000 65%</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>80,070,000</td>
<td>31,352,000</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>101,077,000</td>
<td>36,840,000</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>20,705,000 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR Congo</td>
<td>47,007,000</td>
<td>21,967,000</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>61,120,000</td>
<td>24,468,000</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>14,113,000 23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>43,600,000</td>
<td>7,004,000</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>57,350,000</td>
<td>15,173,000</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>10,819,000 19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>32,000,000</td>
<td>5,004,000</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>42,777,000</td>
<td>11,511,000</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>6,507,000  16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>22,500,000</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>28,497,000</td>
<td>4,514,000</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4,320,000  15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>50,492,000</td>
<td>31,155,000</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>53,766,000</td>
<td>37,084,000</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>3,898,000  7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>28,927,000</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>35,908,000</td>
<td>6,016,000</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4,029,000  11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinda</td>
<td>10,200,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13,667,000</td>
<td>3,014,000</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>1,007,000  7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>18,500,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>23,465,000</td>
<td>4,512,000</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5,061,000  22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>19,200,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>25,097,000</td>
<td>4,512,000</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5,896,000  24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>586,801,000</td>
<td>72,468,000</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>764,903,000</td>
<td>111,315,000</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>35,912,000 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% to Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The UN State of African Cities 2010 report also has some data on 58 major urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa, focussing on capital cities in most cases.22 The list includes Maputo and Malabo for Mozambique, which in reality are a conurbation.23 The largest 17 cities in 2010 ranged between

20 Taking country size and urbanisation rates into account, the largest and most urbanised country is Nigeria which had 186 million inhabitants in 2010 (60% urbanised), projected to rise to 210.1 million by 2025 (60% urbanised). The second largest country is Ethiopia with 85 million (but only 17% urban) in 2010 and 120 million (21% urban) in 2025. The DRC had 67.8 million 2010 (46% urban) rising to 98.1 million (46% urban) by 2025. South Africa had 50.1 million inhabitants in 2010 (62% urban), rising to 53.8 million (69% urban).

21 Although in-migration from rural to urban areas is typically the most important factor in early urbanisation, in the middle and later stages of urbanisation, the natural growth rate assumes a higher importance and eventually dominates. This is due to the typical fall in death rates due to better medical treatment, and a fall birth rates as people adapt to urban conditions, yet at a slower rate of adaptation.

22 This includes 13 cities in Nigeria; 7 in South Africa; 5 in DR Congo; 2 in Angola, Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique and 1 in Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

23 Created as separate municipalities before independence, the cities were administrated as a single urban areas from then to 1987, and are now separate autonomous municipalities. However the two cities are joined and functionally integrated.
Lagos and Douala (2.1 million)24, and there were another 26 cities with over or near 1 million inhabitants, including Maputo25, and a further 15 cities had less than 1 million and greater than 700,000 inhabitants (including Matola). These 58 cities represent 116 million inhabitants rising to 182 million in 2025, an average 57% increase, although there is considerable difference in projections (see table below). This group represents 27-28% of the total Sub-Saharan Africa urban population in both 2010 and 2025.26

While Maputo per se (the focus of this study and report) is located 24th in the list of largest cities in this dataset (left hand table above), when this list of 58 cities is adjusted for the conurbations of Gauteng27 and Greater Maputo, the table shows Gauteng as second to Lagos, and Greater Maputo moves into the largest urban area category.

Given the close proximity of the two cities of Maputo and Matola, Greater Maputo thus needs to be seen as a metropolitan area, unlike most of the major cities listed above, with a population of 2.5 million rising to 4 million in 2025 (right hand table above).

### 1.3. Cities and slums in the region

The United Nations started using the term ‘slums’ in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). According to the official UN website, the UN started using the term ‘slums’ in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

As can be seen from table 5 above, which gives data for 37 of the 50 countries in the region, SSA countries have high proportions of urban slum populations, ranging up to 97% of overall urban populations. Overall, 27 of the 37 countries have more than 50% estimated as living in slum areas (the average is in fact greater than 60%). It is important to note here that the increase of 150 million slum dwellers in SSA cities is significantly higher than the 100 million slum dwellers the MDGs Target 7.D - which aims to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers worldwide by 2020 – and this number is of course only half of the number of urban slums.

As for the number of urban slums, the MDGs did not include a specific target, but it is clear from the data that a significant number of people are living in slum conditions. The number of slum dwellers in SSA countries is estimated to be around 100 million by 2020, and this number is expected to rise further in the years to come. The data indicates that slum populations are growing rapidly, and this trend is likely to continue in the future. Therefore, it is important for governments and other stakeholders to focus on improving the living conditions of those living in slum areas, and to develop strategies to prevent the growth of slum populations.

The data from UN Habitat 2010 but the year with most complete data (2005) was used for slum data.

### Table 4a) SSA cities with largest populations in 2010 and projections for 2025 – Maputo highlighted (prepared by author, based on UN Habitat 2010).

### Table 5) Slum populations most SSA countries, organised by proportion of slums to urban population (right column) – and compared to GDP/capita (left column) (sources UN Habitat 2010 / WBDR 2010).

### Table 4b) SSA cities with largest populations in 2010 and projections for 2025 – Maputo highlighted (prepared by author, based on UN Habitat 2010).
Mozambique is high on the list of countries with proportionally larger slum populations, with some 80% considered to be in such areas.\(^{30}\)

The UN Habitat 2010 Report provides some further breakdown of this data set, where it compares Maputo with other Mozambican cities and towns in both 1997 and 2003 according to a number of specific indicators.\(^{31}\)

As table 6 below shows, the city dropped in proportional lead for four of these indicators between 1997 and 2003, whereas other cities generally maintained or improved their status. Access to improved water in Maputo dropped from 87% to 83% coverage, electricity access dropped from 39% to 29% and telephone access from 7% to 5% (presumably based on fixed lines and not cellphones). Improved sanitation remained similar; durable floor construction (as a proxy for overall construction) rose from 83% to 89%, as did the proportion with sufficient floor area (77% to 85%). The data thus indicates a proportional drop in infrastructure provided by public and/or private institutions (water, sanitation and electricity), but a rise in standards which individuals tend to produce directly (built space and durability of materials). This can reflect both household priorities and also state priorities vis-à-vis other social and economic sectors. Maputo is thus seen to be leading other urban areas in the country in service provision and living space and durability – as is the case for most SSA capitals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improved water</th>
<th>Improved sanitation</th>
<th>Durable floor</th>
<th>Sufficient living area</th>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th>Telephone access</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo 1997</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other urban areas 1997</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo 2003</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other urban areas 2003</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6) Urban slum data breakdown for Mozambique (Source: UN Habitat 2010)

There is no doubt that defining housing areas as inadequate in relation to ‘improved’ water and sanitation access, ‘sufficient’ living area and ‘durability’ of construction (i.e. ‘slums’) focuses on important issues. However, it also raises the question of what these standards are and who defines them – all contextually important issues. All such standards (basically set by governments and supra-national institutions such as the UN) are inevitably general and usually non-contextualised. They also, however, draw on a long history of public health agendas for urban areas which started in the first wave of modern urban expansion associated with industrialisation in Britain – where the term ‘slum’ also originated. What can be seen as a ‘slum’ to a government official, may, however, be seen as a significant achievement and a suitable ‘Home Space’ for an urban resident, and urban residents may not aspire to the standards assumed as being suitable in such definitions. This study will show that Maputo city residents’ aspirations concerning their ‘Home Space’ may not map on to what is defined officially in these standards – at least in terms of priority.

In summary, Sub-Saharan Africa is entering its demographic ‘bulge’ and urbanising fast, in conditions of uniquely severe social and economic deprivation and political fragmentation. Mozambique is within the top 20-25% of SSA countries in terms of urban population and urban growth rates in the macro-region, and the Greater Maputo conurbation is a significantly large urban area with high levels of what are considered ‘slums’. In this it is on a par with a number of other SSA countries and capital / principal cities, and urban growth will increase dramatically for the city and country in the next 15 year period.
2. Mozambique: urban structure, political, economic, legal and institutional context for urban development

2.1. Urban structure – historical development and functional typology

Mozambique has a long tradition of urban and proto-urban areas, especially along its northern coastline where Persian, Arabic, and later also Indian, traders and seafarers established trading posts which grew into towns from at least the 10th century. The other proto-urban areas were in the interior and off-shoots of the Monomotapa Empire based in what is now southeast Zimbabwe — which was a source of exports and target for imports from the coast. The vast majority of the population of the territory which now forms Mozambique were, however, based on rural socio-economic structures, and human settlements were of a temporary nature, built with non-durable materials, leaving limited archaeological traces today. The coastal urban settlements created by the Arab/Asian groups in

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32 The distinctive Swahili culture which emerged from this process in Kenya and Tanzania was less marked in Northern Mozambique, where foreign settlements had more localised, if significant, social and cultural influence.

33 The ruins of Great Zimbabwe are the most significant remnant of this highly centralised metal-producing and trade-based empire, with some smaller ‘zimbabwe-like’ ruins existing in what is now Mozambique in Manica province.
the north generally declined due to Portuguese influence, however this took place over many centuries after Portugal explorers initially rounded the Cape of Good Hope around the end of the 15th century and Portuguese mercantile interests started to become established on the Eastern coast of Africa as well as the Western coast of India (Goa).

In the first half of the 18th century Portugal administered its possessions along the East African coast from Goa, and during this period immigration of Indian merchants spurred trade and urban development. Trading settlements were developed on the Quirimba Islands, Ibo and Pemba in the North; Mozambique Island and Angoche in the centre north; some nascent settlements along the Zambeze River (Tete and Sena) and near its mouth at Quelimane; as well as the previously Arab settlement on the coast of Sofala. From the mid 18th to mid 19th century the trade became predominantly slaves, bound for the French Indian ocean islands, Brazil and Cuba, as well as continuing to supply the Swahili settlements to the north and Persian Gulf (albeit at lower levels than the new destinations). This, and contemporary world events such as the development of capitalist trading relations over large distances and Brazil’s political independence from Portugal, led to significant urban growth of these small urban areas. Many of these proto-urban areas in Mozambique had similar characteristics to the more northern Swahili ‘Stone Towns’, but with an overlying Portuguese influence. This is most obvious today on Mozambique Island, with its extensive UNESCO-protected remains today. While Mozambique Island became the centre for Portuguese administration, through the 18th century the slave ports of Quelimane and Ibo challenged this position in economic importance. In addition, various new temporary trading stations along the coast were consolidated during this period, including the small settlement in the far south called Lourenço Marques, which later became Maputo.

In the second half of the 19th century Portugal attempted to consolidate political and economic control over existing indigenous states inland, as well as the coastal city-states. This was spurred on by the growing British pressure in neighbouring territories, leading to the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 when the main European colonial powers established their territorial division of Sub-Saharan Africa. The need to demonstrate administrative control to justify this territorial allocation led to military pacification of the existing polities, a process which lasted through to the beginning of the 20th century. Establishing political and military control and administration of the wider territory, as well as establishing means of economic exploitation other than slavery (which had by then been abolished), led to a fast spread of small urban nuclei throughout what is now Mozambique. Some of these centres were predominantly military and others commercial, but they all had administrative functions. This colonial expansion created the urban structure of the territory for the next century, this still being the principal basis for urban growth in the country, as elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The early colonial period in Mozambique was marked by continued mercantile activity, and large areas of the territory in the centre and north were leased to private companies for basic economic development. These companies were also responsible for establishing and maintaining law and order. Eventually the Portuguese state, despite being over-stretched with similar needs for investment in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, took direct territorial control. The slow consolidation of nascent new urban areas continued, but changes in political and economic priorities and structure led to a shift in focus from an economy exporting predominantly unprocessed agricultural products (established after slavery was abolished) to one providing transport links between the more economically developed interior states and the country’s ports – with new railways and rapidly expanding harbours. Once again in this process some urban settlements entered into decay, and those strategically positioned for this new economic activity along the railway grew rapidly. Nampula was chosen as the northern most important administrative centre in 1935, and a completely new deep harbour and urban area was created at Nacala, planned from the end of World War 1 but only opened after World War 2 (1951). The first half of the 20th century also saw increased immigration from Portugal as the metropole began to modernise its economy from the 1950s – spurred on by its neutral stance in World War II. This process involved land reform in Portugal, which produced many landless peasants who were attracted to the ‘Overseas Territories’ (i.e. colonies) through promotional schemes, and this led to the establishment of new agricultural settlements such as Chokwe in Gaza Province.
Mozambique achieved Independence in 1975 and since then has had 11 Provinces, with Maputo City having provincial status. A further 23 cities and 68 towns were also created administratively in the late 1980s, although only the cities had their physical limits defined. In 1980 the first full independent census was implemented, with a total national population of 11.7 million, registering a high demographic rate of 4.3% per annum from the previous colonial census in 1970. This was despite the exodus of some 200,000 settlers, mostly Portuguese, who left just before and after Independence. The most populous provinces were, and continue to be, the centre north coastal provinces of Zambezia and Nampula — between them they had around 40% of the population in 1980 and also in 2007. In 1980, reflecting the history outlined above, 75% of the total national population was registered as living within 50 Km of the coastline. At that time urbanisation rates were still low with only 13% of the population (1.5 million) registered in urban areas — although only the 11 provincial capitals plus Nacala and Chokwe were included in this count. Forty-nine percent of these registered urban dwellers were in Greater Maputo (755,300 inhabitants), as the two adjoining municipal areas of Maputo (previous Lourenço Marques) and Matola were joined after Independence until 1987. This tendency for the capital city (generally also the economic centre) to be a ‘primate city’, with its population many times that of the other urban areas, is a common feature of Sub-Saharan Africa.

In the early 1990s five groups of urban areas were distinguishable, although not all given ‘urban area’ administrative status (Jenkins 1993) as follows:

- **Cities based on services & industry** (and highly dependent on international links — mostly on the coast): Maputo, Beira, Nacala and Chimoio
- **Cities based on services & administration** (created in the colonial period, although in various cases building on earlier mercantile period trading posts and geographically dispersed): provincial capitals of Xai-Xai, Inhambane, Quelimane, Tete, Nampula, Lichinga and Pemba
- **Towns based on services & agro-industry** (plantation and settler towns created in the early and later colonial periods): e.g. Chokwe, Garue, Marromeu, Luabo, Catandica, Monapo
- **Market towns** (originally for commercialisation of market crops): various in the north of the country — Niassa and Cabo Delgado Provinces

In summary, Mozambique’s urban history is relatively long in Sub-Saharan African terms, especially the east coast settlements. However, as in most SSA countries, small coastal settlements based on mercantile trade eventually were replaced or incorporated within a wider urban structure based on colonial administration and wider economic exploitation of natural resources. Although this led to a wider dispersal of new urban settlement forms such as plantation, agro-industry and market towns, the urban economic flows were still dominated by coastal cities due to the colonial export focus. In Mozambique, however, this export was also of labour to the interior more developed countries, an economic flow still
of significant importance today, including in social impact. Attempts to re-structure the economic system after independence had some positive effect but more general negative effects as urban policy was implicit but generally non-supportive of urban development. The colonial urban structure still underpins the urban system today, however urbanisation is much more general and commercially based, and a wider range of urban settlements forms emerge – new forms as well as new additions to existing urban areas. These are predominantly not formalised or underpinned by formal sector economic activity. In this respect Mozambique is very similar to most other SSA countries, as it is with the continued primacy of the principal city (in this case Greater Maputo). It also parallels other SSA major city growth in expanding beyond its administrative boundaries into a metropolitan region.

2.2. Contemporary urban situation

2.2.1. Political economic and demographic context

Mozambique entered a decentralisation process – with strong encouragement from international donors – in the 1990s, with the objective to create autonomous elected municipalities. After legislation to this effect was published in 1997, the first local government elections took place in 1998 in 33 urban areas with just under 2 million voters. The second local elections for these 33 municipalities, with now over 2 million registered voters, took place in November 2003. A third round of local government elections – this time expanded by 10 new municipalities through a gradually expanding decentralisation process – was held in 2008 with some 2.8 million voters registered (approx. 50% of all residents as per 2007 census). This means there are now 43 municipalities, see Table 7 - however this does not mean there are 43 areas considered urban, as discussed below. The stated intention is to gradually permit a currently estimated 106 urban areas to have municipal status (i.e. add another 63 to the current 43 municipalities).

If it is accepted, as a proxy, that the municipalities represent the main urban areas of Mozambique, as reported in the 2007 census and extracted in the above table, it can be noted that these are fairly evenly distributed across the country, with between 3 to 6 municipalities in each province. This distribution, however, is based on administrative and political rationale as the urban area population size varies significantly in different provinces – from a municipal population of 4% of all inhabitants of Tete and Niassa provinces to 16% municipal residents in Nampula Province.

In addition it can be noted that the provincial capitals (generally the longest established) represent 48% of the total national urban population – which rises to 68% when Maputo City is included (see the right hand table above). This shows that the largest 13 urban areas represent 76% of the national urban population and include all but 1 provincial capital (Inhambane) but also, notably, two other larger urban areas: Nacala and Gurue. Nearly twice the size of Matola, Maputo City retains its primacy. If the size of Greater Maputo as a conurbation is factored in, this is nearly four times the next largest urban area, Nampula – which has overtaken Beira in ranking from previous census, as the second largest urban area.

Table 7) Municipality population 2007 by provincial location (left) and size (right) – prepared by the author from 2007 census results

37 The main opposition party RENAMO competed this time – having boycotted the first local elections. The turnout was 24% of the electorate, which was above the 15% turnout in the first elections, but still low. FRELIMO won 28 mayoral positions and the majority in 29 municipal assemblies, and RENAMO won 5 mayoral positions and the majority in 4 municipal assemblies.

38 The 2007 census identified people in urban locations outwith these municipalities as is shown below for Maputo.
outwith Greater Maputo (39 if Maputo and Matola cities are considered separately).38

A further point to note is that the overall urban population per province is greater than that in the municipalities listed – as evidenced in the columns to the right side of the left hand table ('other urban'). Concerning this additional non-municipal urban population, according to the 2007 census some 670,000 people live in urban areas other than the 43 municipalities – equal to 11% of the total population registered as urban in the census. To identify every such urban area would entail decoding all census returns by district and as such only the totals are listed here.40 Half of this ‘extra’ urban population is located in Nampula (36%) and Zambezia (14%) provinces – the most populated – which thus hold 50% of the additional (non-municipal) urban population.

Table 8) Growth of selected urban areas 1997-2007 (prepared by the author from 2007 census data)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban area</th>
<th>population 1997</th>
<th>population 2007</th>
<th>% growth over decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beira</td>
<td>397,368</td>
<td>431,583</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City</td>
<td>966,837</td>
<td>1,094,628</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxixe</td>
<td>93,985</td>
<td>108,824</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xai-Xai</td>
<td>99,442</td>
<td>115,752</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhambane</td>
<td>52,370</td>
<td>65,149</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quelimane</td>
<td>150,116</td>
<td>193,343</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacala Porto</td>
<td>138,248</td>
<td>206,499</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montepuez</td>
<td>56,433</td>
<td>77,493</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimoio</td>
<td>171,056</td>
<td>237,497</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuamba</td>
<td>57,205</td>
<td>80,172</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete</td>
<td>101,984</td>
<td>155,870</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>303,346</td>
<td>471,717</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matola</td>
<td>424,662</td>
<td>671,556</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemba</td>
<td>84,897</td>
<td>138,716</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lichinga</td>
<td>85,758</td>
<td>142,331</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally the total urban population according to the census 2007 data is 6.3 million – whereas the UN data cited in the previous section estimated this as 7.1 million in 2005 and 9 million in 2010, demonstrating the variability of data. It is noted that while national statistics collect data on urban areas outwith the cities and towns, it is not clear if this reflects the trend to linear villages and nascent urban nodes along main transport routes and junctions – which still needs more understanding (Jenkins 2003). It may also reflect new settlements with urban characteristics in other economic growth points such as mining areas (informal as well as formal) and informal border crossings.

Overall, however, the current urban structure of Mozambique largely still follows that inherited from the colonial period, albeit with significant growth and the emergence of what may be new forms of urban area. What seems to be emerging overall, as evidences above, is a more dense urban structure with smaller settlements now being counted as urban – see Table 8 above. This supports the projection that proportionally it will be secondary and tertiary urban areas which have been, will continue to, grow fastest in the current period. It also needs to be noted that there are caveats concerning major city data – especially that of Maputo City - due to the spread of the city de facto populations beyond the de jure administrative boundaries – and hence not counted as urban (see next section).

As highlighted in the historical introduction, urban structures change with political, social and economic forces – and change form because of these as well as cultural values, although this normally takes time. The urban structure of Mozambique is undoubtedly changing more rapidly now, whether populations are formally registered in urban settlements or not. The important aspect to note here is that Maputo – and even more so Greater Maputo conurbation – still retains a demographic dominance. This is also the case for capital cities in the vast majority of Sub-Saharan African countries, although secondary and tertiary urban areas are also fast growing and new urban forms and structures emerge. As such, in demographic terms, Maputo City can be seen to be representative of other similar SSA capitals – smaller than some, but larger than others - but not all its characteristics will be representative of smaller urban areas either nationally or in the macro-region.

2.2.2. Urban legal and institutional structures in Mozambique

While demonstrating a high degree of representativity in demographic terms, as well as significant similarities in urban structure and its political and economic development, Maputo and urban areas in Mozambique do have some quite unique legal and institutional characteristics compared to other SSA countries.

39 Greater Maputo...
40 The decoding is undertaken for Maputo Province in the next section of the report.
The key legislation of relevance to cities is the local government legislative ‘package’ approved in 1998. This established the basis for autonomous local authorities which, as has been outlined above, make up the majority of urban areas – albeit with some rural areas within their boundaries and also some other urban areas which do not have (as yet) municipal status. Perhaps the most important aspect of this legislation is the fiscal basis for urban areas, which apart from central government transfers (the main funding source for most cities), includes:

- Poll tax;
- Part of declared income tax;
- Service charges;
- Licences and fees; and
- Property taxation.

To date most income is from d), with growing interest in c) and e) at municipal level, as poll tax is kept low and income tax is much more difficult to collect. The critical issue for e) is extremely out-of-date property registers (for land and buildings) – as well as the delay in establishing urban land regulations based on the 1998 Land Law (slightly amended 2006). These which were only finalised in 2008 when new legislation on physical planning was also passed. Despite recognition in the Land Law of individual and collective right to land titles based on 10 years of ‘good faith’ occupation (with no intrinsic restriction for urban as opposed to areas), this packet of land and planning legislation and regulation establishes the pre-condition of ‘planning’ urban land before any land title can be passed in an urban area. It also prescribes a very ‘top-down’ process of planning, starting from a wide ‘Structure Plan’ down to local land sub-division plans. The processes for accessing the land title through the regulation are also complex and very bureaucratic. As a result, access to land titles is generally extremely difficult, even in existing urban areas with the remains of the colonial cadastre and land registry system. Several international agencies have been, and still are, involved in attempting to implement and streamline these systems, but the limited technical, administrative, judicial and economic capacity at municipal level (even in the capital) have hampered these initiatives. This is reflected in the research findings at local level.

A key issue here has been land nationalisation – this being decreed in 1975, although the first Land Law was only published in 1979. After the end of the civil war in 1992, possible land privatisation was discussed as a part of the constitutional consultation, but due to a strong anti-privatisation lobby from the peasant sector, this status was retained. Land is thus still nationalised, with the state responsible for land allocation and management on behalf of the Mozambican people. Land is allocated on a usufructure title basis, administered through provincial governments except in municipal areas, where – as noted above – it is meant to be a source of income through titling and then on-going property registration and valuation. Several other activities were nationalised at the time of independence, one other of relevance to urban development being nationalisation of rented and abandoned housing (the latter due to many of the settler population having fled the country). After nationalisation, this housing was administered by a state entity, including delegations at urban level where most of the nationalised housing was based. However, in the new housing policy of 1992, this nationalised housing was privatised and sold to tenants where they so requested – at a heavy discount. This change was in line with the new national Constitution and a move to a liberal capitalist democracy. This led to a private housing market which remained in the context of a state-controlled land market, undermining weak state control of this market as it was legal to buy and sell the house on which land was built.

The above differences between Mozambique and other SSA countries are underpinned by the colonial administrative heritage from Portugal. This was quite different from that of the other main colonial powers of Britain and France in terms of the late formation of municipalities, but also in the relatively late commencement of urban planning. Similar to other Southern European countries, urban planning in Portugal was largely seen as what would be called urban design in other Northern European contexts – and focused on land and development control based on masterplans which project physical ‘blueprints’ at future horizons (Jenkins 2008). This approach to physical planning was bypassed in the 1960s in Northern Europe in favour of strategic planning at a more schematic level – typified by structure plans and then more physically oriented local plans. This process, however, has been a relatively late development in Southern Europe (starting only in the 1980-90s). The nature of local plans also has varied between European countries in relation to the degree of regulation embedded within the plan per se. In many European countries the strategic plan is still a physical masterplan which indicates physical futures, usually through zoning, albeit often with additional detailed plans at more local level. In this context, based on the plan as a legal instrument, development can take place as planned. The other system is one where strategic plans are schematic and local plans also continue to be relatively schematic with a high degree of discretion in control of development.41

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41 This is for instance the case in the UK where the state nationalised all owners’ development rights after WWII.
These forms of planning were transferred to Sub-Saharan Africa in the colonial period, resulting in rather different levels of styles of urban development planning and control in the colonies and post-colonies. The British colonies adapted the British system with limited adjustments to the political and economic reality. They used land use control to segregate urban areas in racial, social and economic ways – culminating in the apartheid system in South Africa and its ‘Group Areas Act’. The French colonies applied both higher level ‘territorial ordering’ plans and urban masterplan ‘blueprints’. The Portuguese – despite the later continuation of colonial control – only imported blueprint masterplanning, although they began in the immediate pre-Independence period to plan in a more strategic manner for Maputo City (see below). After Independence all SSA countries have tended to continue with colonial forms of planning, often substituting the settler population’s dominance in access to land and natural resources with that of an indigenous elite.

In Mozambique after 1975 there was a concerted attempt to develop a new planning system which would assist to reverse the extreme spatial duality which Portuguese colonialism had led to develop in urban areas. However this was hampered by both a limited interest in urban development at central government level, and hence formal investment as the state controlled the economy and local government was very weak and non-autonomous at the time (Jenkins 2006). A series of structure plans was produced for urban areas across the country by the pioneering Secretariat of State for Physical Planning (1984-1990). However, these were undermined by the weak political and economic basis for urban development, the lack of urban planning legislation and urban land regulations, and impact of this in weak institutional capacity. These meant that strategic planning had a minimal impact and much planning was physically oriented and dominated by fragmented local sub-divisions, as opposed to basing planned futures on strategic trend analysis of economic, social and other development factors.

The implementation of the ‘modern’ land and property systems, as described above, continues to be not only hampered by capacity, but also may not have strong political backing as this would entail higher levels of taxation. More so, implementing such systems is impaire by decades of un-regulated (so-called ‘informal’) development which represents the majority of urban areas – as seen in the section above. In this context, local administrators have carried on functions of the colonial authorities in and around the city areas, allocating land on the basis of demand, usually with some form of payment (often hidden since Independence).

This process was undertaken by colonial settlers in the peri-urban area of Lourenco Marques from the 1930s – illegally and with no tenure security – as well as the ‘regulo’ (‘traditional’ chief) system in more peripheral areas. After Independence it was taken over by the Grupos Dinamizadores (GDs) formed at bairro level in the latter part of the 1970s and eventually also by urban District Administrators and bairro secretaries as the GDs were disbanded (at least in the case of the capital). Despite the creation of urban planning and land control departments of the devolved city authorities in various urban areas from 1980 (which formally had urban land control through to the creation of new municipalities in 1998) the prevalent situation was one of administrators and bairro secretaries (and other subordinate personnel) allocating land – which increasingly became commodified, albeit illegally. This tendency is still very much a fact of urban life, with varying levels of (generally weak) local government controls – seldom effective in peri-urban areas.

Despite this situation, the majority of urban residents feel relatively secure in their land holdings – even if they have no formal proof of such rights. This fact is illustrated by various studies, including the previous and contemporary studies included in this research. This sense of security comes from long-term holdings (even before Independence); family inheritance; and above all - long term involvement of local urban administrative authorities in allocation (albeit illegally) and/or witnessing sales contracts of houses. These processes may not be ‘formal’, ‘regulated’ and/or strictly ‘legal’ but are seen as widely legitimate as shown by a range of studies since the early 1980s. The result is a strong tendency for people to buy and sell land as well as housing and develop this land with little regard for regulation – as this is enforced in very limited ways. Whether such development is negative or not is a key focus for this study – it certainly represents by far the majority of urban development.

In conclusion, therefore, Mozambican urban areas have significantly different contexts from other Sub-Saharan African cities.

At a political level this includes land nationalisation (although a significant number of SSA countries did nationalise land after Independence) but a weak national interest in urban development (probably reflected in a majority of SSA countries). Relatively recent decentralisation programmes which create politically independent municipalities are now quite generalised across SSA (and heavily promoted by international agencies), but Mozambican urban areas reflect historically different contexts from other Sub-Saharan African cities.
cal political aspects in their weakness in this respect.

At an economic level, while many SSA cities and urban structures had not dissimilar historical development trajectories, there are many differences in today’s urban economies within countries as well as across countries – evidenced in Mozambique’s case in some detail above. There is no claim that Maputo City is representative in this sense, and hence the uniqueness of the economic situation needs to be taken into account when generalising from empirical research. This particularly affects the urban fiscal base and hence the investment capacity of urban local government.

In legal and institutional terms (land and planning), Mozambique has quite distinctive characteristics, as outlined above, and this significantly affects what happens in urban land access and development – especially in peri-urban areas. While there are still some differences between Maputo City and other urban areas in Mozambique in terms of how the legislation is implemented, this may well even out in time as municipal capacity is strengthened. However Mozambican cities reflect the differences in this respect from before and after independence with their significant dual spatial systems, long history of ‘informal’ areas and weak government planning/land use control. This particularly affects issues such as land tenure and the proportion of areas considered ‘informal’ – and historic and contemporary approaches to these areas – a key focus of this study.

3. Maputo: urban development, demographic change and the nature of housing land use planning

3.1. Historic Urban Development

3.1.1. Early period to 1885 (mercantile development)

The earliest archaeological records of human settlement in what is now Southern Mozambique are from the first century AD – discovered in Matola in 1968\textsuperscript{43}. These were probably remains of a temporary living site for a community which survived on a mixture of farming, hunting, fishing and gathering, with the capacity to make iron tools. More prolonged settlement in the region was only established from the 9th century AD. with early farming communities also engaging in overseas trade. By then more complex forms of social organisation had developed from relatively self-sufficient decentralised groups to more centralised and hierarchical social
systems associated with surplus production, economic specialisation, accumulation of wealth and the development of trade dominated by the elite.

Written records of occupation in the Maputo area date back to the first Portuguese circum-navigation of the Cape of Good Hope⁴⁴, and the bay was named by the Portuguese after the navigator Lourenço Marques who first surveyed the bay in 1544, with the objective of setting up an ivory trading station. At this time various indigenous societies had developed from a lengthy process of settlement and assimilation with a common language. Contact between the indigenous Ronga clans and the Portuguese took place irregularly from the middle of the 16th century when ships sheltered in the bay and traded ivory, rhinoceros horn and dugong teeth for cloth and beads from the near off-shore islands.

The initial Portuguese monopoly of European trade in the Indian Ocean was broken by the end of the 16th century when the Dutch established a provisioning station for their East Indian trade at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 (Cape Town). The Dutch, and also the English and the French, then developed trade with the inhabitants of the Maputo bay area, then often called “Baía de Lagoa” or Delagoa Bay. This resulted in a number of brief and relatively unsuccessful attempts to set up trading bases in the bay in the 18th century, including a Dutch fort in 1721 (abandoned in 1730), a more permanent Portuguese trading base in 1755 and a short speculative settlement by the Austrians in 1777. The Portuguese eventually created a “Society of Businessmen” who set up the Lourenço Marques and Inhambane Trading Company in 1781.⁴⁵ Initially located on a sand bank surrounded by marshy land north of the bay, the settlement was composed of a series of pole, reed and thatch houses and a fort of tree trunks and earth. Its very precarious nature was evidenced in its periodically burning down or being razed by pirates in the initial years. However the Portuguese managed to maintain a presence in the settlement from this period onwards, despite a continuing turbulent history.

In the first half of the 19th century there were major changes to the political structure in the hinterland of the settlement. In the 1820s the formation of strong militaristic Nguni states in the surrounding regions (Zulu, Swazi and Gaza) through a series of wars, led to widespread displacements of the indigenous population - known as the Mfecane - including invasions through the city area.⁴⁶ In the 1840’s further disruption was caused by Boers trekking from the Cape creating new states in the interior at Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg. The Boers attempted to delimit the borders of Portuguese influence as near as 10 km from the small Lourenço Marques settlement (1845), but this was later overturned, although final agreement on the border was only ratified in 1871. The creation of the Boer republics did however give rise to considerable trade and the beginning of migrant labour.

While Portuguese influence probably did not extend more than 10 km from the settlement in the early 19th century, its influence gradually was extended through siding with allies in the various struggles for control of populations and territories. The foreign presence was, however, largely confined to a narrow sand bank surrounded by marsh south of the bay’s northern escarpment and protected by a rampart (see Figure 4). The first permanent constructions of locally quarried stone, mud and lime from oyster shells were built from about 1830, but more permanent construction grew during the 19th century. Land control in the immediate hinterland was initiated from 1858 via leasing from the crown, leases (‘foros’) being sold at public auctions. In that year the settlement had a total of 888 residents – the vast majority being indigenous Africans and slaves (Bordalo cited in Pelissier 1988). Apart from periodic conflict with some of the indigenous states in the hinterland (e.g. Gaza), the Portuguese garrison was also threatened by the English from their base in Port Natal (now Durban). During the greater part of the 19th century the English effectively dominated trade to the south of the bay and in fact only gave up their claim to land conceded to them in what is now Mozambican territory, after legal arbitration in favour of the Portuguese by the French President Marshall MacMahon in 1875.⁴⁷

Figure 4) Plan of Lourenço Marques in 1876 showing ramparts, fort, customs house, governor’s house, public well and road to Lydenburg

⁴⁴ The first navigational map of the bay, then called “Espírito Santo”, was shown in Lisbon in 1498, ten years after Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope for the first time.
⁴⁵ 25th January 1781 is the date considered as the founding of the city, however the company only began operations in 1825 and was short-lived - its monopoly ended in 1834.
⁴⁶ Although far from everyone was displaced.
⁴⁷ MacMahon then being the name given to the local beer, more known now as 2M.
With regard to trade, when the main export from the bay of ivory was undermined by diminishing herds of elephants south of the bay, the Portuguese increasingly traded hides and other natural products from the Gaza empire in the latter part of the 19th. However this limited trading basis for the settlement changed quickly from 1870 onwards with the discovery of gold at Lydenburg across the border to the west. The resulting gold rush led to much more rapid growth of the small settlement through widespread immigration, and was associated with construction of a road to Lydenburg. The settlement was officially elevated to the status of town in 1876 with some new public buildings - a church, hospital and barracks - outside the old fortifications. This was followed by construction of the first proper streets, dock and customs house (the main source of public finance for many years). The surrounding swamp was bridged from 1878 and various urban plans for the expansion of new settlement on the higher land were developed. A railway to the Transvaal was also planned in 1877, but construction was delayed until 1886 when gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand area at Johannesburg. The railway was only completed in 1895, however, after financial difficulties.

3.1.2. Colonial period 1885 - 1975

Although forms of colony had been developed prior, the colonial period in Sub-Saharan Africa dates mainly from the Berlin Conference 1884-5, when the main European powers (Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and Belgium) divided the macro-region between them. The need for Portugal to dominate its territorial colonial allocations – and the development of the Witwatersrand goldfields in the hinterland - led to the town of Lourenço Marques being elevated to city status from 1887 due to its growing economic and political importance for the colony of Mozambique as a whole. The required “effective occupation”, and surrounding British pressure on Portuguese territory, led to Portuguese expansion of the area of influence of the city through wider annexation of land backed up by military force. A military campaign was also undertaken to subordinate the indigenous Gaza state and the subsequent military domination of 1895 led to the transfer of the Portuguese administrative headquarters from Ilha de Moçambique, and Lourenco Marques then became the capital of the colony.

In 1886 a town “foral” (land register) had been created – registering all land within a two Km radius from the central square. Land previously occupied within this perimeter was incorporated after resolution of disputes spanning some 10 years. This included a separate township on the Po-lana headland which had been started by foreign companies in 1880 (Lobato 1961) - see Figure 5. Military reinforcements from the metropole were garrisoned here from 1895 in the so-called ‘wars of pacification’ and it later became the location of the colonial Governor’s residence. Various urban improvements were implemented in this period, including the land fill of the swamp, construction of an abattoir and cemetery and a piped water source (Cruz 1970). However by 1896 the population of the settlement had only increased to 3672 – albeit now in roughly equal proportions of European, Asian and African origin. During this period, the large areas of land outside the initial planned area were sold or leased by the state at low cost - often to foreigners who speculated on the possible urban expansion.

The main colonial forms of income became taxation on trade and import/exports as well as on migrant labour to neighbouring countries. During the
19th century people from Southern Mozambique increasingly migrated to the farms in the Transvaal, cane fields of Natal and diamond mines at Kimberly to work. This exodus increased rapidly with the gold rush in the Transvaal from the 1870s. The railway permitted a shorter route for the influx of miners as well as rapidly increasing imports and exports. Military domination of the country by the Portuguese led to a desire by the new colonial state to regulate labour, with a series of agreements with the South African government starting from 1897. This included a final agreement in 1928 passed soon after the 1926 coup d’etat which brought fascism to power in Portugal, tying guaranteed labour recruitment rights for South Africa in a defined region south of the Save river, in return for guaranteed proportion (around 50%) of all port and rail traffic to and from Transvaal – predominantly through the city of Lourenço Marques.

This agreement led to the creation of a foreign currency credit for Mozambique, which was used to finance imports from Portugal and exports of raw cotton cultivated through forced labour – a key factor in the way Portugal came to exploit its colonial allocations. Colonial state control over labour mobility and rights was exercised through legislation covering identification, residence rights / movement, taxation and obligatory employment, including forced labour. Related to this was the desire to export surplus labour from Portugal, and as a result all forms of semi-specialised and skilled labour in the colonies was reserved for European immigrants (predominately “non-indigenous nationals” - i.e. Portuguese) and a small privileged “assimilated class”, inaccessible to most Africans. Apart from the migrant labour passing through en route to South Africa, a growing number of African in-migrants to the city were employed as unskilled day labour in the port and railways and also in public services (e.g. night soil and rubbish collection), as well as domestic service in colonial settler households.

Figure 6) Plan of Lourenço Marques in 1929 showing the slow occupation of the planned area – and the initial planned expansion to the northeast

From 1914 onwards the government began to buy up the private land holdings to the north-east of the escarpment - the Polana headland, but this area remained relatively under-developed for a long time (see Figure 6). The advent of the electric tram, however, helped to widen the urban area actually being occupied, as rickshaws were the only other common form of transport. The tram also permitted the opening up of the coastal area, with recreational constructions such as clubs and pavilions, as well as the Hotel Polana, then on the outskirts of the town (see above). These facilities in turn served as an attraction for tourists - mainly from the Transvaal - and the Maxaquene beach area immediately to the east of the oldest part of the town was infilled for future development of the city centre. Most new buildings were in the upper city area, and relied considerably on corrugated iron sheeting as well as imported cast iron components - pillars, verandas and even whole buildings. Few of these remain, although a number of stone public buildings built at the time are still in use.

The change of colonial status and growing importance of transport and migrant labour led to the population rising from 13,353 inhabitants in 1912 to 20,640 by 1930 and thereafter it continued to grow rapidly - up to 44,700 in 1940 and about 90,000 in 1950, with some three quarters being of “indigenous” status. There was a distinct racial distribution of the population, with the majority of Africans living outside the defined urban central core (in densities of some 30-50 inhabitants per hectare);

51 Between 1879 and 1897 the number of migrant labourers grew from 10,000 in all of South Africa to 60,000 in the Transvaal gold mines alone. The low level of mechanization of the mining industry required a steady supply of labour, as did the farms in the intervening areas.

52 To be classified as “assimilado” a local inhabitant had to demonstrate a minimum level of schooling (which was costly for the African family), as well as an understanding of Portuguese language and culture - e.g. clothing and eating standards.

53 For example the Municipal Market, Central Post Office and Ministry of Public Works.

54 This was the population in the municipal area – in the “suburbios” there was a further 12,726 – nearly the same number. This was predominantly made up of “Black Portuguese” (11,440), but also included mixed race and “White Portuguuese” – showing the early emergence of the less formal urban area.
the Asian population predominantly in the central city ("Baixa" area at some 26 inhabitants/hectare) and Europeans throughout the core area, but more exclusively in the higher parts of the city (at densities of 12 - 23 inhabitants/hectare) (Mendes 1979). There was an inherent class system represented in the form of occupation also, with higher income groups occupying the more salubrious eastern areas overlooking the sea and the western areas developing as skilled and semi-skilled working class areas - mainly, but not exclusively, European (Mendes 1979). The form of construction changed, with brick construction dominating in the core urban area by the 1940s, with the beginning of higher density development (3 to 4 storey buildings) in the downtown area. Corrugated iron sheet construction however still dominated in the unplanned peri-urban "suburbios" outside the core "cement city".

In the 1940s a residential neighbourhood was built for the "assimilados", called "Bairro Indigena", although many preferred to live in cheaper accommodation in the "suburbios". These were unplanned areas which grew up from the 1920s to the north-west of the planned "cement city" area (along the original road to the Transvaal). The land here was held in multiple small holdings by relatively poor settlers, as opposed to the north-east where it was held in a relatively small number of large holdings - see Figure 7, and most of the housing was provided by land owners for rent, or was built on rented land. As these areas were considered temporary by the city authorities, no permanent construction except a few shops and churches was permitted in the area. Few, if any, public services were provided here until much later. One of the attractions of this area was the proximity to industry developing along the main roads bounding the 'suburbios'. However much of the area was in a low-lying depression with no natural outlet and hence occupation led to regular flooding. In the 1940s a limited industrial sector was established processing raw materials for local consumption (oil extraction, beer brewing, tobacco processing, flour and corn milling etc.) – spurred on to some extent by Portugal's neutral status in World War II. In this period some satellite urban settlements also began to develop - a railway workers neighbourhood to the north (Bairro Ferroviario) built in conjunction with the new railway line to the north of the colony. In addition a small market garden area developed to the north west around a town centred called Machava - see Figure 8 below.

In 1947 3000 brick houses and 300 of roof sheets were registered in the 'foral', with a further 700 in brick and 1500 in roof sheets ('madeira e zinco') in the "suburbios" (Mendes 1979). The unregulated subdivision of land for residential use in the "suburbios" dates from around 1928 near the Xipaminine market area. From 1890 the African population was limited in its legal acquisition of land, with "indigenous re-

At the peak of Portugal's interest in developing its colonies an urban plan was produced in 1952 ("Plano de Urbanização"). This civic design-dominated blueprint, prepared by the Colonial Urban office in Portugal, envisioned the extension of the city to the north along the top of the coastal escarpment, thus avoiding the existing "suburbios" to the north-west which were shown as "reserves". It proposed both the consolidation of the old centre with grand public buildings and the creation of a new centre in the expansion area (see Figure 9). The plan, however, was a focus for land speculation and illegal development. The major land owner in the projected northward expansion held out for some years for high compen-

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57 From 1890 the African population was limited in its legal acquisition of land, with "indigenous re-

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Figure 7) Land cadastre plan of Lourenco Marques in 1940 showing the unplanned expansion to the northwest and also the planned area for 'assimilados'.

Figure 8) Lourenco Marques in 1940's showing the expanded city council area, the new airport location, the zoological garden (northwest) and the satellite Bairro Ferroviario to the northeast.
The city’s industrial sector continued to expand during the 1950s along the major arterial routes to the north and west, although employment was still predominantly in export of un-processed agricultural products (cotton, sugar, sisal) and port and railway services. However, after investment restrictions were lifted by the new government in Lisbon in the 1960s, industrial manufacturing began to develop more rapidly. This, however, was primarily developed in Matola, the neighbouring town founded in 1955, which rapidly expanded as a satellite urban area - partly due to cheaper and more available land but also less rigorous municipal controls and taxation. Major new industrial investments such as the new oil refinery, cement factory and mineral quays were located in Matola, and several new industrial areas established. In Lourenço Marques itself the continuing rapid increase in population, including significant immigration from the metropole, led to many high rise speculative developments - many residential, but also a growing number of office buildings. There was little industrial expansion, however (some ribbon development along the main road going north), as the available land was to the north was largely now occupied. The population in the city’s core was housed increasingly in apartments, but lower income populations were housed in the rapidly densifying unplanned “informal” areas surrounding this – which came to be called ‘caniço’ due to the prevalence of reed as the building material.58

Unlike the ‘blueprint’ plan above, the first general urban strategic plan in Mozambique was for the whole greater urban region (i.e. Lourenço Marques and Matola). Unlike previous plans, this was prepared by a special planning office created in the country (Gabinete de Urbanização e Habitação da Região de Lourenço Marques GUHRLM) and approved in 1965. This reflected the rapid industrial growth, with large reserved areas being indicated to the west of the general urban area - i.e. north of Matola (Figure 10). The demand for housing in relative proximity to these industrial areas was also catered for through the innovative development by both Matola Municipality and GUHRLM) in a series of new housing areas. Many of these were basic ‘sites and services’ areas for low income working population, as well as the development of new housing for middle income groups by the private sector.59 In this period, relatively large areas of new housing were laid out and developed from the early 1960s at low densities, and by 1970 Matola was already the third largest urban area in the country, after Lourenço Marques and Beira.

In the mid 1960s the municipality of Lourenço Marques also began to plan new lower-income housing areas and undertake some belated public investment in services in the existing, now large scale, unplanned areas. This was partly in response to the nascent liberation war and the need to win “hearts and minds” of the urban population. New primary schools were built, public water points constructed and new paved roads threaded through the inner “caniço” suburbs. The city population continued to grow at historically high rates (which by 1970 represented some 117% over 10 years) as a result of continued strong immigration to the country, inward migration from rural areas, but also growing importance of natural growth. Existing residential areas densified (higher rise in planned areas and overcrowding in unplanned areas), and the city began to expand over

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58 Insecure tenure was a key issue here.
59 While this office had a mandate to work in the wider urban area, most of its interventions were in northern Lourenço Marques and northern Machava, where it laid out a considerable number of lower-income sites and services areas. Another central state attempt to deal with the large scale and fast growing deficit was the Junta das Casas e Bairros Populares (JCBP), which financed a limited number of low-cost rental apartment blocks in Lourenço Marques and Machava.
the existing unplanned areas to the north-west. New large scale housing layouts for lower-income groups were planned on the periphery of the then occupied area, and new upper income housing areas established, including the relocation of the population in areas immediately north of the existing ‘formal’ area. The city council territory area itself was expanded in 1965, including the area 5 Km to the north of the previous area.

By 1969, the 1952 masterplan was accepted as completely outdated, but the 1965 regional plan was primarily schematic for the city-region, and hence a new Master Plan (“Plano Director”) for Lourenço Marques was commenced by consultants, approved in 1972. This effectively included the on-going residential expansion plans, with an attempt at zoning to control densities and open space, set-backs etc., as well as provision of new lower-income areas. It was based mainly on a detailed physical analysis, but for the first time included socio-economic analysis. However, it did not fully take into account the rapidly changing economic context or effectively deal with the socio-economic development of the majority of the African population. Hence while more relevant than the 1952 plan, the proposals tended to focus on land management for the ‘formal’ city, with limited interventions for the fast growing ‘informal’ city. A key issue here was concentrated land ownership - the direct result of the land speculation which had begun in the last part of the 19th century. The resulting tendency was to push development once again to the northeast due to the difficulties in acquiring the multiple small land holdings belonging to politically active settlers to the northwest. This is reflected in the actual expansion (see Figure 12).

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In practice the master plan was little implemented. Despite Mozambique being one of the top countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1973 in terms of industrial output, growing uncertainty of the liberation war and political changes in Portugal affected inward investment, which began to slow down and eventually ceased around 1972-73. In the event many urban development projects – especially urban land sub-division and construction - were left unfinished, and the two municipalities’ (Lourenço Marques and Matola) mainly Portuguese technical staff also began to leave for Portugal prior to Independence in 1975.

Physical urban development in Maputo has been closely tied up with political, economic and social changes through the centuries. From its initial establishment as a temporary southerly outpost for Indian Ocean trade in the 16th century, through to the late 19th century there was limited physical development, despite substantial political development s in the region. These included the formation of larger centralised
indigenous states and the stand-off with the in-migration of foreigners (Nguni and Boer), creating a small tenuous settlements with a buffer of allied clans surrounded by potentially antagonistic stronger states. In the end the importance of the settlement’s port ensured its survival, although its importance was also underpinned by the political partition of Sub-Saharan Africa in the late 19th century colonial settlement. Economically the settlement then moved rapidly from small town to city to capital of the new country in response to the economic opportunity to tax and service the hinterland capitalist development spurred on in S Africa by the gold rush in the Witwatersrand. The city became the main port, railway junction, service centre and labour migration point for this in the early 20th century, only developing as its national development role in the middle of the 20th century with political change in Portugal. This led to initial industrial development, accelerated in the 1960s by political economic change of direction by the Portugal to avoid decolonisation. Ultimately unsuccessful, the ensuing rapid and un-managed decolonisation process opened up a new era in Mozambique – political, economic and social. During this whole period the city continuously expanded beyond the capacity of the state to plan, regulate or service the urban area – resulting in substantial historic ‘informal’ development around the core central ‘cement city’ for settler use.

3.1.3. The post-Independence period 1975 - 1995

The overall effect of the immediate post-Independence period (1975 - mid-1980s) on the social, economic, physical and administrative situation in the city was immense. The newly independent government took a radical “proto-socialist” line, with nationalization of banks, key industries (although some such as the port, railways and electricity were already in state control), land, abandoned and rented property and other services (such as education, health, funeral services etc.). It was also forced to intervene in management of many other enterprises abandoned by the skilled and managerial staff. The state apparatus expanded rapidly in this period as the state attempted to control the economy. This was, however, the only sector to grow in employment as industrial and transport-related economic activities declined rapidly. This was exacerbated in 1977 when South Africa unilaterally reneged on the labour and transport-related agreements, drastically reducing its migrant recruitment and port and rail traffic.

The period immediately prior to and after Independence in 1975 was one of much turbulence. This was characterised by a rapidly increasing exodus of the mainly Portuguese colonial population, and increasing inward migration from the surrounding southern Mozambican region to Maputo City as administrative controls on movement were lifted. It is estimated that 150,000 - 200,000 people emigrated from the city, yet the population grew from around 383,000 to 755,000 by 1980 (a 97% growth). Concerning physical development, prior to Independence substantial private sector involvement in the property market - albeit racially differentiated and highly speculative - had been active in providing housing for a substantial part of the population. After Independence, this market-based delivery froze, although it was never made illegal. The state intervened in the market in allocation of both the abandoned and rented properties at nominal rents. While this assisted to a limited extent with the housing need, the rapid growth of the population led to accelerated growth of ‘informal’ settlement in peri-urban areas (‘cantiço’). Overall, the new state looked on housing and related investment as consumption, and gave this a low priority in its central economic planning, instead concentrating state investment in key economic development projects, which were usually in rural areas. In the city the state initially concentrated on finishing off abandoned buildings in construction, although quite a few of these became offices for the growing government bureaucracy, and also (from 1980 on) provided housing for foreign workers (mostly from Eastern European countries and the Soviet bloc).

The state’s previous efforts at providing land and services for lower-income groups (in Lourenço Marques only in the early 1970s, but in Machava and Matola during the 1960s) was continued, but at a lower level of intensity, due to limitations in trained staff and lack of clear responsibilities for urban land development. This was continued by the previous central government agency, now renamed GUHRM, as the city’s name was changed to Maputo. GUHRM received United Nations support and developed its sites and services programme with an accompanying self-help housing assistance programme (1976-79). GUHRM itself was transformed into the National Directorate for Housing in the major central

60 This was substantially made up of household heads, until then living alone in the city, calling the other members of their family to join them.

61 Initially relatively few properties were taken up, but after severe floods in 1977 the state obliged many residents to move to the rented properties, which were often in apartment blocks. This in itself created many problems as the socio-cultural and economic basis for many so relocated was unsuited to higher density upper floor living, and they could not afford to pay for maintenance, as neither could the state rental agency due to the low level of rents. By 1980 few properties were vacant.
government restructuring of 1977, which then developed a major informal settlement upgrading pilot project in bairro Maxaquene just north of the ‘cement city’ (1977-79). The separate city and town of Matola and Machava were formally incorporated into Maputo with the reorganization of the state at local level in 1979 and 1980. However, local government - previously weak economically and politically in the colonial period - was even weaker under the new centrally dominated government, although Greater Maputo was awarded Provincial status. In terms of resources, the city’s budget was totally determined centrally and the limited professionally trained government staff (including some foreign “cooperantes” in this period) were preferentially allocated to central government.62

In the 1980s the city faced continuing rapid inward migration and a declining overall economic base (although employment was kept high due to a refusal to retrench workers by the state), severely affecting the city’s financial basis. Its area of responsibility was multiplied – both geographically (the city territory was expanded by a factor of about three and had to include all land and housing allocation) and also sectorally (taking on new functions such as housing administration) - yet it had to deal with severely reduced administrative and technical staff cohort. In addition there was lack of clarity on responsibilities for urban management, including land, and low national state priority for investment (and discouragement for private investment). Despite some state housing investment (completion of un-finished and abandoned apartment buildings and some new cooptante housing), the vast majority of housing development was on spontaneously occupied land in peri-urban areas, which expanded very rapidly. The city council in Maputo had limited technical capacity, bit opted to dedicate this to new residential area development. As a result, it did not continue the upgrading pilot project of the National Housing Directorate when this ceased its direct urban interventions in 1979 at the time of local government reorganization (and when UN support was ended). The city council planning staff, recognizing their limitations, focused on developing strategic ‘structure plans’ for major urban areas, as well as training national personnel in planning. The INPF and Maputo city council Directorate for Construction and Urbanisation collaborated technically on developing the first such structure plan in 1985, this being presented to the City Council later that year. This structure plan included detailed physical surveys but limited socio-economic data as this was virtually impossible to collect at the time due to resources available. It proposed three main options for city development:

- A planned concentric form which needed to be based on considerable infrastructure investment. This was focussed on northern Machava and seen as potentially possible in the light of contemporary proposals for industrial development within the Southern African Development Coordination Committee SADCC;
- Planned linear development using main existing transport infrastructure and reduced other infrastructure investment (e.g. water and sanitation) to link new residential expansion areas to ‘green zones’ (urban agricultural areas which were under development at the time) – and eventually to neighbouring towns;
- A default position of unplanned growth which would concentrate along access routes and existing employment opportunities.

The lack of a clear policy at national level on urban development and housing clearly accentuated this situation, as well as the need for overall strategy for urban development. The National Housing Directorate had been transformed into the National Physical Planning Institute (INPF) in 1984 (again after a major central government reorganization), which concentrated on developing strategic ‘structure plans’ for major urban areas, as well as training national personnel in planning. The INPF and Maputo city council Directorate for Construction and Urbanisation collaborated technically on developing the first such structure plan in 1985, this being presented to the City Council later that year. This structure plan included detailed physical surveys but limited socio-economic data as this was virtually impossible to collect at the time due to resources available. It proposed three main options for city development:

62 Cooperantes were recruited mainly from supporting states – many being socialist - however others were recruited from left-wing political groups in other countries, which supported the new government. Maputo City had a number of cooperantes on its staff from 1981, but was an exception in having such technical personnel in its local government departments until some time later.
In retrospect, the limited social and economic survey basis for the plan led to over-optimism concerning both industrial and urban agricultural potential. In addition, the lack of appropriate legislation and institutional clarity over who should approve the plan, together with a strong lobby against the land development standards inherent in it led by the then city president, led to a confused situation concerning its status. As such, with no adequate legislative or economic basis, limited regulatory controls and technical capacity, it is unlikely it would have been implementable even if political will was evident. With the de facto closure of the Basic Urbanisation programme, urban development in Maputo reverted to the default position from the latter part of the 1980s. With virtually no planning capacity (both from the technical but also political point of view), ‘informal’ occupation became the key way the city expanded from this period onwards.

The later 1980s period was a critical one for the city. The above changes were compounded by civil war and structural adjustment. Together, these factors reversed positive trends in the earlier post-Independence period with a marked negative effect on the city’s already limited capacity to manage growth and development. Civil war had been on-going in Mozambique since Independence, but only began to affect the city directly in the later part of the 1980s, both directly and indirectly. Direct attacks on the periphery lead the peri-urban population to flee inward to safer urban areas and focus attacks on key city infrastructure, cutting off energy and rail and road transport for lengthy periods, further undermining the city’s economy. Indirect effects were as marked - the widespread insecurity in the three southern provinces, which typically provided city in-migrants, led to a visible increase in people flocking to the city for refuge, leading to land invasions and local neighbourhood allocations of many unsuitable areas. Indirectly the war also affected food supply as much of the city’s perishable food came from the neighbouring provinces. Structural adjustment, on the other hand (implemented from 1987), affected employment in the formal sector (through insisting on privatization - see below), but more immediately impacted state employment, making it very unattractive for higher trained personnel (who could be employed much more remuneratively by the international donors). In addition, the informal sector was stimulated as state allocation of goods, especially subsidized food, was seriously reduced or ceased, and families turned to small scale commerce to survive.

During this period the state’s capacity to undertake any form of urban land control was even further reduced. This was even more so for Matola (including Machava), as the two cities were administratively separated again in 1986, without any concomitant increase in the technical capacity. Despite international donor involvement in the sector (the World Bank in financing an Urban Rehabilitation Project, and the United Nations several projects in regional planning as well as housing policy and programmes), one overall effect of these projects was in fact to absorb state capacity to act with personnel transfer. It became clear that as the ruling party Frelimo negotiated towards peace in the early 1990’s after adopting a new “market-oriented” and pluri-democratic constitution, that there was diminishing accountability in central and local government - and growing commodification of services as well as assets such as land was leading to corruption at all levels.

In 1992 a new national housing policy stressed the role of the private sector, and this led to the transfer of a substantial part of previously nationalized housing stock to tenants at highly subsidized levels, predominantly benefiting the upper and nascent middle classes. This group also benefited from the growing illegal commoditisation of urban land (which remained nationalized), apparently led by officials within the city council. The outcome, however, was not a new burst of private sector construction as hoped for; but a rush for land allocations in well located situations by the economic, bureaucratic and political elite as well as international agencies, and a more or less complete collapse of state-planned land provision for lower income groups. The planned scenarios sketched in the 1985 Structure Plan did not materialize – and in fact the default position of disorganised land expansion was also held back initially due to insecurity. Instead the overall urban development tendency in the late 1980s and early 1990s was one of densification of land and housing as well as spontaneous occupation of land in very unsuitable areas, including land reserves established in the 1980s plans for economic and social use (see...
Figure 14). This tendency continued in the 1990s and into the new millenium; however, by the mid-1990s the city began to rapidly physically expand again in the post-war period. The projection in the late 1980s of what unplanned growth would produce for the city (see Figure 14 right hand side) in fact largely came to pass by the end of the first decade of the new millennium (2009).

Figure 15) World Bank funded Metropolitan Maputo Structure Plan 1999

In 1998-9, as mentioned above, the World Bank financed the preparation of structure plans for the primary urban areas in Mozambique, including a plan for Greater Maputo. This plan was the first to attempt to cover social and economic characteristics in detail, albeit with some difficulties. However, it was developed at the time of analysis of the 1997 national census and this provided much important social data inputs. However economic data was much more difficult to encounter and hence this aspect of the plan remained somewhat schematic. This plan effectively re-activated one of the two 1985 alternative planning scenarios – that of concentric development, albeit without the reliance on the industrial base projected in the 1980s – but still assumed significant new investment in infrastructure such as a northern circular road access and a bridge to Catembe south if the bay. Apart from the new EN4 road to S Africa, an integral part of the Maputo Corridor to the Witwatersrand, these were never realised.

In 2008-9 a new Structure Plan was prepared for Maputo city, with one for Matola following immediately afterwards. Key elements and objectives of the Maputo City Structure Plan (PEUMM 2010) include:

- The restructuring and development of 3750 ha of urban 'slums' in the 2008-2018 period;
- Improvement of accessibility to all urban areas, and especially the business districts/centres of the city, as well as links to foreign countries, including via the international airport of Maputo;
- Ensuring ecological balance and environmental quality;
- Creation of new social and economical centres: administrative, commercial and recreational;
- Densification of urban areas in order to decrease the cost of infrastructure and service provision;
- Phased development of infrastructures and urban services up to acceptable levels;
- Development of new well-planned urban areas, which absorb the increase of the population including areas for social housing;
- Promotion of the construction of social housing projects.

The ambitious nature of this plan is illustrated by the estimated costs for the re-development of existing slums in the next 10 years at around USD 75 million, with the cost for infrastructure to support this activity (i.e. roads, drainage, water supply, sanitation, and public lighting) being estimated at USD 850 million. The total for this priority is thus some $92.5 million per year for the next 10 years, or $123/resident/year (assuming 750,000 residents of these slums). It is suggested that 30% of this could come from public-private partnerships, and 30% from beneficiary payments at $2.30 per resident per month (over 10 years = $265/resident) – although the economics of this proposal were not detailed. This compared with the total 2007 city annual financial income of some $16 per capita, and general

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65 The structure plan was produced by the Urban Planning and Environmental Directorate of the municipality in partnership with the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning, University Eduardo Mondlane. Its preparation involved more than two dozens of specialists from different areas including Historians, Geographers, Economists, Engineers, Agronomists, Mechanicals, Biologists, Environmentalists, Physical Planners and Architects. The process of the elaboration of the Urban Plan involved public hearings which also included sessions with specialized groups according to the theme proposed for discussion.
revenue of less $10/capita/annum (see details below) and highlights the rather aspirational character of the plan.

The structure plan established two main categories of urban development: already ‘urbanized’ areas and areas to be ‘urbanized’ – urbanisation here meaning an acceptable level of urban development in terms of land use planning and control, infrastructure and services provision. The plan indicated that some 40% of the “areas to be urbanized” have formally marked plots but are still lacking access to adequate urban infrastructure. ‘Urbanised areas’ included ‘consolidated areas’ which are fully developed from an urban development point of view, however in many areas the urban infrastructure is in a poor state of repair due to postponed maintenance. These areas represent about 5.5% of the total area of the city. This category also includes planned and formally demarcated areas with incomplete infrastructure, and was estimated at some 30% of the total area of the city. Other ‘areas to be urbanised’ – otherwise termed ‘un-planned’ areas - had no formal land demarcation and registry, generally deficient infrastructure and often relatively high density, and were estimated to cover about 47% of the total area of the city.

There have been various recent initiatives to support the city in its physical development. The most significant is probably the Maputo Municipal Development Program (PROMAPUTO). The program’s implementation period is 10 years (2007 to 2016), and it is co-funded by the World Bank and other donors. Its overall objective is: “to increase the coverage and quality of the municipal services for the all city inhabitants”, through institutional strengthening and improved financial capacity of the municipality. Its three components are: a) institutional development and governance; b) improvement of municipal finance and c) improvement of urban services and service levels, including coverage of water supply, sanitation and drainage. The first phase of the program, which officially finished on the 30th August of 2010, had a total cost of about USD 30 million. The second phase is estimated at USD 70 million and is to be financed mostly by the World Bank (USD 50 million), with USD 15 million to come from the municipal revenues and USD 5 million from the central government. The main objective of this second phase is construction and rehabilitation of urban infrastructure, mainly roads, sanitation and drainage systems - one of the major works being re-establishing the northern section of Julius Nyerere Avenue which was cut by erosion valleys in the 2000 floods.

The post-colonial government focussed on national agricultural and industrial development as a priority and tended to ignore physical urban development, and as such, despite some innovative activities in planning and support to self-help housing, the majority of the city continued to develop with minimal state intervention. This situation was exacerbated by the civil war and only after the turn of the millennium did the newly decentralised form of local government turn its attention to physical urban development for economic as opposed to political reasons. In the most recent period there has been a resurgence of physical planning – albeit not based on detailed demographic, social and economic analyses, but principally on physical order, with political and economic aims. Nevertheless the state, as represented by the municipality, remains weak in many ways and ‘informal’ development continues by far the main form of urban expansion and consolidation – with the city now expanding far beyond its metropolitan area.

In the second half of the first decade in the new millennium
the new legally determined physical planning process focuses on state-led territorial control based on existing municipalities and does little to promote coordination between city and region, which in the case of Maputo is essential due to its rapid expansion across the territorial limits created in 1980 – not to mention coordinated planning across the conurbation with the separate municipality of Matola. The result of this physical planning process is an ‘inward-oriented’ structure plan (approved 2010) which focuses on densification and slum removal, and thus comprehensive re-development, ignoring actual city-region trends of expansion. The higher density models for urban development promoted in the plan inevitably are more expensive in investment terms. While urban expansion is envisioned in the plan, this is predominately on the south side of the estuary, and is predicated on improved access, proposed in the 10 year horizon by a new bridge. However, given the costs of this, public private partnerships linked to new housing areas for upper income groups are the main focus for this area. The overall result is a largely physically-focussed structure plan which is legally in place to guide and control future development but which has ambitions beyond any foreseeable economic basis, and continues a strong tendency to establish state norms for urban development which arguably do not take into account actual socio-economic aspects of housing demand or demographic trends and ignore the tendencies for continued uncontrolled urban expansion in the wide city-region.

3.2. Greater Maputo

3.2.1. The metropolitan area of Greater Maputo

While this research programme focuses on Maputo City, it recognises the extremely important impact of urban growth trends beyond the city boundaries – addressed here initially in statistical terms. The table below indicates census 2007 data for Maputo City and its Districts as well as Maputo Province and its Districts, the latter also being broken down into Administrative Posts. In the 1990s World Bank Greater Maputo Structure Plan and the early 2000’s attempt at a Greater Maputo Metropolitan Environmental Management Plan, the metropolitan area of Greater Maputo – the conurbation – followed the rationale of including the towns of Marracuene and Boane as well as the areas between these and the city of Maputo (Marracuene Administrative Post) and Matola (Matola Rio Administrative Post) as the key areas of new urban expansion. In these areas, there is significant urban development and changes in density and nature of land use – as well as social and economic changes – which represent the urban expansion process – whether planned or not. It is important therefore that the nature of these be considered.

Maputo Province has a number of areas considered ‘urban’ in the census: nine other than Matola city, the capital of the province – but only two (Namaacha and Manhiça) are autonomous municipalities as yet. The total urban population in Maputo Province in 2007 was registered as 837,760, of which Matola city represented 82% (687,150). Other urban areas in order of size were Manhiça (57,512), Boane (23,920), Moamba (13,120), Namaacha (12,906), Marracuene (11,495), Magude (10,925), Xinavane (10,135), Ressano Garcia (7,901) and Bela Vista (2,696).

This is evidenced in the census figures, albeit listed as ‘rural’ population – 70,814 for Marracuene Administrative Post and 35,629 as Matola Rio Administrative Post – both significantly higher than other rural administrative areas in the province.

Table 9 shows the mechanism for calculating the metropolitan population. For 2007 this is just under 2 million (1.95 million), with just 93% in the Maputo and Matola city areas per se, the remaining 7% in the Marracuene and Boane areas. It is noticeable that urban expansion is reflected in demographic terms in both the Marracuene rural area in a linear area between the town and Maputo city northern boundary (included in this research programme) and more concentrically around Boane, which has more economic activity in itself as a market centre. An area in Boane District close to Matola city limits is the main area for metropolitan expansion to the south. This includes ‘informal’ areas developing near the Matola Rio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Post</th>
<th>Population 2007</th>
<th>Urban / Rural %</th>
<th>Metropolitan Area Population (shaded)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matola Rio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marracuene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Urban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excluding Maputo City as a separate Province

The rural area of Boane Administrative Post is not included as it lies further from the conurbation than the Matola Rio area.

67 The World Bank funded Maputo Metropolitan Structure Plan 1997-99 considered the metropolitan area to extend from Boane town in the southwest through to Marracuene in the north. The plan, however, was not formally approved as at the time there was no clear legal status for land use plans in the legislation post 1982, and no mechanism for the two municipalities to formally engage on such issues. The Danish-funded greater Maputo Environmental Management Plan (2004-6) attempted to bring the two independent mayors and the Maputo Province governor together and create a mechanism for dealing with common issues such as land use, transport, economic development and key environmental issues. Unfortunately, was not funded to the point of realisation of this objective. The result is a ‘default’ position of ad-hoc collaboration within a more general competitive environment.

68 Excluding Maputo City as a separate Province

69 The rural area of Boane Administrative Post is not included as it lies further from the conurbation than the Matola Rio area.
bridge – partly spurred on by the access to the Mozal aluminium factory and associated industrial and housing complex – and the new provincial upper income housing area called Belo Horizonte.

As can be seen in Table 10) below, the Greater Maputo conurbation has historically represented a growing proportion of the population of the surrounding Maputo province. From just over 50% in 1960, this has grown to just under 80% in 2007. The table below includes data from 1940 and 1950 (before Matola city was founded), showing that the proportion of city and province population in the city / cities has risen from 25% in 1940 to 77% in 2007.

Table 10) Demographic trends Maputo city and province 1960-2007 (Source: INE website data, prepared by author)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City and province</th>
<th>Greater Maputo</th>
<th>% in city</th>
<th>% in province</th>
<th>% in total</th>
<th>annual growth rates in decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>295,623</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>357,274</td>
<td>93,265</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>436,016</td>
<td>227,011</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>85.6%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>795,502</td>
<td>465,327</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
<td>68.0%</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,239,969</td>
<td>739,977</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>93.0%</td>
<td>79.1%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1,773,016</td>
<td>1,391,499</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
<td>80.6%</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2,353,503</td>
<td>1,807,510</td>
<td>76.8%</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
<td>74.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the proportion of inhabitants in the city and province changed significantly as noted above, the average annual growth rate for the city area(s) changed in a rather different way when compared to that of the province. The average annual growth rate of Lourenco Marques (later Maputo) was low in the 1940s (2.3%) but then rose very sharply in the 1950s (9.3%), dropping but continuing high (7.5%) in the 1960s (with the combined growth then also including Matola city). It then dropped to 4.8% in the 1970s, to 3.8% in the 1980s and 1990s, and down again to 2.7% in the last decade (1997-2007). This compares to an initial average annual growth rate for the overall province and city which began low at 1.9% in the 1940s and 2% in the 1950s, rose sharply to 6.3% in the 1960s, and dropped back to 2.1% in the 1970s before returning to 2.7% in the 1980s and 1990s, with a rise again to 2.9% in the last decade, reflecting the recent urban expansion across the city boundaries into the province.

It is noted that the above city and region growth rates are highly dependent on the changing territorial city boundaries, but show evidence of growth well above natural growth rates in the city areas from the 1950s onwards, and above average annual natural growth rates for the province and city combined in the 1960s and 1970s, as the natural growth rates for 1996-07 were 2.2% for the rural population, and 2.7% for the urban population. The recent growth rate figures seem to suggest that the city population now is tending to grow naturally, whereas the province population still is growing at higher than natural rates – i.e. from in-migration. This in-migration is less rural-urban and more specifically from the urban cores of Maputo and Matola as this research shows. It is also noted that these figures do not reflect any forms of circular migration which may be taking place into and across the urban-urban, urban-rural divides.

3.2.1. The general context for the metropolitan area

The area of direct influence of Maputo city is primarily the three Mozambican provinces south of the Save River - Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. The principal economic activity in the city’s inner hinterland is agricultural production with a high proportion of the economically active population engaged in agriculture, although informal commerce has become a strong other component of economic engagement. The family sector is by far the most important agriculture sector, although the predominantly sandy soils of the region have marginal agricultural potential except in river basins. The higher ground is used for rain-fed crops, pasture and forestry, however the river valleys have fertile soils suitable for intensive cultivation, with the major productive agricultural areas being in the Limpopo-Incomati river basins to the north of Maputo Province. There are four important dams in the region with a number of irrigation schemes. The security situation for a long time reduced the possibility for the relatively large-scale investments necessary to develop these and also increased the in-migration to urban areas, resulting in a general proportional depopulation of the rural areas - see below.
The Greater Maputo city area (i.e. including Matola city) is some 675 Km², although the area with more dense urban occupation is approximately 320 Km² (inhabited by 96% of the urban population). The urban area is bounded to the east by the Bay of Maputo, the island of Inhaca being included in the city administrative area. The estuary divides the greater urban area into the major northern and western zones and the minor southern zone (Catembe). The western urban area boundary is the Matola River, the northern and southern boundaries being topographically determined. The frontier between Maputo and Matola cities is the shallow Infulene river valley. The topography of the city varies from a coastal plain to the east, at low altitude, and a longitudinal escarpment running approximately north-south up to a higher plain culminating in the headland of Ponta Vermelha at approximately 60 m altitude. This plain descends to the west to the Infulene river valley and is characterized by various depressions without natural outlet. From the Infulene valley to the Matola river valley there is a wide plain at approx. 40 m altitude subdivided by 3 secondary valley depressions. The zone south of the estuary (Catembe – administratively part of Maputo City) is also divided in two by a north-south river valley (see Figure 17).

The soils of the city are characterized by porous sandy soils on the higher plains overlaying clays which become visible in the valley incisions and coastal plain. The water table is high in the valleys, coastal plains and depressions, and most of the city is underlain with subterranean aquifers. Water infiltrates the sandy over-layer but not the clay under-layer, and this creates natural springs along the interface of the two soils where this comes to the surface - normally on the slopes of the valleys and coastal plain. At the valley mouths and edges of the coastal plain there is considerable salinisation, which is increasing (see below). At a longitude of 30° 30' East and latitude 25° 53' South, the general urban area has a modified tropical coastal climate with 20-26 ºC monthly mean air temperatures; 68-76% mean monthly relative humidity; and 18-140 mm mean monthly rainfall. In general the daytime climate is warm to hot and also humid. Prevailing winds are East, Southeast and South, relieving this condition principally on the western plain and headland.

Although Maputo and Matola were considered one administrative area from 1980 to 1986, they were divided again (they had been separate municipalities in colonial period) and are two independent municipalities today. However, they operate as one functional urban area, and in fact these urban functions and urban characteristics have spread beyond their boundaries into neighbouring districts of Maputo Province – specifically Boane to the southwest and Marracuene to the north as detailed above. This is due to these districts and their towns being on the main roads to Swaziland and to the north of the country respectively. The two cities are divided into a number of Urban Districts, which are the lowest formal level of urban administration, although at neighbourhood (bairro and quarteirão) level, the remnants of the previous administration still tends to have a function. Operationally Maputo has 18 Directorates dealing with different services, and Matola has five. The urban fiscal base is growing in importance but is still relatively limited.

Maputo enjoyed the status of a province since 1979, and this was retained after the local government elections in June 1998 for some functions which were not decentralised – mainly health and education.

### 3.2.2. Economic structure of the metropolitan area

The general functions and economic structure of Greater Maputo are fairly diversified, although they remain substantially similar to those of the colonial era. Maputo is beginning to re-occupy a key position in the regional transport system with its railway and port rehabilitated, after a marked under-utilization of these facilities from late 1970s to the late 1980s. There is also still a significant labour migration across the border into South Africa, although mining has become more mechanised and as such employs fewer people – however there are many Mozambicans who work in all sorts of sectors across the border, but this does not get captured in economic data for the city. The country is gearing up for significant energy export – having now bought out Portuguese interests in the Cabora Bassa dam, with exploitation of gas deposits from Inhambane on stream, and new off-shore petroleum deposits also ready for exploitation. Mining has also expanded rapidly in recent years – especially coal-mining in Tete but other minerals sought after by emerging middle-income countries such as China have been bypassed this, leaving Matola to the north. This, however, has not as yet led to urban occupation outside of the northern Matola boundary, as there is still considerable rural areas within Matola city territory. Nonetheless the urban area has expanded rapidly in recent years – especially coal-mining in Tete but other minerals sought after by emerging middle-income countries such as China have been bypassed this, leaving Matola to the north. This, however, has not as yet led to urban occupation outside of the northern Matola boundary, as there is still considerable rural areas within Matola city territory. Nonetheless these urban functions and urban characteristics have spread beyond their

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70 This includes Matola, which, for the purpose of this profile, is treated as one part of the general Maputo urban conglomeration, although currently administratively separate.

71 Boane is also on the previous main road to South Africa but the new motorway developed in 1999 has bypassed this, leaving Matola to the north. This, however, has not as yet led to urban occupation outside of the northern Matola boundary, as there is still considerable rural areas within Matola city territory.

72 Maputo has five and Matola three urban districts. This administrative division was developed in 1984, and has been retained after the separation of the two urban areas.

73 Groups Divisologos were established at neighborhood (bairro) level in the immediate post-independence period, morphing into administrative units. They are not formalised in law but Bairro Secretaries are formally funded from the city council budget – other members of the secretarial being volunteers.

74 The tax base includes part fit of income tax (collected centrally); property taxes (generally vary out of date); local taxes on commerce and industry; customs; and 30% of central government tax on tourism and 75% of vehicle licensing tax (Laws 297, 897 and 1197) – as well as central government transfers. The overall investment budget in Maputo city for 1999/2000 was something like $10 million - or $ 60 per inhabitant - in great part for rehabilitation of infrastructure. In 2007 the overall city budget was $50 million - or $ 300 per inhabitant. This is changing.

75 It is estimated that the port lost two-thirds of its traffic in this period.

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88 89
as Brazil, India and China. Maputo City continues as the administrative and financial centre for the country, a function that developed rapidly from Independence and more so with the opening to international foreign direct investment in the 1990s. However, while in the post-Independence period this role was concentrated in a growing state bureaucracy, more recently it has been evidenced in the growth of private sector activity, particularly financial and related services – and the public sector has shrunk in economic significance.

Industrial activity which developed before Independence, mainly for local consumption and limited transformation of agricultural and mineral products prior to export\(^{77}\), declined markedly throughout the post-Independence period and was also subsequently particularly affected by the subsequent structural adjustment and associated privatization. There is now evidence of industrial rehabilitation and new investment, but the overall effect of restructuring has been formal sector job losses. The major industrial investment – in fact located just outside the city but affecting this and of particular importance for the city region – was the creation of an aluminium smelter MOZAL, with Australian, S African and other international capital. This multi-billion dollar project, later expanded, represents a tax income at central government level but is exempt from local taxes and so does little to directly benefit local areas. It also employs relatively few personnel as it is highly mechanised, and only a proportion (generally the lower skilled personnel) of these are Mozambican.

The structure of Maputo city’s economy in the period 2000-2007 is shown in Table 12 below. This shows limited change in most sectors except a significant increase in financial services (rising from 7% to nearly 15% - a rise of nearly 1/3rd). Other sectors that changed were commerce and manufacturing (20% rise in both). Areas with less significant change overall (as they represent a lower proportion of city GDP) were construction (which dropped 46%), hotels/restaurants (which dropped 17%) and public administration (which dropped 13%). The top economic sectors remained: transport & communications, property and related services, commerce, financial services and manufacturing – which together make up over 75% of the formal sector GDP in the city – 72% in 2000.

Concerning the construction industry, this expanded rapidly in the immediate pre-Independence period due to land and property speculation and inward foreign investment, but for a period after Independence, it was almost paralyzed due to lack of raw material, technical capacity and capital – as well as nationalisation of private property. Although capacity was built up and redistributed by the state in the early 1980’s, the worsening economic climate by the middle of that decade severely affected construction capacity again. After the end of civil war, construction and constitutional change – as well as political economic direction – investment picked up again and the private construction sector expanded. This is particularly noted in the city – where ‘formal’ sector construction has gone through a boom period with the rapid growth in managerial services, but also the enormous investment of city residents – by far through the ‘informal’ sector, as this study demonstrates. Finally, tourism was also an important growth industry prior to 1975, but was reduced to a minimum after Independence. This is also again increasing, but continues to be limited in the city area due to the lack of facilities although it is attracting inward investment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; communications</td>
<td>17.10</td>
<td>15.90</td>
<td>16.20</td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td>16.05</td>
<td>16.25</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>16.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial services</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>7.90</td>
<td>8.60</td>
<td>9.30</td>
<td>10.70</td>
<td>14.50</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>14.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>13.90</td>
<td>14.30</td>
<td>14.80</td>
<td>15.10</td>
<td>15.70</td>
<td>16.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>11.90</td>
<td>12.60</td>
<td>13.40</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>14.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration, defence &amp; social services</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, repairs &amp; services</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and water</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral extraction</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
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<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairs services</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing &amp; related services</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture &amp; forestry</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12) Maputo city GDP by sector 2000-2007 (Source: INE, prepared by author)

Employment structure

Table 13 below shows the distribution of formal employment across the Maputo city area in 2002, and compares this with national levels. As can be seen – although data is somewhat dated - there is a strong concentration of formal employment in the city centre (District 1 – ‘cidade de cimento’), with 2/3rd’s of jobs and 40% of firms (i.e. the larger firms are located there) and more than 70% of economic turnover. Districts 2-5 have around the same number of firms registered (1000-1500 or ½ to 1/3rd of
the city centre) but less employment or economic production (District 2 historically has industrial units, hence the higher values). While the city hosted 28% of formally registered firms nationwide in 2002, this represented nearly half of formal employment and economic turnover. However the overall national total of around 300,000 formal sector jobs represented a fraction of the population in 2002 (17.6 million), of whom some 80% are of working age (>14 million). Maputo city’s share of these jobs in 2002 was 140,000 approximately, for a city population of probably around 1 million (800,000 of working age). This trend continues, and some 40% of the work force is highlighted as unemployed in 2006 (slightly lower for women than men) – significantly higher than the national average (19%).

More recent overall data for formal and informal employment in 2007 for Maputo estimates just under 360,000 members of the workforce are occupied, in a city of 1.15 million (with potentially 920,000 of working age). This later data (2007 census) shows the dominance of commerce in the informal sector, with commerce representing nearly 40% of all employment for the city – see below.

The 2010 Maputo Structure Plan cites the National Statistics Institute as estimating that nearly 2/3rds of the economically active population in Maputo city are involved in one way or another in informal sector economic activities, whether monetary or subsistence. 60% of the city workforce was considered employed and 35% self-employed (4% non-remunerated employment). The proportion of the city overall workforce active in informal activities is estimated at 65%, half in commerce and transport, 14% in industry and construction, 11% in agriculture and the remaining 26% in other services (INE data 2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2002 data</th>
<th>No of firms</th>
<th>% of city firms</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>% of city employment</th>
<th>Vol of business %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District 1</td>
<td>3106</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>92271</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 2</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>22368</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 3</td>
<td>1028</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12838</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 4</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5016</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 5</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>8233</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catembe</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhaca</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City</td>
<td>8385</td>
<td>142309</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>28870</td>
<td>301145</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of national</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13) Maputo city employment structure by district 2002 (Source: INE, prepared by the author)

Comparing the 2007 census data with that of 1997, when the work force of Maputo and Matola cities was estimated at approximately 480,000 people of age 15 and over, and this is estimated to have risen to 555,344 people by 2007. In 1997 this represented just over a third of the total population, dropping to just over 30% in 2007. The distribution of employment by sector (formal and informal) is indicated in Table 13 below.

In both Maputo and Matola, the commercial/financial sector continues to dominate strongly (overall 35% of employment in 1997, rising to 36% in 2007). As noted above, there has been a marked drop in those involved in services & administration in both cities (Maputo 15% to 7%, Matola 10% to 6%, overall 13% to 7%). The total involved in agriculture and fishing (mostly informal sector) has also dropped significantly from 18% to 8% (dropping from 10% to 6% Maputo, and from 25% to 11% Matola) and other sectors showed small overall reductions – counterbalanced by a rise in ‘other’ sectors – i.e. unspecified employment (from 10% to 27% of all responses).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commerce &amp; finance</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; administration</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture &amp; fishing</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry &amp; manufacturing</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; communications</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14) Employment in Metropolitan Maputo 1997-2007 (Source INE, prepared by the author)

The metropolitan area remains predominantly an economic service centre, including higher level functions in government, private sector, education, health etc. – although there is some resurgence of industrial activity. The conurbation is also a strong commercial centre – and more so if informal sector is factored in as much activity in this sector is small-scale commerce, with limited manufacturing. As the table shows, the essential social services for the city population are very limited in terms of direct economic impact, but of course represent important basis for indirect economic growth. In 1997 there was a marked difference in employment structures between the two urban areas. In Maputo, there was a much higher tendency to service sector employment (dominated by the informal sector), whereas Matola had a more limited formal sector, but more industry, and a stronger traditional sector (agriculture). However by 2007 these differences were not marked and Matola’s employ-
The urban structure in the Greater Maputo urban area is divided geographically in the following major areas.

**Maputo**

- The “Cement City” (District 1) - the central zone developed in the colonial era with permanent buildings, including high rise; relatively well provided with infrastructure and social equipment and administrative work places. District 1 also administratively includes Catembe and Inhaca islands - mostly rural in nature;
- The “Inner Belt” (Districts 2 and 3) – also known as the “Suburbios” (and previously ‘Caniço’), surrounding the “Cement City” to the north and north west, characterized by relatively high density unplanned residential settlements, established for some time, infilling between industrial development along the radial accesses to the centre; with relatively poor provision of infrastructure and social equipment and with a relatively high number of workplaces, especially informal sector;
- The “Outer Belt” (Districts 4 & 5) - further to the north and north west with a mixture of land use - urban agriculture, some industrial development and both spontaneous and planned residential areas with poor provision of infrastructures and social equipment and few formal sector work places.

**Matola**

- Matola “City” (District I) with a well developed central structure of low density residential areas, relatively well serviced with infrastructure and social equipment, peripheral residential areas being mixed spontaneous and planned with much lower service levels. Also existing are well developed industrial zones, with large reserves, increasingly occupied by spontaneous settlement in recent years; and a peripheral green zone with relatively developed infrastructure but poor fertility and utilization;

However, while municipal income has doubled between 2004 and 2007 to around $16 million, this still represents a very low income per capita – around $14 per resident. Hence overall local government finance remains very weak and with severe limitations on investment and service provision, despite enormous and growing demands on the urban system.
• “Machava” (Districts II & III) with a relatively well developed town centre and industrial zone along the main rail and road access; a wide variety of relatively recent (1970’ - 1980’s) low density residential areas, both spontaneous and planned, with poor provision of services and social equipment, and significant areas used for urban agriculture. These districts also include large rural areas to the north.

3.2.4. Principal Problems in the metropolitan area

The principal physical, social and economic problems of the Greater Maputo urban area include:

1. the trend in rapid population growth, and continuing high poverty levels;
2. the weak economic base with relatively low production in industrial and transport sectors in relation to working age population, resulting in high formal un- and under-employment, especially of the female, younger and less skilled work force, much of which is involved in small-scale survival commerce;
3. the imbalance in quality of housing and access to infrastructure and services between the central and peri-urban areas, which has worsened with the relative lack of state capacity to develop urban areas formally;
4. the high degree of centralization of social amenities - health, education and recreational facilities - as well as work places in or near the central Maputo urban area - aggravating the situation concerning public transport, traffic and general access – although basic education and health provision has been considerably decentralised;
5. limited rationalization of public and private transport services in relation to residential areas and work places;
6. growing environmental problems in a wide variety of aspects, with weak institutional and legislative capacity to undertake environmental and land management, especially across municipal borders;
7. weak local government and the tendency of the division of the metropolitan area into two distinct local authorities leading to inefficiencies of scale and competition, instead of collaboration, e.g. on employment generation and economic development.

Specific problems of urban sub-regions include:

8. the “Inner Belt” of Maputo City has long-term unplanned occupation which has the following characteristics: complicated land tenure situation; relatively old buildings, infrastructure etc.; dense population with predominantly overcrowded precarious dwellings; severe environmental and public health problems; relatively good access to social equipment and partial infrastructure development; relatively good access to formal employment, being located between three industrial areas and a well developed informal economic sector – this being seen as an opportunity for comprehensive urban redevelopment (see Structure Plan below);
9. the ‘Outer Belt’ of Maputo City Districts 4 and 5 and Matola City Districts II and III continue to manifest widespread spontaneous occupation and informal allocation of land - including areas reserved for non-residential uses and areas unsuitable for residential use. This form of ‘bottom-up’ urbanisation is now spreading rapidly with no official planning across the city boundaries into Marracuene and Boane Districts of Maputo Province. In addition there is under-utilization of existing land (especially in Matola District I and some semi-agricultural areas in Maputo District 4), as well as occupation of well-located land suitable for residential and other uses by other special uses such as military;

3.3. Maputo City

3.3.1. Population and housing change between censuses

This section compares the census data on housing for the city between the 1980, 1997 and 2007 censuses – see table below for detail. Separating out the Maputo City population from the Greater Maputo population count in 1980 shows a population of 560,000, rising to 960,000 approx 17 years later (overall 71% change, 3.2% annual average) and then rising to 1,090,000 in 2007 (overall 14% change, 3.2% annual average). The annual averages are close to but still above average natural increase (2.7%/year), but there is significant difference between urban districts.

In the period 1980-97 all urban district populations rose to some extent, although population growth above the natural increase was only registered in Districts 3, 4 and 5. District 3 includes the Maxaquene upgrading project with its expansion into fairly unoccupied land (now Polana Canico A), which had been prepared for development prior to Independence, but this was abandoned 1973-4 (see below). The other two districts, especially District 4, represent the expanding peri-urban area, with considerable state involvement in land sub-division (the Basic Urbanisation programme).
In the 1997-2007 period there was then a significant overall reduction in urban population in District 1 (-17%) and minor overall reduction in District 2 (-4%), minor overall growth in District 3 (6%), continued growth in District 4, (29%) and significant growth in District 5 (38%). Only the growth rate in District 5 has been higher than average natural growth rate (2.7%), however, although that of District 4 is close to this rate. This probably also reflects the shift in population growth to outside the city boundary to the north, as noted above.

Looking at bairro (neighbourhood) level data, the largest reductions in population (in the central Urban District 1) took place in Malhangalene A (-42%), followed by Polana Cimento A (-30%) and Alto Mahe A (-20%), with other significant reductions in Bairro Central A, B, C and Polana Canico B. All bairros in District 4 had population growth, from mainly had reduced populations, District 3 generally had low rises (except Juhno B, Laulane and 3 de Fevreiro. While bairros in Districts 1 and 2 (other than that of 1997 or 2007), or alternatively this may reflect increased densification as the space in the bairro was already relatively fully occupied in 1997. Bairro 25 de Junho A also registered a +123% growth in house units (+14217 = +124%) and Albasine (+10880 = +212%). Other significant increases took place in Ferroviario, Polana Canico B, Hutene B, 25 de Junho B, Laulane and 3 de Fevreiro. While bairros in Districts 1 and 2 mainly had reduced populations, District 3 generally had low rises (except Polana Canico B). All bairros in District 4 had population growth, from small to large, however five of the bairros in District 5 lost population, and a number remained fairly stable – the only significant changes being in the very north – as south of Av Lurdes Matola the bairros were already fairly densely occupied prior to 1997.

As a result, in the inter-census period 1997-07, the vast majority of the increase in city population is in what is called here ‘Maputo North’ (i.e. Bairros Zimpeto, Magoanine, Mahotas and Albasine), with 116,462 new inhabitants or 86% of the overall increase in population in the city. If the earlier planned housing expansion areas of Ferroviario, Laulane and 3 de Fevreiro (1981-87) are added in to this, this rises

80 In District 2 Bairro Nsalene registered a growth of +3811 units = 669%, despite a decrease in population of 6%, so there is some doubt as to the house unit count here (either that of 1997 or 2007), or alternatively this may reflect increased densification as the space in the bairro was already relatively fully occupied in 1997. Bairro 25 de Junho A also registered a +123% growth in house units (+14217 = +124%), despite a -1% drop in population, and this may mean a densification in the existing sub-divided plots.
to 130,273, or 96% of the city’s demographic growth. Thus, while many bairros have lost and gained some population, the major demographic change is in a swing to the north, especially northeast as the city’s main area for de facto expansion (something that does not stop at the city boundary).

The above demographic shift, however, is not reflected directly in the spread of new house stock. Previous housing backlogs have led to a much broader city location of new housing units, in effect physically densifying existing areas but with limited population gain (and even some losses) as household size drops on average. The Maputo North area only includes 30% of new house units (16128), rising to 36% (19191) if the housing expansion areas developing in the 1990s are also included – while it has between housed 86%-96% of population growth. The process of house consolidation thus seems to follow population movement – as the study shows in following sections in detail.

The censuses have recorded information on housing typologies, however comparing this is difficult as the house types and definitions have changed between censuses.

### 3.3.2. Land use

The total municipal area is 308 km² (30,800 Ha), of which considerable areas (around 10,400 Ha = 34%) are denominated ecological reserve

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Whereas in 1997 the typologies included houses classified as ‘madeira e zinco’ (i.e. with corrugated iron walls), this category has disappeared in the 2007 census (as have most of these old colonial period houses), and a new category of ‘casas basicas’ has been introduced. Overall, given the impossibility of correlating datasets with respect to house types, the only real conclusion is that what is defined as ‘casa basica’ is now dominant as 67% of all house types reported (147,382), followed by ‘casas precarias’ (14%), ‘casas basicas’ (22%), ‘madeira e zinco’ (15%) and ‘madeira e zinco’ (7%). The number of flats has changed little overall, ‘casas precarias’ have dropped in number, and the balance is mainly in the redefinition of ‘moradias’ with ‘casa basica’ – however overall it represents a consolidation of housing from the ‘madeira e zinco’ and ‘casas precarias’ categories. Overall in District 1 the number of ‘moradias’ and ‘flats’ has dropped a little with a rise in the number of ‘casas basicas’ and some other minor categories (including ‘casas precarias’). In District 2 the number of ‘moradias’ has dropped significantly – probably through reclassification, the number of ‘flats’ a little, the ‘madeira e zinco’ category (which was significant in 1997 has disappeared), the number of ‘casas precarias’ has risen somewhat, but is dwarfed by ‘casas basicas’. In District 3 again the number of ‘moradias’ has dropped significantly as these were re-classified, flats have risen slightly, ‘casas precarias’ dropped by more than 50%, ‘madeira e zinco’ disappearing and an enormous increase in ‘casas basicas’. In District 4 a similar situation is reported, as in District 5, with slight decrease in flats.
• Low density planned areas – part of bairros Zimpeto & Magoanine (District 5) and Mahotas and Albazoine (District 4)
• High density unplanned areas – part of Xipaminine and Maxaquene bairros
• Medium density unplanned areas – most of District 2, parts of District 3 (Maxaquene and Polana Canico) and District 4 west of Av J Nyerere – Hulene B, Mavalane etc)
• Low density unplanned areas – most of the rest of Districts 4 (Mahotas and Albazine) and 5 (eastern parts of Magoanine)

The overall research programme study area includes area in all of these categories, except the highest density unplanned areas.

As noted above, a key issue embedded within the structure plan is the concept of acceptable urban form. This is seen essentially as fully consolidated, with appropriate infrastructure, and relatively high density – i.e. the urban form of District 1. The outcome of this embedded ‘ideal’ is that most of the existing urban form is seen as inadequate and also inappropriate – and thus needing transformation in various ways. This transformation includes formalisation of land use – which is seen as closely linked to infrastructure and social amenity improvements (although this research highlights that this is not necessarily the case) - and (importantly) densification as a way to reduce transport and other infrastructure costs (as these are calculated in linear terms). In this process, suburbanisation is not seen as an alternative for the majority – i.e. low to medium density development.

One of the reasons for this approach is the realisation that limited land for new urban development exists within the city limits, except south of the bay in Catembe, where (apart from much land already being already allocated and hence awaiting speculative gain) the costs of access are much higher – and hence the continued proposal for a bridge, although no cost analysis of this is included. A second rationale behind this approach to acceptable urban form is the influence of the international ‘cities without slums’ approach, and the subsequent emphasis in the plan on comprehensive redevelopment of ‘slum’ areas – inevitably at a much higher cost form of urban development than new urban areas, as the plan itself admits. Finally, underpinning the whole planning process, is a belief that the state itself needs be the main actor in establishing ‘order’ over urban territory to provide more equitable access to land, housing, infrastructure, services and employment opportunities. However the capacity of the state to invest in creating this physical order is very limited as is amply evidenced in the history of urban development before and after Independence.

In this process, planning is essentially physical and the plan reflects a set of physical aspirations, with no clear reference to actual social demand (which is not examined) or the real economic basis for urban development activity. It also, crucially, ignores demographic trends, which are not discussed except in retrospect. In addition – as noted above in the Greater Maputo section - the plan is limited to studying the territory of Maputo city, whereas in reality the city functions across these borders in a dynamic and rapidly expanding city region, including Matola city and the provincial areas of Maracuene and Boane. As a result, arguably the plan essentially displays aspirations of politicians and technical staff with inputs from some economically stronger and socially more vocal groups, through the limited consultation process. It is not fundamentally based on a measured analysis of demographic, social and economic trends, or economic and institutional capacities. Furthermore the process of planning itself, embedded within the new legislation, is very top-down and does not easily provide for adequate adjustment based on the urban reality – in physical as well as economic, social, cultural and institutional terms – and hence locks itself in to a process with limited potential for flexibility in implementation.

3.3.3. Residential land use development

As noted in the historic overview above, very little formal full infrastructure residential land development took place in the city between the pre-Independence collapse of investment (circa 1973/4) and the post 1992 privatisation of housing policy. This latter policy change spurred on a spate of new residential developments mainly on the coastal plain north of Maputo centre, but also along the EN4 (north of Matola centre) after it was built.

83 This include a public presentation and discussion session in each urban district, with average 100 participants; 2 public audiences with 18 and 7 participations from the floor; and 6 themed debates in public – predominantly attended by political and technical personnel – the 7th being cancelled.
However, residential land development for lower income groups, with partial infrastructure provision, did take place throughout this whole period, and continued to at least the mid 2000s. Limited information is available for this in the latter period, but at the time of preparation of the Maputo Metropolitan Structure Plan in 1998 an estimate of plot development was made, as shown below.

Table 16 Residential plot demarcation for lower income groups 1964-98 (Source: prepared by the author)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Low income</th>
<th>Higher income</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Matola</th>
<th>Local government</th>
<th>Metropolitan/central government</th>
<th>Private sector</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964-1975</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>5020</td>
<td>8050</td>
<td>5970</td>
<td>2950</td>
<td>3020</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>1050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-1980</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1985</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-1990</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1998</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the table, within this period the highest provision of residential land in peri-urban areas was in the 1980-85 period – during the City Council Basic Urbanisation programme - when over 2000 plots per year were provided - exclusively by local government (despite severe resource limitations). The next highest period was between Independence and 1980 when over 1500 plots/year were provided, with a strong input from central government (GUHRM and DNH). Prior to Independence nearly 1300 plots/year were provided, however 50% of these plots were provided by the private sector for sale and were not accessible by lower-income groups, effectively reducing the supply to this target group to 600 plots/year. Supply in the late 1980s plummeted with the cessation of the Basic Urbanisation Programme, and only about 400 plots/year were provided, mostly by new central government entities and oriented to emergency relocations. The local government supply however picked up again from 1990, and the period since then has seen some 1000 plots/year planned overall – including other new major population relocation schemes because of major infrastructure.

The above also highlights a process of fragmentation of land use planning and sub-division. In fact, between 1990 and 1999 some 48 urban plot layouts were developed by state and other institutions - with no overall coordination or register. In all an estimated 15,500 plots (9500 Maputo, 600 Matola) were planned in these layouts, varying from less than 50 plots to nearly 2000 in each, however only some 8500 were actually laid out by early 1999 (4500 Maputo, 4000 Matola). The planned areas laid out for lower-income groups – as opposed to those targeted at higher income groups - while in the majority were however nearly always related to specific relocations of population and not general land supply. It is significant that various plot sizes were used, with the larger plot sizes being directed to the higher income groups in an estimated 18% of the plots sub-divided. In fact the majority of the plans not implemented were destined for higher income groups.

In this period, there was also a growing interest by the private sector in urban land development for the higher end of the housing market, for ‘formal’ (‘turn-key’) projects. Although a very small proportion of the above plots were actually laid out by non-state entities, these were the instigators of a larger number of the (as yet) non-implemented plans. In parallel considerable areas of land were being allocated by the city authorities to private sector land developers for residential use. Although once again data is incomplete and not very specific, an estimated 36 different land allocations were made in this period to private individuals, firms and parastatals for market-related residential development. Thirty-one of these were in Maputo - all but five being along the prime coastline north of Maputo and in Catembe, south of the estuary (10 of the allocations were to one firm). An estimated total of 200 hectares in Maputo and a further 100 hectares in Matola (for only 5 developments) were allocated or requested. The largest single area allocated was 120 Hectares in Maputo, but an area of 50 hectares and another of 25 hectares were allocated north of Matola.

84 For more detail of this programme and why it terminated, see Jenkins 1998
85 In fact it took over six months of investigation to discover the extent of this “plotting without planning” as many of these plot layouts, developed by the staff of the city council, were used for illegal land sales. There may well have been other plot layouts that remained “undiscovered”, and there certainly were more plots laid out on the ground by the topographic staff that were never plotted - another source of informal income through unofficial ‘planning’.
In the 2000s this process of fragmented land use planning with limited overall planning seemed to slow down somewhat as the City Council turned its attention to producing the required overall plans (the Maputo Urban Structure Plan approved 2010, the Matola Urban Structure Plan approved 2011). In a more recent attempt to identify the nature of more recent urban land development in Maputo City, the Home Space project investigated the plans produced in the area denominated ‘Maputo North’: north of Av Lurdes Matola (i.e. including Bairros Mahotas and Albazine in District 4 and Bairros Zimpeto & Magoanine in District 5). This is the main area into which the city of Maputo has formally expanded in the past 2 decades (although also informally expanding into Marracuene District of Maputo Province) – see below.

Prior to the late 1980s this area had limited urban development, whereas the area is now almost totally developed (or reserved for development). As such it provides an opportunity to examine the land access methods in the past two decades in the city – as it was the only large and reasonably easily accessible area to develop in this period (the other remaining areas in the city limits being Catembe across the bay - still largely underdeveloped due to the poor ferryboat service). The table below shows the rising importance of this area for the city, drawing from the national censuses for 1980, 1997 and 2007.86 From a negligible proportion of city population and housing in 1980 (3-7%), the area has come to contain 15-17% of population and housing of Maputo city, an approximately fourfold increase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>560160</td>
<td>968585</td>
<td>1094215</td>
<td>122276</td>
<td>164703</td>
<td>218461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 MAHOTAS</td>
<td>5392</td>
<td>21204</td>
<td>47793</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>4596</td>
<td>10227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ALBASINE</td>
<td>2235</td>
<td>5125</td>
<td>15985</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>3991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 MAGOANINE</td>
<td>3701</td>
<td>11885</td>
<td>28163</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>2333</td>
<td>5891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ZIMPETO</td>
<td>3307</td>
<td>11449</td>
<td>25686</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>2353</td>
<td>6970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo North</td>
<td>14765</td>
<td>68619</td>
<td>189728</td>
<td>3210</td>
<td>13369</td>
<td>33004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Population and housing change in Maputo North (prepared by the author from census data)

A large area south of the Maputo North area was developed in the 1980s Basic Urbanisation programme – especially to the east – and one large area was developed in the area in Bairro Zimpeto (although it had relatively limited occupation until the late 1980s). However, after this programme collapsed in 1987, little coordinated land use planning or land development took place for some decades. This was reflected in the evolving land use of the area. In the late 1980s – late 1990s a number of small-scale land layouts were developed for the city, and the main official layouts in this period were for specific population relocations, such as the development of the ‘CMC Bairro’ in eastern Magoanine within Maputo North. This was for the population being removed from the route of the new motorway EN4 to South Africa. In January 2000 the floods which severely affected parts of the city led to a series of new re-locations, and new housing projects funded by various sources were then also developed – mainly in the west of the study area in Magoanine and Zimpeto.

As urban land became increasingly scarce, an emerging urban land market began to flourish in the city in the 1990s - formally illegal but seen as largely socially legitimate (Jenkins 2000). Thus, when the city planning department was demarcating the new emergency re-location areas in this study area in early 2000, the local land rights holders felt they were not adequately compensated for their generally dryland agricultural areas 87 and induced a secondary unofficial land planning / demarcation processes.88 The outcome is a complex mix of small and large scale subdivision plans (many not fully completed due to prior occupation): ‘unofficially planned’ and demarcated areas where plots were sold for housing; and (unplanned) continued informal sector occupation – see map below and Table 28 in Endnote iii.

Figure 19) Maputo North – land use analysis (Source: prepared by the author).

86 Bairro Magoanine is now divided into 3 bairros, but totalled here for comparison purposes.

87 These held land under traditional systems of land tenure, latterly given potential legal status under the 1992 Land Law, but not regularised – to date limited such land has been able to be regularised.

88 It appears this was often in conjunction with personnel from the municipality, district administration and bairro authorities.
Of the total approx. 4500 Ha in the Maputo North area, the following land uses can be seen: 68% of the total area is used for residential use, and most of the rest is divided between agriculture and mixed use (agriculture, industry and some formal housing) and military installations. Of the residential use, 51% is unplanned, 36% is officially planned in 19 different layouts, and 13% is unofficially planned. Planned layouts include three areas planned in the 1980-87 city council urban land development programme (1982, 1985 and 1987), as well the major relocation planned areas from the 1990s and after the 2000 floods. Apart from the continued dominance of unplanned settlement, what is striking here is the proportion of unofficially planned area – at 13% of all residential use (representing nearly 400 ha), this is more than a third of what the state has managed to achieve in the period with substantial international assistance.

In the most recent period, now that the Mozambican Territorial Planning law has been approved, a more coherent process of formal planning has begun again in the city. This is, however, top-down, as it starts with the 2010 approved Maputo Urban Structure Plan, and is now in a phase of developing larger “district” urbanisation plans — albeit not aligning closely to existing administrative district boundaries. The main objective of these urbanisation plans is to implant the structure plan proposals in more detail and hence identify land suitable for residential (and other use) as well as infrastructure etc. In the identified residential areas, existing land use is being classified as planned officially only if it has been recorded in the City Cadastre. However, as this has not been updated formally since the colonial period, all existing residential land use is either considered unofficially planned (even if the city authority planned this) or unplanned. The rationale is that the plans in the intervening period from Independence to the new Land Law were not formalised as they had no adequate legal basis for this. The intention of this planning process is to subsequently develop plans ‘regularising’ existing unofficially planned areas and planning /upgrading unplanned areas. However, there has been no adequate investigation of the processes this will entail as yet.

The main impetus for the above process is to permit the city council to approve a series of plans as the basis for land regularisation and titling – thus getting access to a source of income through the land registry taxation. This tax is not ring-fenced in any way, and therefore represents an income without any concomitant funding for further land use planning or urban management. Apart from the difficulties in planning/upgrading of unplanned areas prior to regularisation, there is an assumption that this process is fairly straightforward in the ‘unofficially planned’ areas. However, this does not take into consideration the legal adjudication issues concerning who has the land rights and what form of taxation is appropriate for plot-holders who were actually already allocated land officially in the ‘officially’ planned areas (following the legislation of the period).

In general, the process of land use planning in the city – as in Mozambique overall – is largely seen as a technical problem of producing masterplans for controlling land use and infrastructure (i.e. more of a design issue than one of management). However, the top-down design approach – which relies excessively on satellite imagery and GIS derivatives from this – also ignores much detail of the environment as well as legal issues. It also does not deal adequately with the economic investment needed for the form of planning to which it aspires, especially vis-à-vis infrastructure. While it can be seen as a political imperative to ‘plan’ and ‘order’ the space - and the study shows this has resonance with residents – the practicalities of this in detail have not as yet been faced. In addition, as noted above, the planning stops at the city boundaries, whereas the unplanned and unofficially planned areas do not, continuing into the province, which has very limited capacity to plan officially.

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**Table 18: Maputo North – land use analysis (colours refer to previous map coding). Prepared by the author.**

| Plan. Off. | 36% | 1085 | 25% |
| Plan. Nao Off. | 13% | 392 | 9% |
| Plan. Nao | 51% | 1532 | 34% |
| Equip. Social | 60 | 60 | 13% |
| Uso | 775 | 17% |
| Zona alagada | 54 | 1% |

TOTAL AREA 4446
TOTAL RESIDENTIAL 68% 3019

89 This includes the main arsenal – a very large area, which has had several severe problems of explosions.

90 These are preliminary data as it has been extremely difficult to obtain an overview of official plans and the unofficially planned areas are what remain from visibly organised land use. The 24 layouts include 2 large > 100 Ha, 5 medium >50<100 Ha, and 12 small <50 Ha.
4. The study area and the basis for previous surveys (including longitudinal analysis)

4.1. The Home Space study area

4.1.1. General

For the purpose of this research, a study area in one of the two main axes of urban development and expansion for Maputo City was chosen. This axis includes a section of the whole peri-urban area (including most of Districts 3 and 4) and the area of the province into which the city is de facto expanding within the axis. This area is separated from the other main Maputo axis for urban development / expansion by the airport, located in the middle of the existing peri-urban areas (Districts 2 and 5), and by the FO2 forestry plantation in Maputo Province north of Maputo City limits. These two axes are serviced respectively by Av Julius Nyerere and then the alternative Marracuene access called Avenida Cardenal Alexandre dos Santos (an unpaved road), and the National Road No 1 (EN1) – also called Avenida de Mocambique – which leads north from the city. The other urban development / expansion axes from central Maputo City, through Matola City, include the EN2 to Swaziland, through Boane, and the relatively recent EN4 to South Africa / old Ressano Garcia Road through Machava. The fifth potential development axis is south across the bay through Catembe to Ponto Douro, but is limited currently by the ferry-
boat access. The study area has been chosen for two main reasons – it represents one of the two main axes for urban development / expansion for Maputo City (although also now expanding into the Province), and it includes the majority of the sites for the two previous surveys which permit this study to have a quite unique longitudinal basis as described below.

Figure 20) Map showing five principal urban development axes and Home Space study area. Source: Prepared by the author on Google Map base (Copyright 2012 GeoEye).

As noted elsewhere, urban studies in Sub-Saharan Africa based on longitudinal survey information are very rare. The only three that the current research team are aware of to date are the physical surveys over a period of time (1969, 1973, 1977, 1980, 1985, 1989) undertaken in ‘George Compound’ neighbourhood of Lusaka by architect Ann Schylter, the socio-cultural study of peri-urban residents in Lusaka (1971, 1981, 1984/5) by anthropologist Karen Tranberg Hansen, and the social and economic studies of migration trends in Zimbabwe by geographer Deborah Potts. These built on the pioneering social studies of the Lusaka Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (known as the Manchester School). Schylter’s work was primarily physical survey initially – and hence was physically rooted although soon became focussed on social issues, especially gender, where she produced a number of associated studies (e.g. on property ownership). Hansen’s work did not deal with physical space in any empirical manner, but was ethnographic in approach and followed households, being thus rooted socially. Potts’ work involved socio-economic surveys and there was not physical component to this of any substance.

The study reported here is therefore quite unique in that, while rooted physically due to its main interest in physical urban development, it embeds previous social and economic studies and now also an ethnographic study with sampled households. This inter-disciplinary approach has not been without its challenges, but has permitted an innovative understanding of urban development which crosses disciplinary boundaries and ranges from micro- to macro-levels of analysis.

4.1.2. Demographics

The study area includes part of District 3, which had a significant proportion of the expansion areas of the city in the 1977-87 period (i.e. the Maxaquene/Polina Canico upgrading project) and most of District 4, which had the majority of the expansion areas of the city in the 1987-1997 period (Bairros Ferroviario north to Mahotas), as well as continued expansion in the 1997-2007 period (Bairros Mahotas and Albassm) - although this has also taken place in District 5 (Bairros Jorge Dmitrov, Mahazine 1980-97: and Zimpeto, Magoanine 1997-2007 – a small part of the latter also included in the study area).

Demographically, the bairros in the Study Area can be seen in 3 categories:

• 7 bairros with limited demographic change 1997-2007 (<11% - i.e. less than overall city population growth): Maxaquene C, D; Polana Canico A, B (i.e. those in District 3) as well as Hulene A, FPLM and Mavalane B (District 4);
• 4 bairros with growth around that of the city as a whole (>11%≤22%): Hulene B, Ferroviario, Laulane and 3 de Fevreiro; and
• 2 bairros with large population growth (>22%) Mahotas and Albassm (125% and 212% respectively).

Housing comparisons for representativeness are constrained due to the change in categories noted in the previous section, but the selected study area contains some 41% of ‘casas basics’ and 24% of ‘casas precarias’, representing 82% and 10% of all housing in the study area respectively – slightly higher than the rest of Maputo-North, which probably represents its slightly earlier development.

Polana Canico B actually extends outside the area of study and most of the 22% population growth has taken place in the unplanned areas on the coastal plain in the area not included. For statistical purposes it is impossible to disaggregate the data but for analytical purposes some general comments such as this are possible.

91 This will change quite radically if the proposed bridge across Maputo Bay is built – however the southern part of Maputo Province is still rather isolated and there is no immediate major economic development in this area, or international access – and as such this will remain a secondary access – but will permit urban development.

92 Housing comparisons for representativeness are constrained due to the change in categories noted in the previous section, but the selected study area contains some 41% of ‘casas basics’ and 24% of ‘casas precarias’, representing 82% and 10% of all housing in the study area respectively – slightly higher than the rest of Maputo-North, which probably represents its slightly earlier development.

93 Polana Canico B actually extends outside the area of study and most of the 22% population growth has taken place in the unplanned areas on the coastal plain in the area not included. For statistical purposes it is impossible to disaggregate the data but for analytical purposes some general comments such as this are possible.
This more or less maps on to their distance from the city centre, with bairros with limited change near the centre, bairros with most change, furthest away from the centre.

Concerning the representative nature of the study area, Table 19 shows the statistical situation – see Table 29 in Endnote ii for detail. Physically, the study area includes most of District 4 and more than half of District 3. In wider city terms it includes 36% of the 2007 population, 33% of the housing stock of the whole city, and 35% of the growth in housing stock – however 54% of overall population growth. This means it is (deliberately) weighted to urban expansion, as argued in the previous section (where the ‘lag’ of housing stock vis-à-vis demographic growth was discussed).

Concerning housing type, to enable comparison, the following Table 20 have grouped house types for the 1997 and 2007 census data. As can be seen, Maputo city has a higher proportion of house units with permanent materials than Matola and a smaller proportion of partial permanent house units, although this typology dominates the three main categories in each city. House units of non-permanent materials now a tiny minority of all house types.

Concerning the typology of planning within the residential areas, in the city part of the study area, gross residential land use was 3608 ha (62%), however this included a large area in Marracuene (1600 ha) where occupation is still rural in nature. Excluding Marracuene, the value for the 14 city Bairros within the study area was 2958 ha (84%) gross residential out of 3526 ha. In the city part of the study area the gross residential land use was 100% in 6 of the 14 bairros and only below 80% in Bairro FPML (48%) - the bairro has a major industrial area, and then Bairros 3 de Fevereiro (65%) and Albazine (63%) - these bairros having fairly large agricultural areas. The study area thus is mostly residential in general characteristic, although of course has multiple informal economic activities taking place within the residential areas.

Concerning land use, the project undertook a study of recent residential use in the peri-urban areas of Maputo city to be able to compare with that in the study area. The detailed results are in Table 30, Endnote iii. Using Google Maps 2010 satellite coverage, gross land uses were identified and measured. In the overall 5776 Hectares, the residential land use was 3608 ha (62%), however this included a large area in Marracuene (1600 ha) where occupation is still rural in nature. Excluding Marracuene, the value for the 14 city Bairros within the study area was 2958 ha (84%) gross residential out of 3526 ha. In the city part of the study area the gross residential land use was 100% in 6 of the 14 bairros and only below 80% in Bairro FPML (48%) - the bairro has a major industrial area, and then Bairros 3 de Fevereiro (65%) and Albazine (63%) - these bairros having fairly large agricultural areas. The study area thus is mostly residential in general characteristic, although of course has multiple informal economic activities taking place within the residential areas.

### Table 20: House typology comparisons (Source INE data prepared by author)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>House units</th>
<th>Permanent</th>
<th>Partial Permanent</th>
<th>Non-Permanent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GREATER MAPUTO</td>
<td>176823</td>
<td>359835</td>
<td>54714</td>
<td>299706</td>
<td>5418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average household size</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPUTO CITY</td>
<td>109435</td>
<td>218461</td>
<td>40457</td>
<td>175408</td>
<td>2596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average household size</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATOLA CITY</td>
<td>672506</td>
<td>141377</td>
<td>14252</td>
<td>124285</td>
<td>2822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average household size</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 21: Urban land uses in the study area and project sample representativeness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Residential</th>
<th>Planificado</th>
<th>Oficial</th>
<th>Nao-oficial</th>
<th>Planificacao</th>
<th>Integral</th>
<th>Regularizado</th>
<th>Nao-planificado</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAPUTO CITY</td>
<td>130802</td>
<td>57104</td>
<td>47008</td>
<td>77256</td>
<td>2930</td>
<td>35024</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROJECT STUDY AREA</td>
<td>3526</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>2930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21) Urban land uses in the study area and project sample representativeness

94 For 2007 data this has grouped ‘moradias, fala’ and ‘parte dun edificio comercial’ as Permanent; ‘casa de madeira’, ‘casa basica (casa comboio)’ and ‘outro’ as ‘Partial permanent’, ‘palhota’ and ‘casa improvisada (barraca lata cartao)’ as Non-permanent.

95 This includes associated non-residential uses such as schools, health posts, recreational areas, only excluding other major land uses.

96 This comparison excludes the mainly rural areas of Catembe (across the estuary) and Inhaca (island in the bay), which because of poor access cannot be considered peri-urban and also excludes all Marracuene District as otherwise the large rural area here would also distort the comparative figures. As it is focused on the peri-urban areas it excludes full developed urban areas (mainly District I) but also Bairro Jardim in District V.
In conclusion, the study area can thus be seen as a robust representation of the peri-urban areas of the city in the last three decades - with special emphasis on expansion in the past decade - in terms of population and housing (and degree of change in both) as well as land use pattern.

4.2. Previous surveys (basis for longitudinal analysis)

As noted above, the study area deliberately incorporates the majority of two previous study areas (1990 and 2000), permitting a unique longitudinal study opportunity. This section explains the nature of the previous surveys and places the study area in a more detailed historical and physical context.

Concerning the longitudinal use of the 1990 survey, the current Home Space study identified all but one of the previous case study sites (the missing location being an extremely precarious case situated in a new road reserve, no longer existing – Case VIII). Concerning the longitudinal use of the 2000 survey, the current longitudinal study excluded cases not in the agreed Home Space overall study area – focusing on research ‘zones’ 1-10 and 12 (excluding 11 and 13-15) – with 3 cases in each zone (see map in endnotes). Of the potential 33 cases, it was possible to identify 24 cases for follow-up longitudinal work.97

Following the initial 1990 study structure, as well as the later 2000 survey (see below), the Home Space study surveyed the physical consolidation of land and housing as well as the socio-economic circumstances of the households in residence. In doing so (as expanded in more detail elsewhere), it focuses on the site, as opposed to the people – emphasising the physical over the social to a certain extent. In other words, if previous residents were no longer resident, it continued to study the existing residents and the site and its consolidation, rather than attempt to identify where the previous residents are now living and study their current social situation. Focusing as such on the site permits the survey of change processes of land and housing as well as any land uses - including subdivision / densification.

In fact, the 15 available sites from the 1990 survey produced a total of 26 sites for the Home Space survey, with one previous site being sub-divided in six new distinct sites, another into four new sites and three previous sites into two new sites = a total of 11 new sites (with the three original sites remaining after sub-division and 10 remaining single sites). Thus a total of 26 old/new ‘longitudinal’ sites were surveyed in this new study.

Of the 24 cases from the 2000 survey, only 2 had been sub-divided, thus producing a further 26 cases. The total number of cases thus available for longitudinal work was 52 (39 originals and 13 new sub-divisions, the majority of which since 1990). To this was added a further 50 new sites as explained below.

The next section of this report provides an initial overview of the nature of social, economic and physical change in these sites during the two decade period 1990-2010, while the Built Environment and Socio-Economic Report details the current physical and socio-economic conditions and the changes 1990-2010.

4.2.1. 1990 survey

A comprehensive socio-economic survey was carried out in 1989-90 in the peri-urban areas of Maputo. This was undertaken in the context of United Nations support to the government of Mozambique in formulating a National Housing Policy. The objectives of the survey were to pilot the creation of an information system to underpin policy formulation and monitoring for the sector, as well as provide a baseline for specific programme/project activities – including a forthcoming World Bank Urban Rehabilitation Project. The survey focussed on a recently developed area in the (then) northern periphery of urban expansion. This area included in the Maputo City Council ‘Basic Urbanisation Programme’, that was planned by the Directorate for Construction & Urbanisation in 1983-5, surveyed in 1984-6 and plots allocated from 1985-7. The study area (then called Laulane D, now Bairro 3 de Fevereiro) was in the last phase of this process of planning and allocation, and was projected at the time for inclusion in the World Bank project for urban services provision – together with an area planned in 1986 and surveyed in 1987-8, still being allocated (called Mahotas I, part of what is still Bairro Mahotas).

The UN project survey attempted complete coverage of circa 855 existing plots98, and the analysis generated was used in designing the World Bank project in 1990, concentrating especially on the high levels of “critical poverty” that had been identified in the UN survey. This led to a follow-up, more in-depth study of a sample of households by the UN project. This subse-

97 Other cases were impossible to identify physically due to changes in land development.

98 It collected physical information for 92% although economic information was only available for around 75%
quently study focused on the housing and living conditions of a sample of the wider surveyed population to include aspirations and nature of social engagement – as a further input to the planned World Bank project. It was also seen as an opportunity to document land use and construction typologies, and a detailed report was prepared for wider dissemination in 1990-91, based on a reduced (further stratified) sample of case studies (households & sites) from the follow-up study. Published in 1991, this report was based on 16 cases defined by the categories of socio-economic status and physical consolidation of housing, – the same broad categories used for analysis in the follow-up survey. The study thus represented a ‘snapshot’ at one point in time (1990) of a representative sample of peri-urban residents in a fairly new expansion area of the city. See endnotes for a snapshot of the case study detail.

### 4.2.2. Development context for 1990 study area

In 1990 the bairros 3 de Fevereiro and Mahotas were at the periphery of the area with urban characteristics, or ‘frontline’ of urbanisation. Previously with relatively sparse ‘traditional’ occupation, they had been planned and developed as urban expansion areas in the later part of the City Council’s Basic Urbanisation Programme (1980-87). The estimated overall population for the two bairros (which were extensive, especially Mahotas) was 12,000 in Laulane and 6,000 in Mahotas, only a proportion of these being in the studied area. The residents surveyed represented both longer term ‘indigenous’ occupants of the land (who had then received an allocation of new residential plots in relation to their household structure), as well as new residents, who had been allocated plots through the Programme, the majority being very recent occupants. It is noted that at the time of the study Mozambique was still affected by war, and Maputo was a destination for many displaced people from the surrounding provinces in the early 1990 period.

The land had been under ‘traditional’ administration by the local ‘regulo’ prior to the 1950s, when increasingly land was surveyed and demarcated for ‘modern’ agricultural use, mainly for the colonial settler population. While initially in large land holding (‘paceias’), in the early 1970s extensive areas of these were sub-divided for small-holdings (around 0.5 ha.) for city dwellers from (then) Lourenco Marques – stretching from the railway Bairro Ferroviario north to the Mahotas area. As this land was incorporated formally into the city administrative area in the 1980s (the ‘concelho’), traditional land rights were generally not respected, and occupants were often not compensated (or minimally so) when they were removed as settlers bought plots. In 1963 the process of incorporation into the urban fabric was strengthened when a ‘povoacao’, or formal village, was developed in the Mahotas area, mainly as a small commercial centre – remaining as the main commercial centre today. However, there was limited colonial development in these small-holding areas up to the period around Independence, and many indigenous occupants still occupied land to which they considered they held a traditional form of use rights.

In the immediate pre-Independence period, most colonial settler occupants of plots then abandoned their properties in the general settler exodus 1974-6. All abandoned (and rented) property was subsequent-
sub-dividing the half hectare small-holding plots that were generally not nationalised soon after Independence (as noted previously). Some abandoned houses and agricultural developments in the area were subsequently taken over by the government, some being passed on to a nascent agricultural cooperative movement. With local government reorganisation in 1979, the City Council of the now Greater Maputo created a Directorate for Urbanisation and Construction (DCU) the following year. The DCU started effective operation in 1981 and was responsible for all land planning and allocation in the vastly expanded city area, as land was nationalised soon after Independence. While little central state attention was focussed on urban areas, the then National Housing Directorate (later National Institute for Physical Planning) supported the DCU with a staff secondment, and this was the basis for development of the Basic Urbanisation Programme, which started activity in 1981.

The strategic objective of the Programme was to sub-divide as much available land (which was considered suitable for residential occupation) as possible around the then Greater Maputo urban periphery. This was largely in response to increasing urban population growth and physical expansion into these areas in an un-planned manner. In this it drew on contemporary international experience of ‘sites & services’ – some of which had also been implemented in the city, albeit more so in Machava and Matola (see previous section). During the 1981-5 period the DCU staff planned and surveyed some 10,400 residential plots across the Greater Maputo area, with around half of these in the Laulane/Mahotas area – sub-dividing the half hectare small-holding plots that were generally not developed for new residential use. This provided 5650 plots over some 194 ha in this area of the city, although initial uptake was affected by the lack of provision of basic services, especially water, as well as general poverty. However, occupation accelerated by the time the World Bank project began operation in September 1990. This project included funds for upgrading of infrastructure for 1144 existing plots in Laulane D and Mahotas 1 (to a basic service level) as well as provision of 628 new plots at a basic service level and 200 at a higher service level in a new planned area Mahotas II near the commercial centre. Target group was defined as lower-middle income (although this was never quantitatively defined).

Concerning social structure, resident households were often extended, whether economically strong or weak, or across employment categories. Households were slightly larger where economies were stronger, and single parents had weaker economies – those of working age here often being unskilled or employed in primary production (mainly agriculture). On-site water supply was very rare (10%) and electricity supply even rarer (1 case of in 134). The majority used firewood for cooking, and some

4.2.3. 1990 study overview

The study area in 1990 was one of rapidly increasing occupation interspersed with some older residents, who had often been involved in a more ‘rural’ or ‘traditional’ lifestyle than the new occupants – i.e. the ‘frontline’ of urbanisation. This latter ‘traditional’ use was reflected in dispersed occupations usually with ‘machambas’ or dry-land agricultural land around the homestead. Here the ‘home spaces’ were characterised by a number of (usually single purpose) residential and service constructions – see survey example above. This did not mean that the residents were isolated from urban life, as many in fact were employed in the city, but often in low income jobs. In some cases these ‘rural/traditional’ homesteads were more or less intact in 2010, while in others they had been eroded by encroaching ‘urban/modern’ occupation through the plot allocation process.

Concerning the wider sample within which the above detailed surveys were later carried out, there was a notable difference between the housing in the later demarcated area and that of the earlier plan, with larger and higher quality house construction in Mahotas I and II as opposed to Laulane D. This was reflected as well in stronger economic characterisation of new residents in this area. The ‘traditional’ or ‘rural’ housing typology was also reflected in new residential construction, including permanent buildings with separate living/sleeping ‘dependencias’ as well as kitchens and bathrooms/toilets which were still located separate to the living/sleeping constructions (only 10% of kitchens were internal). Standards for such service functions were very basic – only 32% had covered external kitchens, 25% uncovered external kitchens and 31% no dedicated kitchen area.

Concerning land use, the area was defined as lower-middle income (although this was never quantitatively defined).

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104 Plots for social equipment (schools, rezaosion, administration) as well as economic activities (commerce, infrastructure and agro-industry) were also developed – the areas planned excluding the better agricultural areas in what was termed the ‘Green Zones’ – in this area mostly on the coastal plain east of the escarpment along which the railway runs. These urban ‘parcels plans’ were integrated with a District Development Plan and with the 1984-5 City Structure Plan.

105 Ground water resources in the area are deep at c 6—70m, requiring boreholes.
charcoal (very few used gas). While 85% of the plots had latrines, only 33% were improved.

Most permanent houses were built with sand-cement blocks, roofed with corrugated metal sheets and had cement floors. Most precarious houses (generally with walls made of reeds) also had metal sheet roofs, even more however had beaten earth floors. The condition of windows and doors varied considerably with various permanent houses still without proper windows (precarious houses did not have windows). In general, despite the development dynamic of the area, only around half of the wider surveyed residents indicated clear intentions for consolidation, as most felt they did not have the necessary resources. Water supply for the area was by far the most important desired general improvement, followed by electricity and public transport.

In the surrounding neighbourhood for the 1990 survey, it was found that due to the nature of the planned plot layouts in the city area, overall land uses were becoming more ordered and production activities reducing (i.e. dry land agriculture, but also vegetable growing due to problems with water supply). The occupational density was still relatively low but beginning to build up, as was house consolidation. Consolidation was more prevalent for newcomers than ‘traditional’ occupants, as noted above. Some basic emerging housing norms were apparent, based on social and economic contexts. Household structure, however, was affected by the ongoing war situation with many displaced people coming into the city to live with relatives, including in the study area.107 In addition the detailed follow-up survey report highlighted that the socio-economic context was also strongly affected by the recent macro-economic re-structuring programme. These structural factors resulted in high levels of de facto poverty which also inevitably hindered land and house consolidation. While land was clearly seen predominantly for its use value by the majority of respondents, with little regard for the formal issues of legal tenure, the 1991 study also predicted that land tenure would become more important socially and economically.

Two decades of change are thus recorded in the current Home Space study – see details in the Built Environment & Socio-Economic Survey Report. However, to set the scene for this, 15 of the 16 previous detailed case studies were identified and surveyed in late 2009. Of these two had no occupants (one was abandoned and one only had foundations – subdivisions of case XVI). Five of the 15 plots had been sub-divided creating a new total of 24 plots, all sites surveyed. Of these resulting 24 surveyed sites, eight households were already resident in 1990 – i.e. around 50% of the original plots have had occupant turn-over, and this has involved on average an increase of 150% in plots (i.e. 50% new). In general therefore there has been a densification process through sub-division of land and more home spaces, over and above the number of people in each case study site. Many of the original residents’ social circumstances have changed, albeit not radically economically or socially, as evidenced later. In all cases, however, housing consolidation of some form has taken place, despite the obvious hardships faced by the residents.

The headline changes across the two decades are:

- significantly higher access to infrastructure such as water and electricity (also transport)
- significant consolidation of housing stock and associated new building (often annexes) however considerable variation in consolidation, with quite a few still very poor in poor housing;
- a small group with limited change and a larger group of more recent occupants with significantly better housing - this ‘gentrification’ process mapping on particularly to the most recent occupants who buy plots and who are much stronger economically (mainly local businessmen, government officials and people with economic links to South Africa – with additional forms of income), and who often have smaller but diversely structured families, often nuclear households with addition of a minor relative (termed ‘extended nuclear household’ in the survey – distinguishing this from a ‘extended household’ with various relatives and others);
- full occupation of the area (shown by satellite image analysis), compared to the sparse but increasing occupation 20 years ago. The ‘frontline’ of urbanisation is now 20-25 km further out from this area, well beyond the city limits;
- occupation and development of both the vast majority of residential plots (a few being kept vacant either because of speculation of conflicts) and the spaces for social equipment and other reserves left in the 1980s urban plans now occupied, albeit often with unplanned uses (including housing);108
- minimal impact of the World Bank project – the small public water supply network based on boreholes was not maintained, and now water is universally provided by private boreholes, however the elec-

107 Household composition even changed between the initial wide survey and the follow-up surveys.

108 This was generally not ‘spontaneous’ but organised by the local authorities (political/administrative) and city council officials.
Maputo in relation to the 1999 Metropolitan Maputo Structure Plan. This project drew on other recent research by the principal investigator in residential land markets in Maputo, with a focus on urban poverty. The rationale for this new action-research project was that high rates of urbanisation are generally not being accompanied by wider economic growth and wealth distribution in Sub-Saharan Africa, with the result of growing urban poverty and deteriorating urban conditions. As urban areas grow and state systems of land allocation are reduced, land markets are becoming more important, although much land development remains outside the "formal" systems. This is particularly the case in states in transition from forms of socialism to market economies. The proposed action-research project was to investigate the nature of the emerging urban residential land markets in Maputo, with a focus on urban poverty.

In 1999 the principal researcher behind the above survey proposed a new survey to examine ‘Emerging urban residential land markets in post-Socialist Mozambique: The impact on the poor and alternatives to improve land access and urban development’. This was subsequently approved for funding by the UK Economic and Social Research Council ESRC in conjunction with the Department for International development DFID. The rationale for this new action-research project was that high rates of urbanisation are generally not being accompanied by wider economic growth and wealth distribution in Sub-Saharan Africa, with the result of growing urban poverty and deteriorating urban conditions. As urban areas grow and state systems of land allocation are reduced, land markets are becoming more important, although much land development remains outside the "formal" systems. This is particularly the case in states in transition from forms of socialism to market economies. The proposed action-research project was to investigate the nature of the emerging urban residential land markets in Maputo, with a focus on urban poverty.

This project drew on other recent research by the principal investigator in Maputo in relation to the 1999 Metropolitan Maputo Structure Plan. The research had identified a growing tendency for urban land to be bought and sold despite continued nationalisation of land in the 1990 Constitution. This was happening in both a ‘near-formal’ manner (through formal sale of improvements, often minimal, yet at high prices incorporating the land value, in the developed parts of the city centre and its edges) and ‘informally’ (albeit often with some engagement of neighbourhood political-administrators) in peri-urban areas generally. While the former ‘near-formal’ process was usually ‘legalised’ post-factum, the latter ‘informal’ process was seen widely as legitimate but not legalised.

The study noted that, while urban development and housing continued to have a low priority in national development policies, the election of autonomous local governments in 1998 had led to a new focus on urban land issues. In addition, the new Land Law, which came into force in 1997, recognised forms of ‘customary’ land occupation, although it was intended primarily for rural areas. In this respect, the study was to contribute to the contemporary debate in Mozambique on how this aspect of the law could be applied in urban areas to widespread “informal” settlement. Here the study highlighted the then current ‘stand-off’ between various parts of government on the actual legal status of ‘informal’ land rights holders in the urban areas. This was identified as contrasting the ‘legal’ side, which argued for application of the new land law (1992) which accepted regularisation of ‘traditional’ land rights after 10 years of occupation in good faith, and the ‘technical’ side, which argued that such regularisation of urban land rights could only be subsequent to planning. This debate continued to around 2008 when a new Physical Planning Law was finally approved. This established the importance of prior planning for urban land rights and then led to the drafting and eventual later approval of the urban land regulations (date?).

Part of the relevance for the study at the time was to highlight the strong element of social legitimacy in the predominant existing, albeit increasingly commodified, de facto forms of land transactions/transfers in peri-urban areas and to contrast these with the de jure expectations of the state. The study thus investigated both institutional attitudes to urban land management across the main actors as well as the attitudes of the urban poor in peri-urban areas to land. It also looked at how the emerging differential land markets are likely to affect livelihood strategies. The first part of the study was implemented through review of relevant international literature and Mozambican documentation and a series of 20 semi-structured interviews with four key informants across each of five stakeholder sectors: central government, local government, private sector, non-governmental

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109 The WB financed asphalt main road access to central Mahotas disappeared with 5 years.
110 The author had been a short term consultant to this project with responsibility for land and housing studies.
organisations, and land specialists. The latter part of the study was based on household surveys.\textsuperscript{111}

An integral part of the household surveys was an ‘asset-based’ approach to qualitatively assessing urban poverty, which included:

- **economic assets** – income, material goods and savings (usually limited in scope for the poor); debt and credit;
- **human assets** - quantity (e.g. number who can work in a household), quality (e.g. health, education and skills levels), and availability (number of hours, distance to work factors);
- **physical assets** - social and economic infrastructure (e.g. access to education and health facilities; water, electricity, sanitation and transport); housing (nature, size and location of housing as well as security and suitability are important factors); and access to the environment (for productive or recreational requirements);
- **socio-cultural assets** – including household relations (e.g. life cycle issues and gender/age differentials); reciprocal and redistributive networks/structures (e.g. kinship, good neighbourliness and community/religious organisations); as well as the mutual trust, socio-cultural rights and norms on which these are based. This category also includes access to information;
- **legal/political assets** – the effective right to justice and a life free of crime and violence as well as to influence the structures of power that affect life in various ways either through representation or participation.

The survey instrument was primarily a structured qualitative questionnaire with key household member(s), and was undertaken at the same time as a non-measured (i.e. visual) physical survey (which produced a measured sketch of the plot, house and use of space and was accompanied by a few colour photographs).\textsuperscript{112} In terms of the physical survey, the standard

\textsuperscript{111} This much more focussed survey was undertaken in November-December 2000, and implemented by the Principal Investigator: Paul Jenkins - based in the Centre for Environment & Human Settlements in what was at that time the School of Planning & Housing in Edinburgh and the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning in Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo – in particular Julio Carinho who acted as Co-Investigator, and Vicente Joaquim who acted as Research Associate. Others involved in Maputo were Dr. David Hodges (Dept. of History) and Dr. Ana Laforte (Dept. of Anthropology) who assisted with selection of other Research Assistants from their departments: Napoleão Gaspar and Criterio Langa respectively.

\textsuperscript{112} This comprised some 20 potential questions, depending on the nature of the land access. One group of questions was designed to allow a qualitative assessment of the nature of poverty and household strategy, including general physical aspects (e.g. infrastructure, social amenities and environmental issues in the area) and specific physical aspects (e.g. plot development and house type), as well as other household resources (human, economic, socio-cultural and political/legal). Another group of questions investigated the actual land access mechanism used; a third group investigated the nature of plot development over time; and a fourth, the attitudes to land security and future aspirations vis-à-vis land and housing, specifically engagement in market mechanisms. See Appendices for questionnaire.

Most importantly for the longitudinal aspects of this current Home Space study, the case study locations did not coincide with any of the 1990 case study detailed survey sites. This was due to the very different objective and the random sampling technique used for the 2000 survey. The stratified sample used for the 2000 survey identified three ‘urban land market’ hotspots (based on the 1999 Metropolitan Structure Plan research), and undertook 15 surveys in each hotspot, selected at random on the ground in five groups of three (see map in endnotes). One of the hotspots was the planned expansion area developed in the 1981-87 Basic Urbanisation programme, including the previous 1990 survey area (highlighted due to gentrification) – although the random sampling technique led to the survey sites not coinciding with any previously detailed 1990 sites.

The coverage of the 2000 survey was much more extensive – covering all of the current Home Space study area up to the emerging centre of Bairro Maganoine (CMC\textsuperscript{114}), but also the northern part of District 5, including the newly planned relocation areas for people affected by the very recent floods in Polana Canico. These areas were considered the ‘urbanisation frontline’ from aerial photo analysis and anecdotal evidence. In addition, the 1998 Structure Plan research had identified the growing commodification of land in these areas – confirmed in the survey work – and hence their ‘hotspot status’. The third hotspot was the area immediately north of the central planned ‘cement city’ (Polana canico A) – part of the Maxaquene Upgrading Project 1977-79 where considerable commodification of land was taking place through densification (in existing plots and informal infill of reserves). In each of the above ‘hot-spot’ areas, the emergence of the land market was associated with state activity of different types: in the south with the central government (UN-supported) urban ‘informal area’ upgrading project; in the middle with the local government led Basic Urbanisation Programme (latterly with some relatively minor World Bank investment); and in the north through local government ad-hoc responses to ‘emergencies’, led predominantly by private and international agencies investment associated with major new infrastructure projects.

\textsuperscript{113} The original socio-economic survey in 1989 had been extensive and largely closed questions – however many were inadequately answered or recorded. The data was then qualitatively reduced for the latter smaller sample which had more physical survey aspects including sketch and photos.

\textsuperscript{114} A new neighbourhood planned and built for relocating people from the path of the new EN4 motorway to South Africa and a land market hotspot as relocated people sold their new houses.
4.2.4. Development context for 2000 study area

Polana Caniço A

This area immediately north of the “cement city” had been subject to land speculation in the 1950’s by colonial landowners who blocked the northward expansion of the formal city. This led to late development of these areas compared to the northwest of the formal urban area (see Jenkins 1999a for detail), and relatively sparse occupation until the time of Independence. After Independence the area was increasingly ‘informally’ occupied for housing. However, this occupation was still relatively low density and temporary in nature when in 1977 the new National Housing Directorate began an urban upgrading pilot project in the neighbouring Maxaquene bairro. The residential densities in this much longer ‘informally’ settled area led to Polana Caniço being used as an overspill area during the upgrading project, with a form of simple “self-help” plot layout being used. The result was a rapid densification, which despite the relative order of occupation, was never formalised. The then city council refused to formalise land rights for the occupants both at the time the National Housing Directorate attempted to hand the project over to the council in 1980 (when it pulled out of the upgrading project), and again in 1985 when the then city planner attempted this, based on detailed topographical mapping exercise undertaken by the national topographical school.

This lack of formalisation, in combination with increasing pressure on available land, led to a number of later unplanned occupations in the bairro. These took place in reserves created for social amenities and roads, as well as along the escarpment which was also seen as ecologically unsuitable. These latter occupations along the escarpment occurred at a time of increasing insecurity in the southern provinces and outskirts of the city during the late 1980’s as a result of the civil war, and spot socio-economic surveys undertaken within the UN-sponsored National Housing & Urban Development Programme development project supported the fact that the land was occupied based on allocations at local administrative level, which itself was informal as this level had no explicit right to allocate land. In part of this area the population was removed by the local authority in the mid 1990’s, ostensibly due to the potential ecological problems of occupation of the escarpment, as erosion had several times cut the main northward traffic route Av. J Nyerere. However, in practice it is more likely that this was to facilitate land allocation to private sector developers as both the city council itself (1993/4) and other developers (1995-2000) have subsequently developed high-income residential areas in their place. The population was relocated in new urban expansion zones in Zimpeto, some 20 km away at the periphery of the urban area.

There have been a series of erosion problems associated with the escarpment and the run-off of stormwater from the informal housing area. The regular layout created by the upgrading project with no paved roads or drainage has led to more rapid run-off down on to the main road Av. J Nyerere. In time, this, with occupation of the escarpment, has led to the opening of erosion channels across the road. The road was first cut in this way in the early 1990’s with some attempts by the city council to repair this with fill and some drainage channels. From about 1993 this was not attempted again, and the erosion channels deepened each year, the road falling into disuse. In the abnormally heavy rains of early 2000, these erosion channels increased enormously in scope, depth and width, and many families lost their houses and possessions in the bairro overnight. They received assistance from various quarters including the international emergency community, with relocation to a new housing area (still in construction – see below) in an urban expansion zone some 25 km away in Magosamine. However, many residents remain near the erosion channels, although there is on-going work to stabilise these. In addition, there are several NGO’s now working in the area, including CARE International. CARE run a community development project and are also involved in emergency assistance. There have also been a series of proposals from (mainly foreign) private sector investors to repair the road in exchange for well-located land for development (including land along the road).
city assembly is currently studying a further proposal from Japan of this nature.

Laulane/Mahotas

This area, to the north of Polana Caniço, is an extensive area composed of housing use on the higher land and agricultural use on the coastal plain. Prior to housing land sub-division, the land had been demarcated for agricultural use in the colonial period and sub-divided mostly into 0.5 hectare plots, a limited number of which had been developed as farms. The study focused on housing land concentrated on a large area within the Basic Urbanisation Programme planned areas of Laulane/Mahotas, where 5650 plots were developed in the 1980s. These were allocated from the middle of the decade, with uptake rapidly increasing in the latter part of the 1980s and 1990s (see other longitudinal analysis for detail). Here occupants were allocated a basic form of land rights\(^\text{115}\), but the Metropolitan Structure Plan study had identified an emerging market in selling and sub-dividing these formal plots illegally, hence their inclusion in the survey. The surveys ranged from the south of Bairro Laulane B (now called Bairro Ferroviario) through what was Laulane C (now Bairro Laulane) to Laulane D (now Bairro 3 de Fevereiro) and into Mahotas I & II (the area developed in the early 1990s by the World Bank Project – see other analysis). Here there is some overlap (although not on specific survey sites) with the 1990 survey.

When the city council began its programme (planning the land in 1983, topographical layout 1984/85 and allocations from 1985 on), the land was relatively unoccupied with only scattered informal occupation. In the latter part of the 1980s, with the pressures of the war, many areas previously demarcated as reserves for social amenities (open space/schools etc) or for ecological reasons (e.g. the escarpment) were occupied through informal mechanisms. In places this has provoked erosion similar to that in Polana Caniço, although not as yet as severe. In addition, other areas have been occupied for housing, mostly through informal land sales (e.g. where an anti-aerial defence unit was removed from the area). The northern part of this zone was included in the World Bank financed Urban Rehabilitation Project (1989-1995) for improvement of infrastructure in the existing sites and services area and its expansion. Part of this area was to benefit from a self-help housing credit package, although this was never implemented. Infrastructure provided as part of the project included a new tarred main road (now completely ruined due to lack of maintenance and inadequate stormwater drainage), a local water supply system to public water points based on a borehole network (mostly still functioning), and an electricity network.

Magoanine/Zimpeto

This area is to the northwest of Mahotas and comprises two of the three bairros, which make the city limits with Marracuene District. They include the more recent expansion zones of the city, although until the early 1990’s they were very sparsely populated with large areas in dryland agriculture (family “machambas”). While part of Magoanine has been occupied since the early 1980’s through informal mechanisms, this lies within the airport landing zone, and the city council has in the past refused to regularise informal occupation. In Zimpeto, along the main road north out of the city, the city council laid out an expansion zone in 1981/2 with very basic services (main roads bulldozed and communal wells). Plots in this area were slowly allocated during the mid-1980’s. With the war situation in the southern provinces in Mozambique in the late 1980’s, this area became fully occupied, including many previous land reserves, such as industrial land along the main road.

The third main focus in this area was at the (then) periphery of urban expansion – formal and informal. It included some informally demarcated plots of long standing in the southeast of Magoanine, as well as the CMC area further to the north in the same Bairro. This CMC area had been developed by the Italian construction firm CMC which had won the contract to build the new Witbank-Maputo road, the backbone of the Maputo Development Corridor (started in mid 1990s). The people removed from the road reserve were relocated to new houses in a formally planned area with partial permanent houses (size depended on the nature of the previous house demolished). As the site was far from the previous location (circa 30 km), many relocated families opted to sell and move back into other areas of the city – and the Structure Plan study had identified this hot-spot with informal real estate agents selling and renting the houses. This process raised the values of land around the areas and created spin-off occupation. The other areas chosen were to the northwest of Maputo city area in Zimpeto and into the interior back across eastwards to the northwest of Bairro Magoanine. While a city council planned area had been laid out in Zimpeto near the large Firestone factory in 1982, this had

\(^{115}\) Generally a provisional occupation licence.
been slow to be occupied. By the mid-1990s it was full, and some ad-hoc extensions were laid out for ‘emergency’ plots – e.g. for teachers. When the government acted to alleviate the people affected by the early 2000 floods and erosion, with substantial international assistance, it chose to expand the planned layouts in the Zimpeto interior. In fact, there was little other available land with low occupation in Maputo’s main city area (excluding across the bay in Catembe). By the time of this development, the local traditional landholders were well aware of the value of land. Either independently, or in collusion with city officials and local administrators, they therefore continued the officially planned layouts in an unofficial fashion, creating a large new area which came to be called Matendene after the initial tent accommodation initially provided in the planned expansion for the relocated families. Here a more fully fledged land market was operating as the research demonstrated.\textsuperscript{114}

Although there was very limited technical capacity in the city council planning department in the early 1990s, an attempt was made to develop new expansion zones in both areas. These were unsuccessful mainly due to the rapid expansion of informal land occupation as soon as the war finished (1992 Peace Accord) – especially in Magoanine bairro. One stimulus for this expansion was the use of these areas for relocation of population from inner peri-urban areas, which were needed for infrastructure or other new development, or which were unstable, such as the escarpment in Polana Caniço (mid-1990’s). These forced relocations, with at times substantial construction of houses in compensation, has led to a “land rush” in the informal sector. This seems to have been stimulated by the original inhabitants of the machambas who saw the state’s activity as a threat to “their” land. Land and housing supplied through this formal relocation process is apparently entering the market, with informal (and formal?) sales.

In addition, part of Zimpeto bairro near the city limits and along the main north road was reserved by the city planners for higher income housing, and a number of very large concessions were made for private property development. One of these (the largest) was allocated to a Malaysian consortium in mid 1990’s but in 2000 had not begun to be developed. A Spanish funded consortium had started developing its workshops for a new housing development at that time, but no other private sector developments had started, however, despite the fact that the city council found it difficult to halt informal occupation of these areas (using forced removals where necessary). More recently, in 2010 the area was chosen for location of a new national stadium – financed by China, and this was inaugurated in April 2011, in time for the African Games in September of that year (i.e. at the time of finalisation of this report). This includes medium density housing in an Althetes Village.

Early in the new millennium the interior of Magoanine was also used for a new emergency relocation area for the population affected by the floods in 2000. This area was laid out in the emergency period without full planning and allocated as it was laid out with population being relocated with emergency assistance, initially in tents, then houses built in temporary materials (caniço), with permanently houses now in construction. In addition, new infrastructure and social amenities have been provided for the total 2000 or so plots (beaten earth access road, water by boreholes, new primary school and health post etc.). This “Bairro Novo” in Magoanine is actually reached through the older bairro “Zimpeto Velho” from the main national road. There is a marked difference in investment between the new area, with high levels of international and national emergency aid, and the urban expansion areas normally laid out, through which one passes to reach the new area. This has also led to conflict with “traditional” residents over land rights and speculation in the informal market.

4.2.6. 2000 study overview\textsuperscript{117}

Partly as the area covered by the 2000 surveys is large and heterogeneous it is not possible to provide a full summary overview, but key issues identified at the time were:

- the densification of inner peri-urban areas, most of which were unplanned with very limited public infrastructure, but nevertheless demonstrating growing levels of social equipment and increasing physical house consolidation (albeit seemingly limited, though increasing, transfer of land and housing);
- densification and house consolidation in the middle, mostly planned, peri-urban areas of the study area\textsuperscript{118}, with seemingly growing transfers of land and housing, and still low levels of physical infrastructure (aside from quick growth in informal private supply of water) and some growth in social infrastructure;
- fast expansion of peripheral areas, densely previously occupied areas informally and expanding new planned layouts (official and unof-

\textsuperscript{114} Some of the dynamics of development in this area have been studied in more detail by anthropologist Morten Nielsen. Reference

\textsuperscript{117} This section refers to the findings deriving from the household surveys only – see Jenkins 2000 for the institutional findings. The report was published in English and Portuguese, and summarised on the UK ID21 website (http://www.id21.org/id21ext/s3bpj1g1.html).

\textsuperscript{118} This would not have been as applicable to the western vector of Maputo’s northward expansion.
ficial) into most of the available space within the city boundaries - the ‘frontline’ of urbanisation then reaching the northern city limits. These areas had very limited publicly provided physical infrastructure (and hence inception of informal private supply), and as yet (at the time of survey), very limited social equipment, despite their being the basis for most city expansion.

• housing was predominantly becoming based on permanent materials – reed housing only being used temporarily to secure plots and an immediate living space.

The study confirmed the extent of, and described in more detail, the prevalent ‘informal’ access to land and housing development in the peri-urban area in general, despite certain state interventions. The majority of occupations across the 45 surveys were accessed informally – 78%, including informal mechanisms operating within the city council such as double allocations (DCU) – see below. While the sub-mechanisms varied, most were purchased or allocated by local administrative structures. However, overall land allocations (i.e. non-purchases) represented 71% of all land access mechanisms (62% of informal mechanisms). Thus, as indicated in previous analyses, the informal land market was still embryonic at the time, albeit growing in importance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Informal DCU</th>
<th>Informal local admin.</th>
<th>Informal Purchase</th>
<th>Informal Ceded</th>
<th>Informal rented</th>
<th>Informal Pre-Independence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacarena/Mohotane</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magonaine/Zimpeto</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Land access mechanisms 2000 survey

The sample in this survey was too small to register any idea of land values, but the values declared often indicated a high degree of social modification, e.g. “price for a friend”. This could be seen in the variation in land prices in similar years and areas. House sales with land have existed for a long time, although they are increasing in incidence, and the study found that land was now also being sold without houses. However, the “market” in land was embryonic as most occupants demonstrated no interest in the land’s exchange value, stressing instead its current family use value and inheritance factor for future disposal. In addition, most purchases were only possible through a social network – there being little open buying and selling. This seemed to be changing, however, spurred on by the commodification of the (highly subsidised) relocation houses in particular.

In general the 2000 surveys concurred with the previous wider (but less detailed) sample survey undertaken when preparing the Maputo Metropolitan Structure Plan (1998), but allowed a greater understanding of the mechanisms involved. In addition, they demonstrated a growing tendency of urban residents to understand the value of land in informal markets, especially in the peripheral expansion areas, with accompanying higher preoccupation with land rights. The outer areas of Magoanine and Zimpeto demonstrate this process in particular, where the city council had managed to demarcate large areas in response to relocations. Overall, the study showed the tendency for the well-located urban poor (in relation to services and access) to be re-located – either officially or through market mechanisms – in more peripheral or environmentally unsuitable locations. It also demonstrated that this tendency has an adverse effect on urban livelihoods as location is a key element of physical assets.

In addition, the study highlighted the importance of the process of basic land planning and sub-division/demarcations which facilitates future urban development/ improvements in a much simpler way than when land is occupied in a less organised manner. Thus, despite the fact that the city council had difficulty managing who occupies demarcated land (and maintaining land reserves), basic demarcation of land at least provided the basis for a much simpler regularisation of land registry. The city council was thus encouraged to: attempt to demarcate land ahead of informal sector allocation / occupation in expansion areas, even if not fully developed (i.e. with infrastructure); attempt to regularise land occupation in existing formally demarcated areas, allowing simple forms of transfer; and develop stronger links with local administrative structures that de facto manage land locally.

At the same time, it was stressed that the state and municipality should not let the un-regulated operation of a land and housing market disadvantage the urban poor. The study demonstrated that access to well-located land was an integral part of the resources and assets that households use in their survival / development strategies. Simply re-locating the urban poor to favour higher value land uses would only aggravate the levels of poverty and structural division. Hence the study called for mechanisms to protect the land rights of the urban poor, as well as recognise those established in the new Land Law. However, it noted that the simplistic application of land rights for occupation over 10 years in good faith would be difficult to implement unless it was managed at local administrative level - where there would need to be new forms of transparency and direct forms of public participation created. Without this, the study warned that recognising ‘customary rights’ without title could quite possibly lead to...
exploitation of the poor through sales at informal market values, with the purchasers realising the much higher formal market values.

As a result, while agreeing with the need to provide formal land rights to those who should have these in terms of the new law, the study highlighted the equally pressing need for the city council to consider the implications of redevelopment of inner peri-urban areas such as Polana Câncio. This is in order to realise higher land values to avoid transferring and aggravating already high poverty levels. To avoid this, the approach needed would entail exploring ways to allow formal land rights and values to be realised by those who might want to cash in their physical assets to best transfer these to other areas or other household resources – e.g. what is termed ‘land readjustment’. In addition, the city council should consider the need to protect some areas for social housing development and not accept that lower-income groups should be relocated always to the urban periphery as currently happens.

4.3. Home Space study case study selection

After initial fieldwork in Maputo in June 2009 to identify previous 1990 and 2000 survey sites and the setting up of the local project team, the decision was taken to structure the Built Environment & Socio-Economic Survey on 100 cases. Half of these would be selected from the previous surveys of 1990 and 2000 that had by then been identified (called ‘longitudinal surveys’). The rest (‘new surveys’) were to include:

- new areas of expansion of the city (up to the current ‘urbanisation front’ near Marracuene town) and
- some additional cases in peri-urban bairros within the overall project area.

This latter group was to cover geographical areas which were not well represented in longitudinal survey cases and/or represented important periods/mechanisms for land occupation. The key criteria for the selection were thus:

- ‘longitudinal surveys’: identifiable 1990 and 2000 case study sites (with any new sub-divisions of these) and
- ‘new surveys’: a) to provide geographic spread throughout the study area with a higher number where densities were higher and b) to reflect a range of important periods/mechanisms for land occupation.

Given the context outlined above for urban land and its tenure / development status, four main mechanisms for land occupation were embedded within the following criteria.

‘Un-planned’ / ‘nao planificado’ – areas which had no previous state, community or private planning or sub-division, often referred to as ‘spontaneous’ or ‘informal’ areas. Occupation of these areas had no basis in the land cadastre and/or registry (although underlying cadastral sub-divisions might exist). The Google Earth image below illustrates this form of land occupation.

‘Officially planned’ / ‘planificado oficialmente’ – areas which had state planning and sub-division interventions at some period, although later may have been ‘informally’ sub-divided, in-filled or developed. It was also acknowledged that not all of these had been registered formally in the land cadastre and/or registry. The Google Earth image below illustrates this form of land occupation.

‘Upgraded’ / ‘reordenamento’ - areas which had been unplanned but had state, community or private planning or sub-division, even if they had
not been registered formally in the land cadastre and/or registry. The Google Earth image below illustrates this form of land occupation.

Figure 25) upgraded / ‘ordenado’. (Source: Google Maps, Copyright 2012 GeoEye).

‘Unofficially planned’ / ‘planificado nao-oficialmente’ – areas which had community / private planning and sub-division interventions at some period, but were not registered formally in the land cadastre and/or registry. The Google Earth image below illustrates this form of land occupation.

Figure 26) unofficially planned / ‘planificado nao-oficialmente’. (Source: Google Maps, Copyright 2012 GeoEye).

This dominance of land planning and potential registry reflected the contemporary legal / regulatory situation for urban land in Mozambique and the resulting proposals for land regularisation. In other words, despite the legal basis for recognising ‘customary rights’ also in urban areas, the urban land regulations require prior ‘planning’, and the planning legislation defines how this is implemented – largely a top-down procedure. Nevertheless, a wide variety of land sub-division exists – as do perceptions of ‘traditional’, ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ land rights. The study highlights this fact, which needs to be integrated within such practice, as in some other African countries.

Table 23 reflects the target locations and key characterisation of sites/potential sites for longitudinal and new surveys – the latter to be located randomly on the ground within a targeted area. Given the pre-existence of 50 cases from the previous studies which were incorporated, the above target provided a basis for the selection of a structured sample to ensure a better balance of typologies across the 100 cases in the total sample. This was necessary as the earlier survey (1990) was totally in a government planned sites & service area, as were some of the cases in the later survey (2000).

The total number of surveys completed was in fact 52 of the earlier survey (‘longitudinal’ cases) and 50 from the expanded sample (new cases) – see table below. The table also identifies the new locations and the rationale for the selection of these. The project then selected the actual new 50 cases for survey in a random manner by identifying a suitable access route and then picking sites at random until a household was prepared to be surveyed.

Table 23) Draft sample for Built Environment & Socio-Economic Surveys (mid 2009)

Of the 52 longitudinal cases, 39 were original ‘sites’ and 13 were new sites created within the original sites through sub-division. As can be seen below (and endnote viii), the majority of previous surveys were in officially planned areas (25 of 37), expanded to 37 through 12 sub-divisions. Only 2 new sites were selected in this category to include key locations. The previous surveys included 5 sites in ‘reordered’ areas, this being augmented by 1 through sub-division and another 2 new sites. The previous surveys included 2 unofficially planned areas, and this was augmented by
a further 12 to better represent the proportion typically found in the urban area. Finally the previous surveys included only 5 unplanned sites, one of which was sub—divided, and thus the new cases included a further 35, spread across the whole survey area, to reduce the imbalance noted above. This re-balancing gave a total of 41 (40%) in unplanned areas, 8 (8%) in re-ordered areas, 39 (38%) in officially planned areas and 14 (14%) in unofficially planned areas as shown in the table.

Table 25) Comparison of final sample with typologies in Overall Project Area

Summarising in Table 26, unplanned areas in both the Maputo peri-urban area and Project Area are around 60%, and as such under-represented in the survey sample (40% approx). As a result, the findings of the study need to be seen as applicable to a much wider urban proportion. Conversely, the findings for planned areas are over-represented - with unofficially planned areas the most over-represented120, followed by officially planned and reordered areas. The findings for these areas thus need to be seen as less applicable in general across the city.

Table 26) Summary of representative nature of final sample

The above levels of representativeness need to be taken into consideration in overall findings, as the survey will under-represent the dominant unplanned nature of land access and land rights, in favour of mainly officially planned areas, but also unofficially planned and reordered areas. In this respect it is important to stress yet again that the sampling process is a structured sample and close representativeness is not per se an aim. However, this will be taken into consideration when findings are extrapolated to the wider study area and – more importantly - the whole city area.

119 In the course of the project extensive investigation of what was officially and unofficially planned was undertaken (with considerable difficulty due to poor government records) and some areas previously considered officially planned were re-classified as unofficially planned. This assists the representative nature of the sample as these areas are more prominent than previously considered in the wider city 'universe'.

120 This is particularly high in proportional terms as: a) the areas involved are smaller overall and hence more easily exaggerated; and b) the inclusion of a large unofficially planned area in Marracuene District.
4.4. The ethnographic case selection

One of the key objectives of embedding the ethnographic work within the study was to provide more detailed qualitative information on socio-cultural values concerning house and home / built and natural spaces. It was also intended to retain a certain representative link with the wider study at city, national and international level. It was acknowledged that this would mean both widening the number of ethnographic case studies from a more typical method, and also selecting them in line with a stratified sample – within the already stratified samples of the 100 cases targeted in the Physical and Socio-Economic Survey. Given the resources available (mainly researchers’ time), it was considered possible to include a target of up to 18 households for ethnographic work – accepting a minimum of one week equivalent engagement by a trained ethnographer with each household (spread over a period of six weeks fieldwork).121

Selection of longitudinal cases - ethnographic sites

Key to the selection of ethnographic sites was the unique opportunity to also embed the longitudinal aspect of the project in this aspect of the study– and thus the need to select an appropriately proportional number of ethnographic cases from the 1990 and 2000 survey cases, distinct from completely new surveys. It was decided to choose nine ‘longitudinals’ from the total targeted 18 ethnographic case studies – i.e. 50% - as this was also the proportional balance of 50 existing and new case study sites for the physical / socio-economic surveys. This longitudinal aspect inevitably introduced temporal issues as the most important criterion for case study target selection. In this it was recognised that in various 1990 and 2000 survey cases, the original residents had moved on and so a balance also had to be struck concerning these. This led to the conclusion that, out of nine possible ethnographic cases from the 45 longitudinal physical / socio-economic surveys, these would be distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>target</th>
<th>previous residents</th>
<th>target</th>
<th>total residents</th>
<th>target</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 survey</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: Projected ethnographic sample in relation to key criteria

Potential additional criteria for selection included geographical distribution across the study area122 and the following:

- Concerning physical issues – including the nature of physical change (categorised as limited change; medium; significant); developing house typology (categorised as part permanent, fragmented, part permanent consolidated, permanent isolated, permanent extended); level of plot development (categorised as minimal i.e. no or only part enclosure and limited land use; medium i.e. reasonable enclosure and land use; high i.e. full enclosure and land use); land planning typology (categorised as planned official, reordered unofficial, unplanned); and land access mechanism (categorised as allocated officially, allocated unofficially, bought, ceded);
- Socio-economic issues – including current family structure and change and current economic status and change;
- Cultural issues – including religion; marriage type (categorised as partial ‘lobolo’, total ‘lobolo’, ‘apresentacao’; ‘uniao de facto’123; and none); and place of origin.

However, as the total possible number of ‘longitudinal’ ethnographic surveys is small (9), the ‘sampling’ approach was firstly to select suitable case studies for the primary criterion and then check the selection against the secondary criteria, rather than undertake a detailed weighting for all 45 potential cases.

For the 1990 survey, the 2 cases with original occupants selected were:

1. Case 40 (1990 IV) Mahotas, planned officially
2. Case 43 (1990 XI) Mahotas, planned officially
3. For the 1990 survey, the 3 cases with new occupants selected were:
   4. Case 30 (1990 II) 3 de Fevreiro, planned officially
   5. Case 32 (1990 XV) 3 de Fevreiro, planned officially
   6. Case 22 (1990 V) 3 de Fevreiro, planned officially
   7. For the 2000 survey, the 3 cases with original occupants selected were:
   8. Case 6 (2000 2) Poliana Canico, reordenamento

122 The 45 physical and socio-economic survey sites identified from the 1990 and 2000 surveys were spread throughout the study area in 3 general locations as follows:
   - South - 11 sites: all in Polana canico A, of these 6 were upgraded and 5 unplanned – mostly within walking distance
   - Centre - 23 sites: Ferroviario (3), Laulane (1) and 3 de Fevreiro (19) Of these 1 (Ferroviario) is planned unofficially, all the others officially - the 3 de Fevreiro sites being within walking distance
   - North – 11 sites: all in Mahotas and planned officially – and in walking distance

123 ‘Lobolo’ is ‘brideprice’, ‘apresentacao’ is similar to fiancé, ‘uniao de facto’ is ‘common law marriage’, ‘casamento civil’ is a civil marriage ceremony.
11. For the 2000 survey, the 1 case with original occupants selected was:

Representative nature of longitudinal ethnographic cases

Concerning the nature of physical change, of the 9 suggested, 2 have limited change, 3 are medium and 4 have significantly changed. Concerning the emerging house typology, of the 9 suggested, 4 are part permanent houses in different states, 3 are permanent houses and 2 permanent extended houses. Concerning plot development, the selection includes 3 minimal, 3 medium and 3 highly developed plots. Concerning land typology 2 are unplanned, 2 reordenamento and 5 planned official. Concerning land access mechanisms, 3 were long-term residents, 1 was ceded within a family, 1 was allocated unofficially and 4 bought plots.

Concerning current family structure and change, the selection includes 1 single parent nuclear family, 3 larger nuclear families with some extensions (and changes to these) and 4 extended families ranging from small to very large. The changes in structure seem in line with general changes. Concerning current economic status and change, in the selection the household economic status varies from very poor (1), poor (2), medium 3, strong (1) and very strong (2). In line with the general; survey there are few major changes to previous households’ economic status.

Concerning cultural issues: 5 different religions were represented: 3 Zion, 2 Assembleia de Deus, 1 Velhos Apostolos, 1 Doze Apostolos, 2 Catholic. Concerning the range of marriage types were present: 6 lobolo: including 2 lobolo total, 1 only for 1st wife (none for 2nd), 1 now widower; 1 religious & civil ceremony; 1 ‘apresentacao’; 1 ‘uniao de facto’; and 1 none. Concerning places of origin: 1 couple were both Inhambane; 2 couples were from Inhambane (male)/Maputo (female); 4 respondents were from Gaza; and 2 originally from Maputo (Mahotas).

Selection of new cases - ethnographic sites

The identification criteria for the 9 new cases for ethnographic study was based on the above criteria that were taken into account when making the ethnographic sample for the identification of the 9 longitudinal cases. To ensure an adequate balance of equal numbers between longitudinal and new cases in the ethnographic study, it was also decided to include an additional case should any unforeseen situation occur obliging the team to drop a case, and hence the target was amended to identify 10 new cases. In the event all 10 new cases proved to be valid, and the families collaborative, and therefore the study ended up with one more new ethnographic case study, however not all participation was at the same level as could be expected.

As the research aims to reflect to the extent possible the development in the entire geographical area of the study, the remaining 9 cases were selected in areas that are not covered by the longitudinal cases studies, and in particular in the Northern part of the geographical area under study. The Bairros chosen for targeting ethnographic survey sites were as follows: Mahotas, Mavalane B (2cases), Hulene B, Magoanine B Albasine (2 cases), Guáva (2 cases) and Jafar.

Representative nature of new ethnographic cases

With the exception of issues related to change over time, the selection criteria were the same as used in the selection of the previous nine longitudinal cases. The major concern, besides providing detailed qualitative information on socio-cultural values, was to have a representative link between the new 10 ethnographic cases and the 50 new cases studied in the same areas in the physical and socio-economic survey. To this end, using the same set of criteria, the new 10 ethnographic cases have the following characteristics:

Physical issues

- **Land typology:** 9 cases were located in unplanned areas and 1 case in an unofficially planned area. This is related to the fact that the majority of the cases identified as unplanned are to be found in these Bairros in the northern part of the area under study. Concerning the remaining three planning categories, only one category, namely planned unofficially, is being represented in the new 10 cases. Planned official and reordered unofficial areas are not represented among the 10 new cases for reasons not being relevant in this part of the study area.

- **House typology:** All structures are built in permanent materials representing the physical state of the vast majority of the houses in the entire study area as proved in the physical survey. However, the finish (e.g. plastered vs not plastered) and the state of maintenance in general differs enormously. This reflects the level of economic strength and hence a good representation across the 5 defined economic categories where 22% are very poor, 23% are poor, 32% are character-
ized as belonging to a medium level economic group, 15% to the
economically stronger segments, and finally 5% being economically
strong. The economic status, in the 10 selected cases varies from
very poor (1), poor (4), medium (2), strong (2) and very strong (1).

- **Land access mechanisms:** The majority of the plots were bought
(8), while one was a long term resident, and finally one plot was al-
located by the local authorities. As a matter of principle, no plots in
these unplanned bairros are allocated by the authorities judged for-
merly as the local authority never had the mandate to administer land.
However, this praxis is widespread, and many residents are only in
the possession of documents on their land issued by the local admin-
istrative representative.

The single case representing a long term resident is reflected in the socio-
economic survey where 7% were identified as long term residents. The
fact that the majority bought their plot is also representative of the same
survey where 55% of the residents bought their plots; the category de-
efined as allocated by authorities is represented with one case only reflect-
ing in general that the authorities have no mandate to allocate plots.

Concerning family structure, the selection includes 1 single parent family,
1 single parent family with some extensions, 2 extended families with 5
and 6 members, and 3 nuclear families with some extensions. This sam-
ple is considered relative representative in relation to the socio-economic
survey where the percentages of family types are: nuclear family (34,4
%), nuclear family with some extensions (20,8 %) and extended family
(30,2 %). A few cases are polygamous families (3,1 %) and single mother
families (6,2 %) and single father families (2,1 %).

Concerning cultural issues, 4 different churches were represented: 2
Zion, 2 Catholic, 2 Velhos Apóstolos, 1 Assembleia de Deus, other 2 re-
spondents belong to non-identify churches, one goes to church and is a
curandeira, and only one said he didn’t belong to any church.

Concerning the range of civil state and marriage types represented: 2
lobolo total, 2 ‘união de facto’, 1 lobolo, civil and religious ceremony, 1
‘união de facto’ in a polygamous family and 4 widows. This corresponds
the socio-economic survey where 25% had a lobolo ceremony and 17%
had a variety of combined lobolo + civil + religious ceremony, 4% with
‘apresentação’ and 10% ‘união de facto’

Place of origin: 2 respondents were from Maputo; 2 from Gaza; 1 from
Inhambane; 2 couples from Maputo city (male) and Maputo Province (fe-

As such, the proposed sample provides a good representa-
tion of different physical issues; of the possible variations in
socio-economic issue; and of cultural issues across previous
cases, as well as new cases.
5. Learning from Maputo

Overall, therefore, the Context Report permits a clear understanding of the context for the closely examined forms of rationales for actual and aspirational urban development (whether state or individual household) in Maputo – at the micro-level in terms of the sample mechanisms for fieldwork; at meso-level in terms of the general study area and its representative nature vis-à-vis Maputo City and the Greater Maputo conurbation; and at macro-level in terms of Maputo’s role and nature in Mozambique’s wider urban system as well as how this compares with other Sub-Saharan African countries. As emphasised at the start of this summary, no two cities are exactly the same but a close examination of context can assist highlight the areas where similarities and differences occur and hence how rigorously controlled detailed social and physical examination can be the basis for extrapolation of findings to more general conclusions. In this way this research programme is quite unique and seeks to challenge various assumptions concerning urban development in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as robustly confirm other understandings through rigorous scientific method. In so doing it stresses the importance of actions of the urban resident majority in relation to the state – and equally the importance for the government as well as other urban actors to understand and work with both actual capacities as well as ideals of urban citizens. After nearly forty years working in Sub-Saharan Africa, the author firmly believes that policy and praxis grounded in critically examined and deeply understood socio-cultural values is the key to successful urban growth, no more so in the enormous challenges of rapid urbanisation and physical urban development in a context of widespread poverty, such as is the case for this world region.
### ENDNOTES

1. Maputo North land sub-divisions (Table 28)

2. Polana Canico B actually extends outside the area of study and most of the 22% population growth has taken place in the unplanned areas on the coastal plain in the area not included. For statistical purposes it is impossible to disaggregate the data but for analytical purposes some general comments such as this are possible.

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<th>Change %</th>
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<th>New FPG</th>
<th>DC</th>
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### iii. Census data 1980, 1997 on population and housing and degree of change (prepared by author from INE data) – Table 29.
### Table 30: Residential land uses in Maputo City and comparison with the study area

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**Note:** *area do bairro dentro da area do projecto*

### Study Area

v. 2000 survey map. Each of the 15 ‘zones’ numbered had 3 randomly selected cases in near proximity.
vi. 1990 survey case study – example

vii. 2000 survey case study – example
VIII. 2000 survey locations included the following basis (zones 1-12 inclusive are included in the Home Space study area):

POLANA CANIÇO A with a relatively long (25+ years) history of formal and informal land access and management; local government pressure to change the nature of land use and rehabilitate major infrastructure; high private sector interest in investment due to the advantageous position vis-à-vis the “cement city” and general high amenity of the area; and on-going community development activity.

- Sub-zone 1: Part of the area re-ordered in the 1977-79 “Maxaquene” upgrading project, including relocation of residents from the neighbouring bairro as overspill area
- Sub-zone 2: An original land reserve north of the university occupied informally near the time of the development of the 150 houses for relocation in the World Bank funded Urban Rehabilitation Project and the new high-income residential area created soon after by the city council called “Sommerschield II”
- Sub-zone 3: Part of the area re-ordered in the 1977-79 “Maxaquene” upgrading project, including relocation of residents from the neighbouring bairro as overspill, and now severely affected by the very large nearby erosion valleys.
- Sub-zone 4: An original land reserve along the escarpment for ecological reasons (and planted with eucalyptus trees in 1990), subsequently occupied informally during the late 1980’s ostensibly for war refugees. However despite various removals from the area in the early 1990’s it is still partially occupied.
- Sub-zone 5: A similar original land reserve along the escarpment for ecological reasons (no planting however) subsequently occupied informally during the late 1980’s ostensibly for war refugees.

Part of the rationale for inclusion in the investigation was due to these overlapping interests, but also as a possible test case for land regularisation based on the new Land Law. A key issue investigated here was to what extent do the current residents perceive the pressures on their land and how is this affecting the formal and/or informal land markets in these areas.

LAULANE/MAHOTAS with a medium term (10+ years) history of initially formal land access, which with weak management has probably led to housing land entered the emerging land markets; apparently limited local government capacity and/or interest for formal land management; rap-
idly increasing individual investment in housing possibly representing the growth of a new group of occupants.

- Sub-zone 6: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council in 1983/4 as a "sites & services" area, although part has been occupied informally since (military encampment, which was removed).
- Sub-zone 7: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council in 1984/5 as a "sites & services" area, although part is planned open space subsequently occupied informally.
- Sub-zones 8: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council in 1984/5 as a "sites & services" area, and benefiting from upgrading of infrastructure in the World Bank financed Urban Rehabilitation Project (1989-95).
- Sub-zone 9: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council as a "sites & services" area in 1990, as an integral part of the World Bank financed Urban Rehabilitation Project, where self-help housing credit was planned.
- Sub-zone 10: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council as a "sites & services" area in 1990/1, as an integral part of the World Bank financed Urban Rehabilitation Project.

A key issue to investigate was to what extent is the lack of formal land management promoting the informal and/or formal land markets in such an area? How could proposed urban land use regulations assist the current situation?

MAGOANINE/ZIMPETO with a recent (<5 years) history of competing formal and informal land supply, with an apparently high level of penetration of the informal market in the formal processes; an incipient formal market in houses in the area which may lead to formalisation.

- Sub-zone 11: Part of an area occupied informally in the early 1980’s despite being advised by the city council that it was in the flight path of the main airport landing strip.
- Sub-zone 12: Part of an area occupied formally in the late 1990’s, with formal house construction as compensation, as a relocation destination for people in the line of the new Maputo-Witbank toll road. Part is also occupied informally nearby and in the early 1990’s when the city council tried to expand the sites and services areas in Mahotas.
- Sub-zone 13: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council in 1981/2 as an expansion zone. Partly also subsequently occupied informally during the war.

- Sub-zone 14: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council in the late 1990’s as an urban expansion zone, mainly for relocations from areas such as Polana Canicó. Part is also informally occupied during the same period.
- Sub-zone 15: Part of the area formally laid out by the city council in 2000 as an emergency relocation area for flood victims (urban expansion zone).

A key issue to investigate was to what extent is the formal land supply process promoting and being subverted by the informal and/or formal land markets? Again, how could proposed urban land use regulations assist the current situation?
### Glossary of key terms

The glossary defines/describes terms used in the research and has been an important part of the inter-disciplinarity of the research process. Key terms draw on physical (architecture/planning/housing), and social (sociology/anthropology) discourses – and their use has often generated discussion within the research team. The outcome of these discussions is embedded within the glossary. Other terms simply explain local words.

In most cases the English and Portuguese terms are given (the latter in italics). The approximately 60 terms are organised alphabetically but sometimes by English and sometimes Portuguese versions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERMS/CONCEPTS</th>
<th>Definition / description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bairro / neighbourhood</strong></td>
<td>Casa precária is translated into English as 'neighbourhood'. Bairro (Portuguese) is used to describe the urban areas which are 'in between' the central city (see also 'Cidade Bairro' below) - and the rural, which itself is a socially constructed term with many variations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bairro organizado / organised neighbourhood</strong></td>
<td>This is a term used by respondents in the ethnographic survey to indicate a desirable neighbourhood in terms of space, plot size, road access and plot demarcation (usual rectangular). It may not or should not be planned officially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bancas / stalls</strong></td>
<td>Small stalls - often temporary - from which people sell products, often in markets, or along streets and roads, also outside of houses. Usually considered 'informal' commerce as it is generally not regulated - although a number of 'informal' markets are taxed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bancas / kiosks</strong></td>
<td>These are small scale commerce service buildings (normally built with cement blocks) - often built into the external walls of plots or houses with a opening to the road / street where sales take place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basic employment</strong></td>
<td>This was a term used in 1990 and 2000 studies to which this study refers, to indicate non-salaried, low skilled labour - often paid by 'piece-work' or the period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Casa permanente (durável) / durable house construction</strong></td>
<td>This is a term widely used in Mozambique to distinguish from house wall construction in materials such as wattle and daub ('pau e pique'), reused iron ('madeira e zincl'), all associated with either rural homesteads or urban areas where Mozambicans were not permitted to build with more durable materials in the colonial period. Most durable house construction is with sand cement block walls nowadays, although extruded clay brick is used for more expensive construction also.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Casa precária / non-permanent house construction</strong></td>
<td>The opposite of durable construction (see above) - often built with a variety of materials now that reeds (canico) are seldom used.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Casa própria / 'owned house'
This term was used by respondents to distinguish from house-plots which did not belong to the household / family and generally were rented (although could also have been ceded temporarily).

### Changana / Shangaan
Shangaan is an ethnic and linguistic identity which people in Southern Mozambique use mainly for those who originate in Gaza province. Other Southern Mozambique ethnic and linguistic identities include Ronga and Matwa. Jurend's early anthropological work with these peoples tended to put them together in an ethnic identity termed 'Bonga', but this is not used in Mozambique. The word Shangaan came from one of invading ngoni leaders in the early 19th century whose had the name Sochanga - also known as Manukuse. The Ronga speakers distinguish themselves in Maputo city from Changana speakers, although the languages are closely related and are mixed in popular usage.

### Côrdo de cimento / 'Cement City'
The 'Cement City' (which makes up Distric 1 of Maputo) refers to the central urban development in the colonial era with permanent buildings, including high-rise, and was its relatively well provided with infrastructure and with a high concentration of social equipment and administrative work places. The name has historical connections due to the fact that indigenous Mozambicans were not permitted ownership of land or housing for many years in the 'cement city' area and thus resorted to non-durable construction in the peri-urban zone around this (see above), much of which was rented.

### Conventional building material / material convencional
This generally refers to cement block construction and is a category used in surveys in Mozambique for some time (including the national censuses) - see also durable house construction above.

### Curandeiro / Traditional healer
This refers to traditional healers whether focusing on herbal or psychological methods (e.g. divination).

### Dependencia / annex
Many houses in the peri-urban areas have separate annexes - i.e. secondary house - on the plot, sometimes quite complete. The most common model for these has been an annex at the back of the plot, with at least one wall aligned with the boundary, and modelled essentially on servants' quarters from the colonial time. Previously such annexes were often built first while plotholders developed the rest of the plot, the main house (see below) perhaps never being realised. This study shows changes in this practice.

### Dependentes / dependents
Household members who depend exclusively on others for their main subsistence, e.g. children, some youths and old people.

### Desenrascar
This is an urban slang term in Mozambique perhaps best translated into English as 'getting by' through innovative survival mechanisms.

### DUAT
The Mozambican land title document - a usufruct title as land is nationalised in Mozambique. It stands for Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra - Right to Use and Benefit from Land. As documented in the reports it is very difficult to get as the bureaucracy is cumbersome and inefficient although there are now titling programmes with international assistance which aim to change this situation.

### Economic assets / recursos economicos
This refers to any form of monetary income (including debt and savings,) or other incoming resources to a household (including agricultural or other production), which can be transferred into monetary assets for wider use. It is a key variable in qualitative assessment of poverty as a dynamic state. It is one of the 5 assets used in qualitative analysis in the 2000 survey on emerging urban residential land markets - see other forms of assets below.

### Human assets / recursos humanos
This refers to any form of labour and labour development which can provide income and thus develop other assets for a household. It is a key variable in qualitative assessment of poverty as a dynamic state - see other forms of assets referred to above and below. It includes an assessment of the potential labour force (of official working age), dependents, schooling levels, types of job and skills of labour in a household. It is one of the 5 assets used in qualitative analysis in the 2000 survey on emerging urban residential land markets.

### Informality
This essentially refers to the condition/situation when activities and their output are not regulated by government (and therefore also not counted or measured) - which is the key distinction with the 'formal'. While generally used as a binary term and assumed to be fully descriptive, in fact formal often has elements of informal within it. While the researchers are critical of the term as it often is used in a negative sense (in that it is assumed that the 'informal' is improper in some sense and needs to be 'formalised'), the term is used in this study to refer to the dominant understanding of where an activity / output is seen to be situated on a continuum between the poles of 'formal' and 'informal'. For instance, when applied to areas of the central city, especially vis-a-vis land rights, these can be termed 'formal' areas.

### Informantes / respondents
Household members who took part in surveys providing information.

### Legal assets / recursos jurídicos
This refers to any legal rights, such as residence / land rights etc, and also includes less formal but important social versions of these - such as links to government through bairro secretaries, as well as right to vote - in general what is the understanding of citizenship. It is one of the 5 assets used in qualitative analysis in the 2000 survey on emerging urban residential land markets.

### Lobolo / bride price
Bride price represents a 'traditional' institution of marriage which involves a series of ceremonies centred on payments which can take place over time, but which take on wider social and cultural significance due to their importance as integral part of reciprocity in socio-economic relations and related solidarity networks.

### Machamba
An agricultural area - whether large or small, 'formal' or 'informal'. In the South of Mozambique these are generally spread between two main areas - dryland agricultural areas which rely on seasonal rains (and often are on higher and less fertile soils) and areas with high water table which permits some form of irrigation and thus permanent agricultural use - and which generally have more fertile soils. In urban areas the dryland areas are often converted into housing, whereas the 'green zones' or permanent agricultural areas are strongly protected by the occupiers.

### Main house / casa principal
In the study this refers to the principal house construction on a plot / case study - compared to other constructions (as many plots have a variety of house constructions and sub-houses). The most important distinguishing feature between the main house and others is the location on the plot. Often the other house(s)will be a type of annex - see dependencia.

### Mukhera
This local term refers to the process of buying products in neighbouring South Africa or Swaziland and re-selling in the south of Mozambique - a well established economic activity. Someone who does this is called a Mukhera. Such activities are normally operating in the gray zone between the formal and informal.

### Nuclear household / agregado familiar nuclear
This refers to a household with no members beyond the direct parents/children relationship - whether there are dependents or not. This is often an assumption of the 'model' family in development terms - modelled on European family structure (which is itself changing) - although not necessarily by wider society.
The study used this is a land use category based on the predominant concept of planning in Mozambique as being that which is led by the state and through this process is ‘official’ and should be registered in the official land cadastre of the municipality (or the equivalent in the neighbouring Province). On this basis, according to the planning legislation, a formal land title can be provided (see DUAT). However various areas officially planned in the past have not led to titling under the new land law and regulations and are to be subject to a ‘regularisation’ process.

This refers to a household with a few members beyond the direct parents/children relationship - usually dependents who generally are related vertically or horizontally. It is seen as distinct from an extended household (see above) which is made up of various family relations with their own ‘nuclear households’.

The term refers to the deliberative act of deciding on future land uses, and to guiding actual decisions on such uses. It thus embeds forms of future ‘visions’ for the resources as well as on-going decision-making. Since the beginning of the 20th century it has evolved as a distinctive professional category which operates at a range of scales from local neighbourhoods (e.g. sub-division planning), city area (area-specific masterplans, local plans, city structure plans) to regional plans. The objective of such planning is to structure future decision-making based on agreed values of those in a participating decision-making group. How this is implemented in practice across countries etc is widely varied however. The study uses this term for Mozambique to refer to any activity that have clear physical implications of spatial order that may be observed on the ground (e.g. geometric repeated forms). This planning may be executed by local people, topographers or planners and may not have a ‘plan’ as a prior ‘design’, the process itself being simple pacing or with sophisticated survey instruments. The research thus acknowledges any form of planning having specific visible implications in the field.

This term refers to a married couple resides with or near the husband’s parents.

This refers to a household with a few members beyond the direct parents/children relationship - usually dependents who generally are related vertically or horizontally. It is seen as distinct from an extended household (see above) which is made up of various family relations with their own ‘nuclear households’.

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This refers to the external areas of a housing plot.

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This refers to households in which the husband is not the main family breadwinner. These households are usually headed by a woman and may have a male spouse, who is usually a wage earner.

This refers to a household with a few members beyond the direct parents/children relationship - usually dependents who generally are related vertically or horizontally. It is seen as distinct from an extended household (see above) which is made up of various family relations with their own ‘nuclear households’.

This refers to any physical investments, such constructions and infrastructure, and retain activities and space use usually associated with ‘rural’ areas. While the term was always used originally from the concept of a periphery (as opposed to a centre) it is a widely pervasive urban form, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Such areas are usually, but not always, quite dynamic. They are, however, distinguished conceptually from ‘suburban’ areas - at least in this research - as the latter are seen as non-centric areas with fully consolidated housing, infrastructure and services.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs / suburbios</td>
<td>Maputo has high density areas in both the fully developed centre (&quot;Cidade de Cimento&quot; - see above) and the surrounding informal areas historically termed &quot;suburbios&quot; in Portuguese. In Portuguese this term generally refers to incomplete urban areas, in English usually termed 'peri-urban' areas. In Maputo, these compose most of existing Urban Districts 2 and 3. The peri-urban area has expanded far beyond these areas in time and the term has a predominantly historical as well as social and cultural significance. The English term is used, however, for completely developed urban areas at relatively low density and with individual houses (usually semi-detached and detached) - and hence the terminological distinction used in the study texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiało / plot</td>
<td>This refers to the plot of land occupied by a household (whether formal or informal) but also is used to refer to the external space around the house constructions - see also quintal / yard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchova</td>
<td>The local name for a hand cart - the cheapest way to transport goods in Maputo (from the verb to push in local language).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary caretaker houses / casa do guarda</td>
<td>Various plots may have a temporary house for a guard - or a caretaker living in an unoccupied (and often unfinished) house - while awaiting development or during construction. This is usually built of non-durable materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra de origem / homeland</td>
<td>This is generally the area referred to by people as to where they or their ancestors were born (and usually were buried) and has strong social and cultural significance for identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troca / bargain</td>
<td>This refers to the process of bargaining or its product (a bargain) - closely associated with the activity of 'desenrascar' / survival (see above) - and while originally could have been a non-monetary transaction is increasingly at least partly monetary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unofficially planned / planificado nao-official</td>
<td>In contrast to 'official planning' (see above unofficial planning) is where some form of ordered land sub-division has been implemented without necessarily any professional plan, and without any state sanction, representing a private and/or community initiative. Thus, while a clear physical order exists on the ground, no official planning by the city authorities has taken place and there is no recognised reference at the city council of the plan. This phenomenon is based on 2 main reasons: a) the limitation of state activity in sub-division and b) the aspiration by many for an 'ordered' urban environment (see ethnographic survey). It also seems to be related to a sense by local residents that such ordered areas are more likely to provide tenure security, although this remains to be seen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unplanned area / area nao-planificada</td>
<td>This is a widely used land use category also called 'informally' or 'spontaneously' occupied, 'squatted' etc. As defined for the study - which accepts the predominant concept of planning in Mozambique as being that which is led by the state and thus official - any area without any form of official or unofficial planning or re-ordering (see other definitions above) is considered unplanned - although it may have had community and social decision-making on land use development. The concept is closely associated with spatial 'order' - which tends to be perceived in rectilinear form. Such 'unplanned' areas may in fact have state involvement of various forms in their establishment but they are neither officially or unofficially planned or re-ordered (through some form of physical planning process). In principle, with the publication of the Planning Law and associated Urban Land Regulations, no land title can be allocated in such areas until this is 'planned' or 'regularized' through a plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban periphery / periferia</td>
<td>This is used in the study to refer to the areas furthest from the city centre which are now undergoing transformation of land uses from predominantly rural typologies to urban typologies - also called the 'urbanisation frontline'. See also peri-urban.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Urban / urbano**

- In this study, urban refers to areas having: a) a relative high degree of population density (c 40 inhabitants/ha); b) predominant involvement in the monetary economy; and c) social relationships no longer relying only on family and kinship. What is urban includes the urban core (the 'cement city') and the urban areas often referred to as 'os bairros' - all with an urban density (as defined above) and all serviced with some infrastructure.

**Urbanisation / urbanização**

Urbanisation in global terms refers to the process of increasing proportions of population in urban as opposed to non-urban (usually seen as rural) areas. However in Portuguese 'urbanização' can also refer to the physical urban development process of planning, land sub-division and urban infrastructure provision.

**Xitique**

The local term in Maputo for a rotating savings association.
Extended household / agregado extendido
This refers to a household with members beyond the direct parents/children relationships - i.e. extended horizontally. The study also used a qualified version of this in relation to a nuclear family - see below.

Habitable room / divisão
As many people use rooms for various functions - over and above the function they may use to designate this - the definition used in the study is that of 'habitable room' to distinguish between rooms people use for general living (including sleeping) and those used predominantly (but not exclusively) for cooking and bathing/wc.

Home Space / Espaço do Lar
Home space is a concept developed for this study specifically to record the space within which peri-urban households dwell - including built and natural components of the environment of a case study 'site' - i.e. houses, annexes, trees, gardens etc. This reflects both the way people live inside and outside built spaces but on a 'plot', as well as wider notions of living space or 'home'.

The objective in defining this term was to find a unit of analysis which permitted study of the act of dwelling as well as the physical space of the dwelling - and extrapolate from this to wider forms of urban development. The vast majority of Sub-Saharan African cities are made up of multiples of such 'home-spaces'. In this way the study cuts across micro-level understanding of housing as a verb and as a noun and relates this to wider urban development.

Home / lar
Home reflects the embedded sense of belonging and personal / family / social identification to a certain space. It is often a positive concept but not always. Home can also be applied to other scales – home town, home region and home country. In this study, as explained under the definition of the concept 'Home Space', it is primarily used to mean where dwelling takes place at the local level and not the neighbourhood, city region etc. See also 'home land'.

House / habitação, residencia
This is the built form within which dwelling takes place - and in the Sub-Saharan African setting often includes various constructions as well as outdoor space, generally environmentally modified for living and associated activities (e.g. gardens, income generating activities etc). The study distinguishes between the house construction and the home space, which is the more inclusive term with outdoor space annexes etc.

Household / agregado familiar
The study considers primarily the main household residing on plot at time of investigation defined as that household resident which has the major right to use the space where they live as reported by interviewee. Hence the person with major right to the land may be absent and thus not belonging to the household – and as such not surveyed in detail. This also excludes subordinate households even if resident – including those renting if there is another 'main household' (i.e. with more rights) resident. Composition of household: Members eating from the same pot. A household may be female headed or male headed. This is because we are interested mainly in the way space is used by those who control and manage it on a day-to-day basis. We are, however, also interested in how families (and not necessarily just households) invest – and this requires some understanding of who has different rights to the land.

Housing consolidation / consolidacao habitacional
This refers to the process of physical improvement of the house structures and other modifications of the environment on the case study site / plot over time.