Introduction
Cities of Entanglements

Imagine yourself walking along a narrow sandy path in a neighbourhood of Maputo. Your walk takes you past unplastered brick houses surrounded by yards in which women grind corn and look after children. Thorn bushes, sheets of corrugated iron and walls of crumbling brick demarcate the boundaries of the home spaces, providing both privacy and protection. Children play in the sand and women sell fruit on little stalls (*bancas*). Suddenly, you are confronted with a concrete wall made of unplastered cement bricks and about two metres high. Barbed wire tells you that you should not try to trespass. Across the wall you can see the roofs of colourful villas. If there were no wall, you would see a few security guards and domestic workers sitting in the shade of a tree besides an otherwise deserted street. You might see a resident backing out of a driveway in her luxury SUV (sports utility vehicle). Hidden from sight, you can only imagine the ostentatious mansions with their carefully maintained gardens and swimming pools behind the electrified fences (see the photographs at the end of this chapter).

This particular wall is situated in the northern part of Maputo, and separates an area known as Polana Caniço from another area colloquially referred to as Sommerschield II. The anthropologist Fernando Tivane, a research assistant on this project, showed me this wall at the beginning of my fieldwork in Maputo in 2010. For him, as for many other urban dwellers in Maputo, this and similar walls symbolise the stark urban inequalities and the wish of powerful urban groups not to have to see poverty and thus withdraw themselves from it. Such walls are encountered in many cities across the world, especially in the Global South. In societies with a colonial past and continuing inequality under neoliberal capitalism, walls are often built by those with more power to protect themselves and exclude less powerful groups whom they construct as urban 'others' (Spivak 1985).

Walls are an omnipresent spatial form used across cities and villages to shape the relations of proximity and distance between those who are inside and those who should remain outside. Besides being about materiality, by physically preventing people from crossing the threshold thus created walls are also about the imaginations of urban dwellers about how people in the city live or should live together – or rather apart. By building walls urban dwellers aim to shape the social worlds they live in. Building walls enables them to construct – spatially and in their imagination – urban lifeworlds which seem disconnected from the surrounding city. For many urban elites in African cities and elsewhere, such apparent enclaves – elite neighbourhoods seemingly dis-

connected from their surroundings – promise the illusion of residential spaces under control and emptied of the 'other', like the urban poor, the criminal, the 'racial' or the national other.[1] Sometimes this involves the desire to build road closures (see chapter 5), or resistance to public housing for the poor in their neighbourhood (see chapter 4).

Walls are not only a structuring device for urban societies but also become their symbol. As symbols, walls send a clear message about the relationship between those inside and those outside, for example that the wealthier possess the power to insulate themselves from the necessity of sharing and interacting with the poorer (Marcuse 1997b: 109). Walls thus "suggest a particular set of relationships between those on the opposite sides of the boundary: Separation, distance, fear, tension, hostility, inequality, and alienation" (ibid: 103). The contradiction between building walls and the ethics of living together can lead to moral outrage and popular uprising (see chapter 5).

In writing about cities shaped by inequality such as Johannesburg and Maputo, walls have come to symbolise the vexed conviviality of urban elites and less affluent groups. In her seminal work on São Paulo, Caldeira (2000) argues that in what she calls *cities of walls*, differences become organised through the building of walls, separation and the policing of boundaries. She defines *cities of walls* as "cities of fixed boundaries and spaces of restricted and controlled access" (ibid: 304), and as cities where the "experiences of separateness" become dominant (ibid: 355). Murray adapts the framework, *cities of walls*, to Johannesburg and argues, based on a reading of the existing literature, that "spatial strategies of separation, segregation, and isolation operate by marking boundaries and registering differences, imposing partitions and distances, building barriers, multiplying rules of exclusion, designing spaces of avoidance" (Murray 2004: 150). Johannesburg emerges in this narrative as consisting of "disconnected 'micro-worlds' cut off from one another" (ibid: 142).

While the framework, *cities of walls*, can assist us in grasping certain aspects of the way spaces are organised in unequal cities, this book will argue that it constitutes only a partial lens which omits many aspects of urbanity in these cities. This is not least because the focus on walls and the dividing power of segregation reflect the perspectives of urban elites while largely ignoring the perspectives of less affluent urban dwellers. Now imagine yourself a domestic worker. You wake up in the morning in Polana Caniço, and every day you walk to Sommerschield II where you are let into one of the colourful mansions – let's take the pink one – by your employer, a property owner. You carry out your daily routine, cleaning the house, washing the dirty laundry and maybe looking after the children. During your lunch break you gossip with acquaintances

1 The fact that many texts about contemporary South Africa still use racial terminology often puzzles readers not familiar with the South African context. Yet South African society was and continues to be stratified along the troubling category of 'race'. Race is a social construct with meanings and assumptions that have changed over time and differ across context. In this book, when I write about race and use categories like 'black' or 'white', it is not because I believe in the biological relevance of these terms, but because, as social constructs and political categories, they shaped and continue to shape urban life in Johannesburg and to a lesser degree in Maputo as well. Whenever I refer in this book to the racial categories as introduced by the apartheid government or the Portuguese colonialists (as they were used in official discourses, official documents, laws or censuses), I capitalise them (White, Black, Native). When I use the terms uncapitalised (black, white), I refer to the racial and ethnic categories used in everyday life by the informants this book is based on. I use them as descriptive terms, just as the urban dwellers do. Because of capitalisation rules, 'Indian' is always capitalised.

who work in the neighbouring houses about family and neighbourhood life, as well as about how you are treated by your bosses, and you share intimate knowledge about their latest family intrigues. You buy food for your own family with the income you get from this job and you know that your employer trusts you and depends on you. The job is hard, sometimes demeaning and receives little recognition from your boss or your own family, yet it will help you to replace the hedge around your simple house in Polana Caniço with solid bricks one day.

The everyday lives of the family in the pink house and the domestic worker from Polana Caniço are deeply entangled with each other. They depend on each other and they interact with each other daily, even if the urban elites tend to pay little attention to this. Besides the daily encounters between domestic workers and their employers in the intimate space of the elite's home, urbanity in Maputo and Johannesburg is also characterised by fleeting interactions at shared shopping facilities, by shared experiences of praying together in church and mosque spaces, and by confrontations around increasingly scarce and contested urban land. Such relationships between people and between spaces, which are thought of and felt to be different from each other, I define as *entanglements*. Entanglements are, based on Nuttall, "a set of relations, some of them conscious but many of them unconscious, which occur between people who most of the time try to define themselves as different" (Nuttall 2009: 12). Such entanglements, based on the shared use of spaces and the interdependencies, exist both inside and outside the walls. They emerge often invisibly in spaces of everyday lives and go unnoticed, not least because their existence often contradicts hegemonic understandings of the city. As entanglements challenge the elites' desire for segregation, there are social processes at work which make them invisible. In this book, it is therefore often the less powerful urban dwellers who point out the existence of entanglements, while for urban elites, as well as academics, they often constitute *blind fields* (see chapter 8).

Colonialism and apartheid forced urban dwellers and scholars to think about cities like Johannesburg and Maputo in terms of abstract, homogenising and simplifying categories of difference like Black and White, European and Natives, *Cimento* and *Caniço*, suburb and township. Such colonial binaries, enforced with state power and inscribed in space through legislation, continue to be powerful in real terms. Despite all the changes that have taken place, these binaries still influence the way urban dwellers understand their worlds and scholars analyse cities. The binaries, however, also make us blind to what happens at the boundaries, the intersections, the sites of encounter, transgression and multiplication. By drawing our attention to separation and division instead of connection, these binaries cause us to neglect the sites and moments of entanglements where what is thought of as separate comes together, intersects and becomes altered by the other.

The main argument of this book is that entanglements are constitutive of cities. They are as constitutive of cities as walls. *Cities of Entanglements* presents a comparative urban ethnography of entangled everyday lives in two contemporary African cities which challenges existing approaches that analyse these sites through the lens of segregation. The ethnography roots itself in the way in which people constitute their quotidian lives in adjacent yet socially and spatially segregated neighbourhoods: urban dwellers living in the township of Alexandra and the suburb of Linbro Park in Johannesburg, and residents of the *bairro* Polana Caniço and the elite neighbourhood of Sommerschield II in Maputo. While acknowledging that the fast-changing cities

of Johannesburg and Maputo are shaped by colonial and postcolonial forms of segregation, the book examines the agency and practices of urban dwellers in not only inhabiting divisions, but also overcoming and reformulating them. Despite the many spatial and social boundaries separating the neighbourhoods, they are fundamentally entangled with each other through labour relations, struggles over urban land, and visions of the right way of living together, or rather living apart. In religious spaces, diverging social groups become integrated with each other through faith-based charity. Shopping malls emerge as important spaces of public life in these cities, where urban lives become entangled through chance encounters, competition and fantasies. By exploring such diverse spaces of encounter, the book produces a coherent account of the processes that constitute and transform these urban spaces. Entanglement therefore becomes a means to understand these cities in new ways, highlighting the tentative forming of relationships and linkages across imagined boundaries, even as elites seek to reinstate divisions. This book replaces the framework of *cities of walls* with the framework of *cities of entanglements* and develops a new narrative about social life in what have long been treated as *divided cities*. Adopting a comparative perspective, the book shows how urban entanglements are based on recurring forms of conviviality which take on distinct forms in both cities. Grounded in everyday life in African cities, the book becomes an exploration of how urbanity is changing in unequal cities in a way which resonates beyond the Southern African cases.

The Setting

As mentioned, this book explores sites of encounters where the lives of urban dwellers from two urban areas, comprising four unequal and adjacent neighbourhoods– Polana Caniço and Sommerschield II in Maputo, and Alexandra and Linbro Park in Johannesburg – become entangled. The locality and specificity of these neighbourhoods as well as the diversity of the residents living there stand at the centre of this ethnography, which is why they are briefly introduced here.

Alexandra and Linbro Park are situated in the north-east of Johannesburg, in what is today Region E of the City of Johannesburg. When these neighbourhoods emerged (1912 for Alexandra and the 1930s for Linbro Park), they constituted the outer fringe of the city. Suburbanisation and urban sprawl have drawn them into the midst of the so-called northern suburbs and they are now surrounded by desegregating neighbourhoods, highways and edge cities[2] with office complexes, malls and gated communities. Alexandra, with a surface area of approximately eight square kilometres and an estimated population size of 340,000 people (Alexandra Renewal Project 2005), experienced decades of unequal investment in public amenities during apartheid. As a result, infrastructure such as electricity, roads, sanitation and schools is still today insufficient in relation to the high population density. Bounded by the Marlboro industrial area to the north and west, London Road to the south, and the Jukskei River to the east, Alexandra is a complex, dynamic and sometimes violent place, with a history of state oppression and political resistance. Because of its size and history, it hosts a more

2 The notion of 'edge city' has been introduced by Garreau (1991) by which he means the decentralisation of shopping and service-sector work spaces which leads to new, decentralised urban centres.

multifaceted population than the other three neighbourhoods. Descendants of former property owners comprise an old and influential milieu in the township. Many tenant families and hostel dwellers have also been living there for decades. Yet, there is also a large shifting, highly mobile population, many of them with strong connections to their other homes in rural areas or other African countries.

Linbro Park is much smaller in size and population, with a surface area of five square kilometres and only about 1000 inhabitants (own estimation). At the time of the research, it consisted of around 200 large stands between one to two-and-a-half hectares in size, some used for business purposes, but mostly residential, as well as a couple of new warehouses. In the east, the suburb borders on empty veld belonging to Modderfontein where private investors are planning to build a new edge city. To the south, Linbro Park borders on new office parks, and to the west it could almost touch Alexandra were it not for the barrier formed by a landfill site and a national highway (N3).[3] Because most of the land is zoned as 'agricultural holdings' the area lacks infrastructure like public sewage and stormwater drainage, which is also why the municipality refers to it as a 'peri-urban' suburb (City of Johannesburg 2010: 5). The properties are largely owned by members of white milieus.[4] Many of them host tenants from racially and ethnically diverse lower and middle-income milieus. Linbro Park is also home to a large number of domestic workers, gardeners and handymen who live and work in Linbro Park.

In the local taxonomy, Alexandra is called either a 'location' or a 'township'. Both terms denote a residential area where during apartheid the non-White population was compelled to live.[5] The idea of 'township' gains its meaning from the relation to White residential areas, the 'suburbs', of which Linbro Park is considered to be one. In everyday language, 'suburb' denotes the formerly Whites-only areas with low residential densities, as well as newly built neighbourhoods. In the local taxonomies of places and people, the binary township–suburb is associated with oppositional stereotypes about their residents, lifestyles, housing types, densities, governance structures, crime levels and neighbour relations. While the notion of suburb in contemporary Johannesburg tends to be associated with free-standing houses and middle-class or affluent lifestyles, either predominantly white or increasingly mixed, townships continue to be associated with poverty, high density, crime and black milieus. Although Johannesburg has changed dramatically since the end of apartheid, and the types of neighbourhood have multiplied, this binary is still relevant for academic and everyday understandings of the city.

3 The suburb used to be larger: to the north, sections of the suburb were transformed into the Linbro Park Business Park and later some properties were expropriated for the construction of the Gautrain.

4 Milieus are groups of like-minded people who have similar values, similar ways of life and similar relationships to others (Hradil 1999: 420). See later in this introduction.

5 It should be noted that 'township' is also a legal term in South Africa with meanings deviating from the above described binary suburb–township. When agricultural land is meant to be subdivided into smaller stands, it needs to go through an administrative process through which it is legally proclaimed a 'township' (Mabin 2005b: 19). Many residential areas which the apartheid state created for the non-White population (referred to as 'townships' in everyday use) were legally not 'townships', but the land was government-owned, while most of the white suburbs were originally created through township proclamation (ibid: 19).

In Maputo, this book focuses on the neighbourhoods of Sommerschield II and Polana Caniço, which are located north of the inner-city neighbourhoods of Coop and Sommerschield, which adjoin the campus of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM). In official municipal documents, the two areas do not exist as separate neighbourhoods but both fall under Polana Caniço A, in district 3 of Maputo. Polana Caniço A is one of the biggest and most densely populated administratively defined neighbourhoods in the city, with a population of about 45,000 inhabitants (according to the neighbourhood secretary in 2010) and covering an area of 222 hectares (Malaulane 2005: 17, Araújo 2006: 7). Within Polana Caniço A, fieldwork took place mainly in Sommerschield II, in an area called Casas Brancas as well as an unplanned section of Polana Caniço which adjoins Sommerschield II.[6] The level of urban services in the unplanned section is very low, erosion and natural water drainage making the land challenging for permanent settlement. Polana Caniço may appear to outsiders as a homogenous place, yet the population is considerably diverse. There is a milieu of long-term residents who moved to Maputo at the time of the country's independence. Then there are milieus of war refugees from southern Mozambique (Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo province) who fled to Maputo in the 1980s (Costa 2007). A third group consists of Swahili Muslims from the northern provinces (mainly Zambézia) who also came to Maputo during the war or more recently. There is also a group of residents who used to live in the city centre until the early 1990s, and then could not afford to continue living there when housing was privatised. There are also fluctuating mobile groups of students, young couples and migrants on the move from the rural areas to the cities and to South Africa.

The adjacent elite neighbourhood of Sommerschield II consists of about 130 to 150 free-standing houses, laid out in an orderly fashion along planned streets. The neighbourhood takes the shape of a triangle, bordered by Julius Nyerere Avenue, the land reserves of the UEM, and the Rua Tenente General Fernando Matavele, behind which the unplanned sections of Polana Caniço have evolved. The layout was designed in such a way that there is only one street, the *Rua do Cravo*, which leads directly to the adjacent poorer areas of Polana Caniço; the rest of the boundary is constituted by walls. Many of the current homeowners and residents belong to Maputo's Frelimo elite who draw their power from the ruling party. A newer group comprises expatriates working for embassies, NGOs and transnational companies. They tend to rent their houses from local elites who no longer live there themselves. The third group of residents consists of wealthy members of the Indian merchant community of Maputo (mostly Mozambicans of Indian or Pakistani descent), the majority of them Muslims, while a minority are Christians from Goa. This group can again be subdivided into Indian milieus with a long-term presence in Mozambique and close relations to the Frelimo elite, and a

6 Maputo's neighbourhoods are characterised by different degrees of planning, which is why the municipality distinguishes between 'unplanned', 'planned' and 'unofficially planned' areas. Completely 'planned' areas mainly include the colonial city centre. The elite neighbourhood of Sommerschield II is an 'unofficially planned' area: a small-scale subdivision layout was established by municipal officials in the 1990s or early 2000s, yet it was never officially approved by the municipal assembly (Jenkins 2013: 184). 'Unplanned' areas, like sections of Polana Caniço, possess no plan known to the municipality. For a more general comment on such distinctions see the footnote on informality later in this chapter.

group of more recent arrivals who moved to the neighbourhood only recently, sometimes as tenants.

In the local taxonomy, Polana Caniço is referred to locally as a *bairro* or *subúrbio* adjoining the city centre. *Bairro* or *subúrbio* and *periurbano* or *periphería*, the last two expressions referring to emerging neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city, all evoke images of informality, low levels of urban infrastructure and economic hardship in Maputo.[7] These neighbourhoods comprise what during colonial times was called the City of Reeds (*Cidade de Caniço*), the 'informal' slums and shantytowns of the colonial subjects, the Natives. *Caniço,* which still today forms part of the name, Polana Caniço, refers to the non-permanent building materials which characterised the houses in these African neighbourhoods in what was then called Lourenço Marques (see also Bertelsen 2014). City of Cement (*Cidade de Cimento*) referred to the city centre, the spaces of the colonial city which were inhabited by the colonial subjects and *assimilados* (see below), urbanised according to what was seen as European standards, and associated with whiteness. This old colonial dichotomy becomes disrupted or rather expanded by Sommerschield II. For Maputo's urban dwellers, Sommerschield II appears to have been urbanised according to European standards with its tarred roads, street lights and fancy mansions, yet it is a new neighbourhood growing *outside* of the city centre (*Cidade)*. Sommerschield II is therefore 'neither city nor suburb' (*nem cidade nem subúrbio*), as residents would say. Together with other affluent neighbourhoods like Belo Horizonte in Matola and Bairro Triúnfo along the beach, they are sometimes referred to as elite neighbourhoods (*bairro da elite*), a term which I adopt here. Residents sometimes also describe Sommerschield II as New City (*Nova Cidade*), associating it with a new type of spatiality, if also associated with the lifeworlds of the *City of Cement* (*Cidade de Cimento*) rather than the *Caniço.* Even though the types of neighbourhood have multiplied in Maputo, and the representations thereof as well, the old binary City of Reeds (*Cidade de Caniço*) and City of Cement (*Cidade de Cimento*) still lurks like a shade in the background. The entangled neighbourhoods exemplify and at the same time also transcend and transform colonial dichotomies of space and identity which constitute part of the colonial heritage of Maputo and Johannesburg.

Histories of Changing Cities

Urban entanglements are deeply shaped by the respective city's history. Before focusing on the ethnography of entangled lives unfolding in these spaces, it is therefore vital to step back and look at the urban histories. In order to compare entanglements across cities, it is important to consider at least three dimensions of urban history, namely, shifting forms of urban citizenship, shifting economic inequalities and shifting pat-

7 New academic typologies try to do justice to the diversity of the neighbourhoods in differentiating, for example, between the urban, the suburban and peri-urban areas (Araújo 1999: 178) or between the urban core, old suburbs, urban fringe and rural fringe (Henriques/Ribeiro 2005: 13–14). Meanings of *bairro* and suburb differ across space and time. For example, in the American context, *bairro* refers to neighbourhoods with a high Latin American population. Across the Lusophone world, the term *subúrbio* has slightly different meanings in different countries (Mabin et al. 2013: 169). In this book, I avoid the term *subúrbio* in the Maputo context, although it is often used as a synonym for *bairro*, in order to avoid confusion with the 'suburb' in Johannesburg.

terns of segregation. I understand urban citizenship as based on Lefebvre, who coined the notion 'right to the city', as the right of urban citizens to participate in urban space, urban life, urban politics and urban centrality (Lefebvre 2009 [1968], Meyer 2007: 278). Both in Johannesburg and Maputo, urban life has been characterised by shifting forms of exclusionary urban citizenship, which have left their specific impact on urban encounters and entanglements. These entanglements are also shaped by shifting forms and degrees of economic inequality in the two cities. In Johannesburg, urban dwellers refer to such differences mostly with the term 'class', using expressions like 'the poor' and 'the rich'. In Maputo, urbanites tend to use euphemisms to speak about such differences, for example *sem condiçoes* (without possibilities) and *os que tem* (those who have), while the terms *rico* (the rich) and *pobre* (the poor) are avoided as having negative connotations.[8] Last but not least, forms of entanglement become shaped by shifting patterns of segregation. By segregation I mean all forms of concentration of a population group in space, whether or not this is imposed by the state or based on so-called voluntary choices by urbanites, and independent of whether the population group is marginalised or powerful in the urban hierarchy.[9] Both Maputo and Johannesburg have a history of shifting forms of urban segregation which left their imprint on the contemporary urban form and everyday spatial practices.

For the kind of comparison I propose here, attention to history is vital. The following insights into the urban histories should make the reader aware of the specific contexts shaping the entanglements, as I only refer to some of them during the chapters for reasons of readability. Urban spaces are carriers of the past, shaping the present and the future entanglements, yet they are also changed through urban dwellers' agency. These sections of the urban histories should also enable the reader to draw her or his own comparative conclusions beyond what I have presented. What is most important, though, is that attention to history makes us aware of the diachronic nature of comparative ethnography (see also Fabian 1983). Ethnographic writing, fixing situations through words on paper, stands in sharp contrast to the fluidity of urban life and urban spaces. Since the time of the fieldwork (2010–2012), all four neighbourhoods have undergone significant changes, reflecting the transience of urban life. Entanglements, spaces and lifeworlds in Maputo and Johannesburg need to be thought of as being always in production, as constantly changing.

Johannesburg

Johannesburg is located on the high interior plateau of South Africa, also called the Highveld, where gold was found in 1886 on what turned out to be the world's richest goldfields. Unlike Maputo where the need for a transport hub – a port – decided its location, in Johannesburg it was the local geology with its richness in natural resources.

8 There has been important discussion of the applicability of the category 'class' to African societies since they went through distinctly different economic developments to European societies where the concept emerged (Neubert 2005, Kroeker, O´Kane and Scharrer 2018). Acknowledging these important debates, I use the term 'class' as well as terms like 'elite', 'poor', 'middle class' and 'affluent' as descriptive terms. As an analytical concept, I use the multidimensional and phenomenological micro-milieu approach (see later in this chapter).

9 This understanding is similar to Nightingale's (2012) global approach which invites comparisons across space and time, and broader than Marcuse's (2005) differentiated terminology distinguishing politically imposed segregation from voluntary clustering which rather complicates comparisons.

Today, it is considered one of the world's leading financial centres and is South Africa's economic hub. People who move to Johannesburg usually do so because of work. For the Southern African region and beyond, the city is also a hub for consumer goods that are hard to get in more remote areas of the continent. Today, Johannesburg's wealth derives mostly from mining, manufacturing and banking; wealth from which large parts of the city's population are excluded. The city has about 4.4 million inhabitants (Statistics South Africa 2012a, based on census 2011) and is the largest city in South Africa and the Southern African region. The urban conurbation, including Tshwane (Pretoria) and Ekhuruleni (East Rand) metropolitan areas, is one of the largest metropolitan regions on the continent (Tomlinson et al. 2003: 6). Especially since the end of apartheid Johannesburg's population has increased significantly (by 68.4%, Harrison et al. 2015: 7). While Maputo continues to have a centre-periphery pattern typical of many European cities, Johannesburg tends to resemble an American city with its multi-nodal or polynuclear pattern. Many edge cities have been built from scratch in the last decades. Johannesburg has also merged with surrounding towns that also turned into sub-centres. Despite urban sprawl, it is also a densifying city (ibid: 9), as exemplified by Linbro Park in this book.

The land where Johannesburg was built was not on 'empty' or 'natural' space; the area had been settled for centuries by Khoikoi, San and, later, Bantu-speaking agriculturalists. Johannesburg was founded within the context of a colonial society produced by forceful conquest, slavery, genocidal extinction of whole population groups and a colonial economy based on forced labour. After the abolishment of slavery by the British in 1834, interaction between black labourers and white employers continued to be tightly regulated by the Masters and Ordinance Act of 1841, which legally ensured the submissiveness of the now 'free' workers, for example by punishing servants who disobeyed their masters (Lester, Nel and Binns 2000: 314). The migrant labour system, which brought people from all over Southern Africa to the Johannesburg mines, affected relations of production, family forms and gender relations in rural and urban areas.

The basis for the infamous apartheid geography was already laid in the founding years of the city. Non-Whites were assigned to live in so-called 'locations'. A class geography which distinguished between the eastern, wealthier areas and the western, poorer areas emerged (Beavon 2004: 53-54). Since then the city has continuously grown through suburbanisation. Property speculators bought up farms around Johannesburg and transformed them into suburbs. In 1912, the investor Papenfus created Alexandra and declared it a 'freehold' township, meaning a township where non-Whites were allowed to acquire land (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008).

Since the city's early years, African workers were seen as temporary sojourners in the city (Dawson 2006: 126). From 1896 on, African workers had to carry passes in Johannesburg, and their right to be in the city was conditional on their employment at a mine. In addition to race and class, urban society was structured around *work membership*. Ferguson defines work membership as the legal and social distinction between urban 'belongers' with waged employment recognised in their pass book and the urban unemployed who were considered illegal 'hangers on' (Ferguson 2013: 229). Africans had to live in barracks or compounds on the mining fields, or in case of domestic workers, on the property of their employers (Beavon 2004: 33). Since its early beginnings, public space in Johannesburg was not accessible to urban dwellers in

equal ways. By 1900, under the Kruger government, Natives and Coloured people were banned from using Johannesburg's pavements (ibid: 40). They had no political rights, received very low wages and even their leisure time was tightly controlled (ibid: 68). In 1911, the Mines and Work Act legally entrenched a colour bar in the mines, meaning that semi-skilled and skilled jobs were reserved for Whites.

During the Great Depression, the gold standard was abandoned, and South Africa could profit from a considerable economic upswing. During the 1930s and 1940s, the central business district (CBD) experienced a building boom, which transformed the city into a little New York (Bremner 2000: 185). Increased incomes for White families, affordable cars, coupled with state subsidies for housing, produced a revolution in suburban space (Mabin 2005b: 11-23). Edwin James Brolin, owner of a plantation between Alexandra and Modderfontein, recognised at that time the economic potential of his land and sold subsections of what became known as Linbro Park (the reversal of the family name Brolin). The enlargement of private space for the White families – from inner-city flats to a large suburban house – was possible because Black urban dwellers were forced to live in cramped shacks, rooms and compounds. Class and race became inscribed in the spatial order of the city (Crankshaw 2008). The suburbs, which seemed socially, spatially and economically so distinct and separate from the Black areas, were profoundly entangled with them and dependent on them. White families could only afford a large house and domestic workers because apartheid kept black wages low and because it limited competition for urban land in suburbs by excluding Black owners from landownership. Looking at Johannesburg through the lens of entanglements also invites a re-reading of the apartheid past, paying attention to such interdependencies (Nuttall 2009: 2).

In many African societies, colonialism was accompanied by racial segregation (Seekings 2008: 1). Apartheid, however, as implemented after the National Party came to power in 1948, stands out as an extreme, unique case with "systematic depth and breadth" (ibid: 2). All the "powers of a modern state were deployed to order society along 'racial' lines in ways which went far beyond racism and racial discrimination to generalized social engineering around state-sanctioned racial ideology and legislation" (ibid: 2). The 1950 Population Registration Act introduced the rigid classification of every person into a hierarchically organised, caste-like racial system from which social rights and exclusion were derived.[10] One's racial group determined one's access to education, work, land, the use of public spaces and sexual relations (see below).

In 1950 the Group Areas Act was introduced, a legal masterpiece for the realisation of the dream of a White city. In the following two decades, all urban zoning schemes were redrawn, adding information to the mutually exclusive occupation and ownership by legally defined racial groups (Christopher 1997: 311, Mabin and Smit 1997: 206). Rezoning provided the legal basis for massive removals. Tens of thousands of people were forcefully relocated from mixed inner-city slums to townships on the

10 'White', 'Coloured' and 'Native' were the initial categories used. 'Indian' (Asian) was added later (Seekings 2008: 2), 'Native' became replaced by 'Bantu' (1960) and 'Black' (1980). After 1970, the category 'Black' was again subdivided into ethno-linguistic groups such as Zulu and Xhosa (Christopher 2002, Seekings 2008: 2). In the post-apartheid phase, 'black' was replaced by 'African' in the census (Christopher 2002: 404-5). 'Black', as in the post-apartheid Black Economic Empowerment policies, refers to black, coloured and Indian today. Racial terminology was hence not consistent over time (ibid: 403).

urban fringe and to rural Bantustans. The White and Black spaces were kept separate through empty tracts of land, so-called 'buffer zones' (Harries 2003: 18). Most freehold townships were destroyed; only Alexandra survived. In 1991, when the laws and racial zoning were repealed, 91.4 per cent of the urban population in the country was living in racially designated zones (Christopher 1997: 319).

Apartheid legislation also operated on the micro-level of everyday encounters and lived spaces. From 1948 onwards many laws (so-called 'petty apartheid') were designed to regulate social interaction in public and private spaces and even intimate relations (ibid 2001). The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) forbade marriage and sexual relations across racial boundaries. The Separate Amenities Act (1953) and the Separate Amenities Amendment Act (1960) subjected public facilities to racial segregation. Park benches, public toilets, beaches, graveyards and the like became segregated (Durrheim and Dixon 2005: 2). There were even building laws regulating the distance between the White family's house and the domestic quarters and demanding separate entrances (Christopher 2001: 139). The everyday experience and use of spaces became closely linked to state-imposed racial categories.

From the 1930s to the 1970s, the city transformed from a mining-based industrial capital to a manufacturing-based economy (Crankshaw 2008, Gelb 1991). The African working class milieus were kept in an inferior economic position by the colour bar, while White milieus profited disproportionally from the economic growth. Immigration at that time was easy for Europeans. When, in 1974, the Portuguese population in Mozambique was expelled by the new socialist regime, many moved to Johannesburg. From the 1970s on, deindustrialisation deeply affected the organisation of the city, the spatial structure and urban dwellers' spatial practices. Many jobs for so-called 'unskilled' workers were lost (Beavon 2006: 59). This led to massive structural unemployment among the Black population, who was kept unskilled under Bantu education. At the same time, edge cities started to develop, as shopping and service-sector work spaces became decentralised and fortified gated communities started to emerge (Crankshaw 2008, Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000: 255). Legal provisions were adopted to allow for 'sectional titles' or condominium ownership of property, giving rise to a new form of suburbia, the 'townhouse complex' consisting of row houses or free-standing houses behind walls (Mabin 2005b: 25). Real estate became increasingly used as a financial asset, leading to a commodification of real estate (Beauregard and Haila 2000, Mabin 2005b: 22). Gated communities also served as a model for residents in older suburbs; they increasingly sought to close off their neighbourhoods, to put up road closures and fences around their neighbourhoods (Dawson 2006, Dirsuweit and Wafer 2006, Hansen 2006).

Already in the 1960s, the first shopping malls were built outside the Johannesburg CBD. In 1973, Sandton City mall was opened, and its success encouraged massive growth in large malls in the suburbs (Beavon 2006: 53). By the end of the 1980s, the contemporary pattern of retail decentralisation with its focus on large malls had been established and was strengthened in the 1990s by what Beavon describes as a "virtual shopping explosion" (ibid: 3). In the 1980s, with the weakening of the apartheid state, non-White urban dwellers moved into the city centre, while White residents and capital continued to move from the CBD to the Northern Suburbs. The inner city underwent massive transformation, and became a 'no-go' zone for many suburban-

ites (Beavon 2004: 204 ff., Bremner 2000, Czeglédy 2004: 27, Morris 1999a).[11] Spatial routines characterising suburban life in Johannesburg still today then emerged: many suburbanites commute from their suburban homes to work in an edge city, shop at a nearby mall and seldom venture into the city centre.

During apartheid, upwardly mobile Black milieus were confined to the townships. When the Black middle-class milieus grew in the 1980s, suburb-like sections were built there for them (Mabin 2005b: 18). Yet, as the grip of the apartheid state was weakening, Black middle class milieus also moved to formerly White suburbs, a process which was accelerated by the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 (ibid: 21, 25). The Population Registration Act was repealed between 1991 and 1994 (Christopher 2002: 405). Desegregation emerged as a process occurring largely along class lines (Crankshaw 2008: 1698). Transformation was discursively framed through the multicultural ideology of the 'rainbow nation'. The slogan of the ANC "a home for all" exemplified this ideal of the post-apartheid 'one nation' (Murray and Shepherd 2007: 7). Yet for many whites the unregulated access to amenities like beaches and parks, informal street trading in inner cities, and co-presence of black urban dwellers as neighbours led to feelings of disorder (Ballard 2002).

The white milieus' repertoire for dealing with the rearrangement of space, race and belonging in the changing post-apartheid era entailed emigration to other countries, 'semigration' into privately secured gated communities and assimilation, the strong expectation of established white milieus that the moving-in black middle class groups had to adapt to their lifestyle (Ballard 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2010). Living in proximity to urbanites belonging to different racial categories and economic classes went hand in hand with the desire to create walls (Haferburg 2013, Lemanski 2006a, 2006c, Lemanski and Saff 2010, Morris 1999b), reinforcing and creating insider–outsider distinctions based on race, class, citizenship and other (Bekker and Fourchard 2013, Bénit-Gbaffou 2009, Clarno 2013, Clarno and Murray 2013, Vigneswaran 2014). Yet urban conviviality in contemporary Johannesburg is not all negative and gloomy. For example, in shopping malls and religious spaces mediation across the boundaries of race has been observed (Teppo 2011, Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo 2009, see also Nuttall 2009). *Cities of entanglements* seeks to contribute to this growing literature.

An important aspect of contemporary urban segregation in Johannesburg is violence and fear of crime. Since the 1950s, in townships like Alexandra crime and gangs have severely reduced the quality of life for Black urban dwellers (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008: 106ff.). From around the 1980s on, crime and fear of crime also increased significantly in the White suburbs, related to the weakening control by the apartheid state and the shift in public spending on security from the former White areas to township areas. From the 1990s up to the 2000s, extremely high crime levels made headlines (Dawson 2006: 131). Recently, crime statistics have decreased, but urban dwellers still have a sense that crime is escalating (James and Collins 2011). Crime has severely affected the way white people relate to, conceive of and perceive black urbanites (Allen 2002) and conviviality in general (Vigneswaran 2014). South African society is also marked by high levels of violence in interpersonal and intimate relations (Collins 2013, Schäfer 2005). Life in many informal settlements and townships is shaped

11 Since the 1990s several initiatives have been launched to reinvent the inner city based on the aspiration to 'world city' status (Bremner 2000: 187) and many areas are now subject to gentrification.

by structural and interpersonal forms of violence (Ross 2010). Different milieus are affected by crime in very different ways, and therefore their perceptions of crime also differ greatly (Statistics South Africa 2012b: 2).

At the end of apartheid, townships like Soweto and Alexandra were in a dire state in terms of public infrastructure, not only because of the unequal spending by the apartheid state but also because, with the end of influx control, residential densities increased. Many people from former Bantustans and adjoining countries moved to the city, rented a shack or a room in a township like Alexandra or built their own shack in a newly emerging 'squatter camp', inside or outside existing townships. Although large-scale public housing programmes were put in place, there was rapid growth in urban informal settlements (Beavon 2006: 55, South African Cities Network, Turok 2011, 2013: 169). Johannesburg has a low average residential density, but densities are highly unevenly distributed between township areas, the inner city, the suburbs and peri-urban areas (Turok 2013: 171).

The turn to democracy brought upward social mobility for the Black middle-class milieus, supported by affirmative action policies, but not to the same extent for poor milieus (Modisha 2008, Seekings and Nattrass 2005: 308-313). Income inequality within the Black population is nowadays as high as across the entire population (Seekings 2010: 8-9). Although formal unemployment decreased between 1996 and 2011 (from 29.4 to 25%), it is still very high, especially among the youth (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell 2000a, Harrison et al. 2015: 5, Seekings 2010: 4-6). The informal economy is key for urban dwellers in places like Alexandra (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell 2000b, Hull and James 2012, Simone 2004b, 2006b), although the expansion of the welfare state shapes their livelihoods considerably (Ferguson 2013). In metropolitan areas, half of the households receive one or more government grant (Gelb 2008: 81, Seekings 2010: 14). Many urban dwellers are waiting for government housing (Oldfield and Greyling 2015).

Post-apartheid Johannesburg is a multifaceted city, rapidly changing not least because of its many connections across the globe and across the region. Johannesburg is entangled with Maputo through the circulation of people, capital, goods and ideologies (Harries 1994, Helgesson 2008, Miller 2008, Ostanel 2012, Peberdy 2000, Rogerson 2011, Vidal 2010). Many South Africans and Mozambicans living in Johannesburg travel to Maputo and Mozambican beaches on holiday. Maputo also attracts South African capital and companies and is influenced by its lifestyles and fashions. Many Mozambicans see *John*, the name that many Mozambican migrants use to refer to Johannesburg, as a place of job and education opportunities, and as a place with broad and affordable consumption options and reliable health services. Acknowledging the importance that Mozambican workers had and continue to have for building Johannesburg's wealth, one may speak of a mutual dependency between the two cities. To avoid overemphasising the boundedness of the comparative cases (Abu-Lughod 1991, see the postscript), such entanglements between the two cities should be kept in mind.

Maputo

Maputo is located in Delagoa Bay, in the extreme south of Mozambique's extended coastline. It is much closer geographically, and in some ways also socially and economically more connected, to South African cities like Nelspruit, Durban and even Johannesburg than to cities in the extreme north of the country like Nampula or Pemba. The

city serves as the financial, administrative and cultural centre of the country. Maputo holds the position of the primate city in the country, being considerably larger than the other Mozambican cities, although the importance of secondary cities like Beira is growing (Jenkins 2013: 55). At the time of this research (2010–2012), the municipality of Maputo officially had about 1.2 million inhabitants (Conselho Municipal de Maputo 2011: 8). The Greater Maputo conurbation including the neighbouring city of Matola had about two million inhabitants in 2007 (Jenkins 2013: 109). Like many African cities, Maputo experienced rapid growth following independence and, since the civil war in the 1980s, the population has doubled (Ammering and Merklein 2010). The city centre of Maputo is situated on the northern shore of Delagoa Bay. The suburban areas lie in a half circle around Maputo's city centre. They are continuously densifying and growing towards the north and west, merging surrounding places into the city. Along the shoreline of the bay, moving north-east, gated communities, new hotels and apartment blocks have come to replace the precarious fishing settlements in an area called Costa do Sol and Bairro Triúnfo. New urban road infrastructure, among them a ring road and a bridge across the bay to Catembe built after the time of fieldwork, will bring new dynamics to the settlement patterns.

Maputo was founded as a fort by the Dutch in 1781 and remained a small and unimportant trading post until the gold boom on the Witwatersrand demanded a transport hub in Delagoa Bay. This led to the foundation of the city, then called Lourenço Marques, at the end of the 19th century. Workers on the South African mines and cotton farms travelled through Lourenço Marques, and South African gold was shipped to the world through the city's port. In colonial Mozambique, the Portuguese system of forced labour (*chibalo*) and the introduction of the hut tax made rural livelihoods precarious (Cahen 2012, Mamdani 2000, O'Laughlin 2000). Many men, therefore, migrated to work in South Africa's mines (Harries 1994, Helgesson 2008), and many others went to Lourenço Marques, where they came to form working-class milieus, employed as dock, railway and domestic workers (Lachartre 2000: 31, Penvenne 1995). The African population came to refer to the city as Xilunguine, meaning the "place of the stranger(s)" (Jenkins 2006: 125). Similar to Johannesburg, women had more difficulty in establishing themselves in the city than men, as they were seen as having to take care of the rural household while the men were temporarily away for *chibalo* or migrant work. Many women made a living from beer brewing, prostitution and urban agriculture (Morton 2013: 239, Sheldon 2002, 2003).

Colonial citizenship was bifurcated into citizens and subjects (Mamdani 1996) by a set of institutions called *Indigenato*. The Portuguese immigrants and their descendants had full Portuguese citizenship rights and were governed by the colonial state. The African population was considered 'Natives' and fell under so-called customary law. There were, however, also in-between categories, among them the so-called *Assimilados* (Assimilated). A Native could become recognised as *Assimilado* if he could prove to the colonial state that he was 'civilised'.[12] The Assimilated, the mixed population (*Mestiços*) and Asians (*Asiáticos*) were ranked higher than the Natives in the colonial hier-

12 In order to receive *Asssimilado* status Africans had to subject themselves to an examination of their private lives in which the 'civilisation' level was assessed: They had to be able to read and write, they had to speak Portuguese at home, eat at a table, wear shoes, only have one wife, and not live in a reed hut (Morton 2013: 240).

archy, had identity cards distinct from them and had more rights (O'Laughlin 2000: 13).[13] They were exempt from the hut tax and *chibalo*, they were allowed to live in the City of Cement, could move freely and had access to better schools (Lachartre 2000: 47, based on Honwana 1989: 69-70, Morton 2013: 240). Like apartheid, the *Indigenato* needs to be understood as characterised by forms of entanglements, and not just as a form of separation. As O'Laughlin argues: "Just as apartheid was a normatively prescribed separation of worlds that were in reality linked by the exploitation of African labour, so also were the worlds of citizen and the indigenous subject never separate in Mozambique" (O'Laughlin 2000: 9).

The social, political and economic changes brought about by Portuguese colonial consolidation and the *Indigenato* shaped the production of space in Lourenço Marques (Bertelsen 2014: 2756, Mendes 1979). In the first half of the 20th century, differentiation of neighbourhoods according to race and class emerged and soon different residents experienced very different cities (Lachartre 2000: 34, Penvenne 1995: 33). The eastern upper neighbourhoods with the best climate became populated by European milieus (Polana, Ponta Vermelha, Sommerschield), the western neighbourhoods (Alto Maé) were home to working class whites, *Mestiço* and *Assimilado* milieus, and the central lower-lying neighbourhoods in the Baixa were mainly home to the Indian population, called Ásiaticos during the *Indigenato* (Bertelsen 2014: 2756, Lachartre 2000).[14] The majority of the population, the Natives, had to live outside the boundaries of the European city in what eventually came to be known as the City of Reeds (*Cidade de Caniço*) (Morais 2001, Morais, Lage and Bastos Malheiro 2012). While in Johannesburg urban segregation became enacted by racist zoning laws and massive relocations, in Maputo it was rather enacted by a multiplicity of racist laws as well as racist practices and racial inequalities (Grest 1995: 150).[15]

13 *Mestiço* status was related to birth. The *Mestiço* population consisted mainly of children of European and Indian fathers who kept multiple households, usually with an official wife in the City of Cement and with a black lover in the *Caniço* areas (Morton 2013: 239). A similar spatiality of love relations continues today, with affluent men having lovers living in the *bairros* (Groes-Green 2009: 293-5, Hawkins et al. 2009). For gender relations in contemporary Maputo see Aboim 2009, Manuel 2013.

14 Lourenço Marques had a considerable Indian population (6565 Indians in 1960, Morton 2013: 237), consisting of descendants of merchants who had participated in the Indian Ocean trade since the 18th century and to a lesser degree also Indians immigrating from South Africa where they had worked as indentured labourers on the sugar plantations fields in Natal (Bastos 2009: 44, Bonate 2008: 641-2, Marx 2004). The majority of Indians who arrived in Mozambique from India, Zanzibar and South Africa in the 19th and at beginning of the 20th century were British citizens. When India stopped being a British colony (1947), these Indian migrants had to choose between an Indian or a Pakistani passport, while Indians from the Portuguese colonies like Goa received Portuguese citizenship (1961). Due to transnational business practices and the migration of family branches to other countries like Portugal and the UK, many Indians nowadays own several passports besides Mozambican citizenship. Nowadays, urban dwellers often refer to Indians as *monhés,* which has a derogatory tone, as merchants (*empresários*, *comerciantes*) and, most often, simply as Indians. In this book I adopt the local designation 'Indian' to refer to Maputo residents whose ancestors originated from the Indian subcontinent, independent of what passports they hold nowadays.

15 The *Indigenato* prohibited Africans from owning land in the City of Cement. In addition, landlords discriminated against black tenants (Lachartre 2000: 38, Morton 2013: 242). Around 1900, it was forbidden to construct African type of dwellings (reed huts, later also wood and zinc huts) within the boundaries of the European city (Bertelsen 2014: 2756).

As in many colonial cities, white anxieties around hygiene and health were fuelled and instrumentalised to legitimate a dual city, giving spatial form to the duality of citizen and subject (Bertelsen 2014: 2756, Eckert 1996, Simone 2004a: 14). The City of Cement (*Cidade de Cimento*) became associated with whiteness and European lifestyles. Those classified as Natives were banned from urban amenities like bars, theatres and hotels (O'Laughlin 2000: 15). It was forbidden for Africans to walk through the streets of the City of Cement after nine o'clock at night (Lachartre 2000: 46). As in Johannesburg, the presence of Natives in the city was dependent on *work membership*, meaning that only those with a place of employment registered in their passbook were considered legitimately to be in the city. In the workplaces, an everyday space of encounter, racism and abuse was common.[16] The City of Cement was a space of permanent control and risk for the African population (ibid: 48). Many feared and rarely visited the *Cidade* (Bertelsen, Tvedten and Roque 2014: 2756). The City of Reeds became associated with Blackness, tradition, backwardness, African languages and reed huts (Morton 2013: 240). They were seen as temporary spaces, and many shantytowns were destroyed to make space for the growth of the *Cidade de Cimento*. Unlike Johannesburg, where the grip of the state on African urban areas was tight (except for freehold townships like Alexandra), in Maputo the shantytowns developed largely unplanned. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Portuguese colonial municipality admired the way apartheid South Africa engineered its apartheid cities, yet it lacked the necessary state capacity to entrench the same draconic control over Africans lives and spaces (Lachartre 2000: 39). This so-called 'laissez-faire' attitude was typical of the urbanism transferred from Portugal to Lourenço Marques (Jenkins 2006: 110).

From the 1940s to the 1960s Maputo experienced strong industrialisation as the Salazar regime invested much capital to show to other European powers that it was developing its colonies (Lachartre 2000: 43, Morton 2013: 236, Pitcher 2002: 31). Maputo's skyline with modernist high-rise buildings emerged at that time. When Portugal held on longer to its colonies than other European colonisers, it became increasingly criticised for it (Morton 2013: 236). Portugal responded with the rhetoric of 'lusotropicalism', claiming that the Portuguese assimilated the different races and cultures in their colonies in harmonious racial relations (ibid: 237). Yet, at the same time, political culture in Mozambique became strongly shaped by the Portuguese dictatorship with paramilitary, nationalist propaganda and secret police.

After independence, Frelimo (Frente Libertação de Moçambique) continued Portugal's modernist and one-party state attitude, although now coupled with a socialist and nationalist ideology. By the early 1980s, the state dominated every economic sector (Pitcher 2002: 44). The socialist Frelimo regime replaced the *Indigenato*, which the Portuguese had started to dismantle in the 1960s, by an ideology called *Homem Novo*. Through this they aimed to create a new, modern society based on the decolonisation of the mind and national unity replacing ethnic, racial and religious differences (ibid: 53-54). Citizenship became redefined through loyalty to Frelimo and commitment to the party's image of the *Homem Novo*, the modern and rational Mozambican citizen. As in many other socialist contexts, the state did not allow other civic organisations besides the one adhering to Frelimo (Jenkins and Wilkinson 2002: 40). Traditional

16 For further research on racial and class relations during the colonial period, consult Bras 2006, Cahen 2012, Errante 2003, Henriques 2012, Penvenne 1995, 2003, Thomaz 2006, Zamparoni 1998, 2000, 2007.

authorities (*regulos*) governing *bairros* became replaced by new neighbourhood structures called dynamising groups (*grupos dinamizadores)*. These were led by Frelimo party secretaries, so that the state and party structures became mixed, which continues today in many *bairros*. Residents were instructed to report 'enemies' and 'traitors' to the party structures (Buur 2010: 35, 42, Hall and Young 1997, Harrison 1998, Macamo 2003: 7, Sumich 2013: 100-103).

Independence and the turn to socialism brought massive changes in relation to who lived in the city and where. In 1976, the new president, Samora Machel, proclaimed: "The people will be able to live in their own city and not in the city's backyard" (quoted from Morton 2013: 232). The white Portuguese population fled the country rapidly, their inner city flats and houses became nationalised, and were given to African privileged milieus like party elites, military veterans and former *Assimilados* (ibid: 233). Frelimo continued the pattern of work membership, culminating in the infamous 'operation production' in the early 1980s, which forcibly removed people considered 'unproductive' from what was now called Maputo and subjected them to a new type of forced labour (Buur 2010: 43).

South Africa and what was then Rhodesia were a key force supporting Renamo (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana) which engaged in a long civil war (1977–1992) with Frelimo. The war destroyed national infrastructure, 1.6 million people fled the country and 3.7 million were internally displaced (Chingono 1996, Geffray 1990, Lubkemann 2008, Pitcher 2002: 104). Many war refugees came to settle in Polana Caniço and other neighbourhoods, also on land that had been reserved for public use or was considered unsuitable for housing. Unplanned occupation became the main form of city expansion (Jenkins 2013: 96). Coupled with natural disasters the civil war led to a deep economic crisis in the 1980s. Frelimo eventually decided to embark on the transition to neoliberal capitalism and adopted structural adjustment programmes with long-term negative effects on state capacity, limiting the municipality's ability to do any form of urban planning (ibid: 97).

Land, however, did not become privatised with the turn to neoliberalism and, still today, continues to belong to the state. The official absence of private landownership distinguishes the Mozambican context, making Maputo unique and distinct for an African city (Jenkins 2001, 2013: 72). Land can officially neither be owned nor sold, people merely receive land use rights (*Direito de Uso e Aproveitemento de Terra*, short DUAT). Only the buildings on the land are private property. In reality, though, an unofficial and illegal land market developed, which is considered socially legitimate and through which the majority of urban dwellers access land (Jenkins 2001, 2009, Jorge and Melo 2014, Sidaway and Power 1995, Unruh 2005).

Privatisation led to the loss of many jobs and gave rise to the growth in the informal economy (Grest 1995, Jenkins 2006, Kamete and Lindell 2010: 902).[17] Post-socialist

17 'Informal' refers here to the sector of the economy which is not under state control (taxes, labour laws), but this does not mean this sector does not know alternative forms of order (see also Sardan 2009). Already under the socialist (and also the colonial) regime in Maputo, many engaged in informal economic activities, which were seen as illegal and as actions of political dissent (Buur 2010: 27). Small-scale trade in public spaces has considerably changed the face of the city in the post-socialist era (Kamete and Lindell 2010: 902, 904, Lindell 2008). Dichotomies of illegal and legal, informal and formal fail to capture the complexities of intermingled and mutually influencing norms and forms in Maputo's production of space. The notion of informality is widespread in the analysis of Africa's

Mozambique experienced several phases with growth measured by macroeconomic indicators, although poverty also increased. Mozambique's Human Development Index is extremely low and will probably continue to be so in the light of the debt crisis which started in 2016. Since the state is heavily dependent on international donors, its accountability with regard to the parliament, civil society and the population is undermined (Macamo 2006). Politics still does not mediate between society and the state, many citizens do not see much relevance in the formal government system and there is a low level of trust in the state (Eskemose 2004, Jenkins and Wilkinson 2002: 40, Lindell 2008, Macamo 2001, Seibert 2007). With the official arrival of political pluralism and freedom of association, urban associations without Frelimo allegiance emerged in Maputo, but they are, apart from religious associations, still few in comparison with associational life in Johannesburg.

Neoliberalism coupled with globalisation brought changes to and differentiation of lifestyles and spaces in the city. During privatisation, many inhabitants of flats in the *Cidade de Cimento* were able to buy them at low prices (Sidaway and Power 1995: 1480). Later, many started to let their flats to well-paying foreigners, and moved to the outskirts of the city where they constructed a suburban house with lots of space (see also Ammering 2010, Jenkins 2013, Nielsen 2014). The privilege of being given a flat was, therefore, key to the social mobility of many of the contemporary middle-class and elite milieus.

The economic and political elites from socialist times could use their position to shape the privatisation process and to secure economic benefits.[18] The severe limitations on food and consumption which existed during socialist times came to an end at the end of the 1980s. For urban elites, for whom buying rare consumer goods through the black market was a mark of distinction and a source of danger during the previous dispensation, modern consumer culture became finally accessible. Conspicuous consumption became a sign of modernity and social power among elites (Sumich 2005: 110-111, Veblen 2000 [1899]). In the 1990s and 2000s many bought or rented houses in

economies (Hart 1973) and spaces, although if simplistically applied it implies an overly rigid separation from the formal and an absence of form and order. In reality, even the most informal economies and neighbourhoods are shaped by urbanites' senses of order and norms, which are often influenced by the state's norms. With regard to urban spaces, the notion of 'self-production', often used in lusophone contexts (e.g. Jorge and Melo 2014), is a useful alternative to informality. In contrast to the modernist formal planning which is dominated by conceived space, guided by conceptions of space in architecture and urban planning (Lefebvre 1996 [1974]: 43), the self-production of space has its roots in lived space, the everyday practices, needs and meanings of dwelling in and using space. This self-production of space or informality should not be understood as an urban sector, as Roy (2005: 148) rightly points out, but as a different mode of production of space.

18 Pitcher distinguishes four groups of national capitalist actors (Pitcher 2002: 153-164). First, there are old, powerful companies which are descended from colonial concessionary companies. Second, there are companies owned by people of non-African descent (Portugal, India, Pakistan, China, etc) which mostly hold Mozambican passports. Both groups depend on clientelist and patronage networks as well as links with the state, some are members of parliament or have joint ventures with politicians (Pitcher 2002: 154-158). Third, there is the group of most recent domestic capitalists, also depending on patronage and corruption, which tend to be former government officials, Frelimo party supporters and former managers of state companies (Hanlon 2004). The fourth group consists of domestic actors with no connection to politics: they are mostly African and Indian shop owners, traders and farmers who engage in economic activities at the porous border of formal–informal (Pitcher 2002: 165).

areas like Sommerschield II. These new elites emerged as important actors in the gentrification of the city, as real estate investors, as consumers of high-end residential space and as buyers at shopping malls (see also Boetius 2001, Hanlon and Mosse 2010, Sumich 2008a, 2008b). Critique of these conspicuous lifestyles of the elite and allegations of corruption and abuse of state resources have become part of everyday conversations and political debates in the city.

The liberalisation and growth of the private sector also enabled the growth of middle class milieus with university education and stable jobs at an international company, international NGO or the state (Bornschein 2009, Groes-Green 2009, Sumich 2008b, Van de Kamp 2016). Although the middle class milieus may still be quantitatively negligible on the national level, in Maputo they have a significant influence on the urban landscape of consumption, housing and leisure. Bars, restaurants, nightclubs, fitness centres as well as increasing numbers of South African chain stores have become the spaces of play and public life of these milieus. For many members of poor milieus living in the city's *bairros* visits to such new urban leisure spaces constitute exceptional events. The many markets, *barracas* (little bars), discos and churches in the *bairros* are the centre of gravity of the public life of these milieus.

In the post-socialist city, there continues to be categories of citizens whose right to belong is sometimes contested, among them the Indians (former *Asiáticos*) (Sumich 2013). During colonial times, the intersections of religion (the majority of them Muslims), class (usually merchants), nationality (many were British citizens till the 1960s) and endogenously oriented culture with close kinship ties and transnational practices gave these Indian milieus an intermediary and highly ambivalent position within the colonial and socialist society, with effects on their social position and on the way they were seen by others which still prevail today. Although they had a higher position than the Natives in the colonial hierarchy, the Portuguese imagination constructed them as dirty, degenerated, effeminate, astute and greedy (Zamparoni 2000: 199-200). For the African population, the *monhés* were important employers, if also demanding and sometimes cruel, as well as givers of credit and providers of consumer goods (Bastos 2009: 49, Zamparoni 2000). During the times of transformation from socialism to neoliberalism, strategic alliances and business partnerships with functionaries and members of the ruling party enabled influential Indian merchants to become part of the new economic elite (Carvalho 2008: 114). To this day, colonial stereotypes shape encounters in workplaces and reappear in religious entanglements (see chapter 6).

Cities of Entanglements

Cities bring together differences in close proximity, at unique scales and unique levels of intensity (Fincher and Jacobs 1998: 1). Urban differences and inequality are a major concern in urban development discourses and academic research. In 2010, UN-Habitat claimed that Southern African cities show the steepest degree of socioeconomic inequality, with extreme levels of poverty. African cities in general are counted as being among the most unequal in the world in socioeconomic terms (UN-Habitat 2010: 14). It is important to note, though, that differences, inequalities and emphasised boundaries characterise cities across space and time. Differences need to be recognised as a sustained feature of cities, of urbanity and of urban spaces (Fincher and Jacobs 1998).

Across historical periods and geographical regions, segregation has emerged as a dominant way of inscribing and dealing with urban differences in cities, as well as writing about them. Segregation has characterised many European cities from Medieval times to the present (Nightingale 2012), in colonial cities in Africa and elsewhere (Beinart and Dubow 1995, Nightingale 2012, Njoh 2007), contemporary Latin American cities (Koonings and Kruijt 2007), cities divided by violent conflict like Mostar (Aceska 2015) or Jerusalem (Bollens 2012), contemporary American cities (Davis 2006 [1990], Marcuse 1995, 1997a, Young 2000) and African cities (Murray 2011). The causes, forms and effects of segregation may vary greatly, but what such cities share is an urban population that needs to find routines and ways of living together in a context of social and spatial inequality. Shaping urban entanglements, social relations across social boundaries, is one of the key ways in which urban dwellers do this.

The notion of entanglement has been explored in various disciplines: in history ('entangled history') there have been systematic discussions of the term, in fields like geography, anthropology and literary studies a more systematic engagement is emerging. In African urban studies, Pieterse (2006: 408) points out how little is yet known about the significance of interactions and relations across class and race divisions. Two urban scholars, the literary scholar Sarah Nuttall (2009) writing on Johannesburg and the sociologist Sanjay Srivastava (2014) writing on Delhi, have more recently suggested the notion as a new register for writing about these metropolises shaped by significant spatial and social inequalities. I build on their work as I believe that the language of entanglements can open us to new understandings of urban life.

The study of entanglements can be seen as forming part of the ethnography of encounters, a transversal field in anthropology which focuses on how "relationships among unequally positioned groups shape cultural processes" (Faier and Rofel 2014: 64). The notion of encounter has, at least in the German translation *Begegnung*, the problem that it appears normative and suggests a specific form of interaction, namely, one through which mutual understanding is enhanced. I understand encounter in a broader sense as a synonym for interactions of all sorts, involving people who consider themselves as different (ibid: 364). Encounter is then a complementary term to entanglements: While encounters refer to *instances* of engagement across difference, entanglements refer to the social relationships constituted through such encounters. Urban entanglements are more than the sum of moments of interaction; they are part of what Simmel called urban sociation (in German *Vergesellschaftung*, Simmel 2013 [1908]). In entanglements, forms of sociality emerge and by looking at them we can therefore observe urban society in the making.

The notion of entanglement in the way I approach it builds on Nuttall's thesis that in order to understand social life in the midst of changing forms of inequality and diversity, we need to focus our lens on the moments of interaction where the categories spill "out of the routinised confines of the absolute figures" (Nuttall 2009: 10). With its "metaphorical, real and spatialised imaginary" the lens of entanglement entails a "shift in interpretation away from a sense of dualism and frequently normative theorisations towards a more complex and nuanced understanding of the interrelationships" (Houghton 2013: 2793). In the terrains of encounter, a multiplicity of events can take place, from reaffirmations of boundaries to their transgressions or even dissolutions. As the ethnography will show, entanglements are often characterised by ambivalences, contradictions and tensions. Looking at urban life through the lens of entanglement

is a "means by which to draw into our analyses those sites in which what was once thought of as separate – identities, spaces, histories – come together or find points of intersection in unexpected ways" (Nuttall 2009: 11).-Entanglement is a deeply suggestive notion, and rather than implying a clear message as to what these specific sets of urban relationships look like, it opens up space for exploring a diversity of encounters with multiple, sometimes contradictory, meanings and effects.

As mentioned, the lens of entanglements also invites a critical re-reading of the histories of Southern African cities, as they point to the fact that apartheid and Portuguese colonialism also entailed intimacy among racially defined groups and other sites of intersection commonly overlooked (ibid: 25). Entanglements, hence, promise to address a problematic which African urban studies are confronted with, namely, to move "away from the tropes of segregation, fragmentation and bifurcation" (Pieterse 2009: 1). Pieterse (2009) warns against simply replacing ideas of polarisation with accounts that solely foreground interconnections and endless networks. This reminds one of Strathern's (1996) critique of the network imagery, arguing that networks can appear to be without limits. The notion of entanglements can be seen as an alternative to the boundedness of spaces in segregation imageries and the limitlessness of network theories: while drawing attention to intersections and social relations, the lens of entanglement also analyses these as being shaped by boundaries, limits, cuts and disruptions of social relations. "In as much as entanglements are about difference and commonality, they are also about limits" (Nuttall 2009: 1). As the book will show in several chapters, entanglements are also characterised by a tension between two fundamental attitudes towards the 'other', which Förster (2013b) calls 'encounter' and 'distanciation'. This tension, which often translates into a tension between proximity and distance, constitutes urbanity (ibid).

Urbanity in cities characterised by inequality differs from urbanity in more equal cities in degree rather than in kind: Finding solutions for living together in close proximity with people considered different is, such is the premise of this book, a defining feature of urban life in general. Based on Simone (2010: 2), I understand *cityness* as the "capacity to provoke relations of all kinds" and cities as "places of thickening connections" (Simone 2004a: 137). *Cities of entanglement*s should not be misunderstood as a specific type of city or an abstract model like 'global cities' (Sassen 1991). This book rather approaches Maputo and Johannesburg as 'ordinary cities' (Robinson 2006a), each with its specific history and future, which a comparative ethnography needs to account for. *Cities of entanglement* is an ethnographic lens which makes visible social processes and practices that exist in multiple forms in diverse cities. With that, this book embarks on the journey of a comparative ethnography of urban entanglements.

There are several shortcomings in urban anthropology and urban studies that the lens of entanglements promises to address. First of all, urban ethnography has long suffered from what I call *mosaic thinking*. By mosaic thinking I refer to urban research that focuses on a single neighbourhood, without paying much attention to the way the neighbourhood is embedded in the wider city and neighbouring areas. Mosaic thinking, often based on an understanding of space as absolute (see below), produces images of cities as made up of distinct patches, each with its colour or identity, and with clearly drawn boundaries between them. Such mosaic thinking can be observed through the history of urban scholarship from the Chicago School's neighbourhood studies (Wirth [1928] 1998) to urban village studies (Gans 1962), to ghetto studies (Han-

nerz 2004 [1969], Hutchison and Haynes 2012, Wacquant 2008, Welz 1991) and to gated communities studies (Beall 2002, Breetzke, Landman and Cohn 2013, Low and Low 2003). Some of these studies tend to suffer from an isomorphism of space and identity, insufficiently disentangling spatial from social boundaries, without much attention to boundary-crossing connections and sometimes too little appreciation of internal heterogeneity.

Cities of entanglements, the approach developed in this book, aims to move beyond such mosaic thinking by understanding the city through the entanglements that undo the prevailing analytics of separation and segregation. As I argue in chapter 2, neighbourhoods have always been entangled with other places; they become constituted through these connections, and hence neighbourhoods need to be understood in relation to other urban areas and the city at large, and not in isolation. Approaching neighbourhoods through entanglements entails an interest in how spatial and social boundaries are created in situations where urban dwellers encounter each other. For urban researchers it is important to follow urban dwellers on their everyday trajectories through the city, as this uncovers the meanings of spatial boundaries for the everyday lives of different milieus. Entanglements show how different urban lifeworlds are not entirely disconnected, and how segregation is never complete. The lens of entanglements invites an empirical investigation of the degree and quality of divisions and connections, and not merely a reproduction of narratives of urban duality and segregation. Attention to entanglements raises awareness of how neighbourhoods that affluent urban dwellers imagine to be disconnected enclaves are actually also home to domestic workers, who appropriate and use these suburban spaces in multiple, often hidden ways.

A second shortcoming of contemporary urban scholarship, which an approach grounded in entanglements seeks to overcome, relates to the argument made above about networks. In research about African cities, there is a bifurcation between an emphasis of location and place-making and an emphasis of networks, mobility and aspatiality (Bank 2011: 16). While the one strand overstates the limits imposed by spatial structures of inequality, the other strand aggrandises the limitless agency and mobility of urban dwellers. The lens of entanglements hopes to overcome this dichotomy by providing a new language on the way urban life is unfolding in the midst of urban segregation *and* mobile, connected lives.

A third shortcoming is that scholarship of conviviality in urban spaces often overemphasises the significance of interactions in publicly owned public spaces and neglects or even negates the relevance of sociality in other spaces like malls, which tend to be seen as inferior spaces (see chapter 7). Amin and Thrift criticise this shortcoming regarding the invisibility of homes in urban theory:

> Strangely the everyday rhythms of domestic life have rarely counted as part of the 'urban', as though the city stopped at the doorstep of the home. But domestic life is now woven routinely into the urban public realm … The rhythms of the home are as much part of city life as, say, the movements of traffic, office life, or interaction in the open spaces of the city. Its rhythms, too, need incorporating into the everyday sociology of the city (Amin and Thrift 2002: 18).

The analysis of entanglements makes us aware that the diverse spaces of urban life such as suburban homes, religious spaces and shopping centres are connected with each other and become constituted in relation to each other. Urbanites move from one space to another in their everyday trajectories, they experience places in comparison to other spaces (see chapter 7), and urban dwellers bring habits of interaction acquired in one place and within one entanglement into the experience of encounters at the other place. In particular, patterns of seeing and dealing with each other acquired in interactions between domestic workers and employers make their reappearance in other settings, for example in stranger interactions at the mall (see chapter 7). Entanglements can, therefore, have a significance far beyond the settings in which they are usually enacted and shape urbanity in general.

A fourth shortcoming that the notion of entanglement promises to address is related to the methodologies of comparisons. The scholarship on urban comparisons which emerged around Robinson (2006) is currently dominated by debates about the politics of urban theorising from the Global South, about epistemologies and typologies of comparisons, but there are as yet few practical answers on how comparison as a qualitative, ethnographic method can be used. Bringing the notion of entanglement into these methodological debates can elucidate that comparison in ethnography should not be an analytical 'last step' in a long research process, but rather a research practice which takes place during every single step in the circular research process. The notion of the *entangled comparer* (see the postscript) draws attention to the epistemological questions related to producing urban knowledge by researching two cities as a situated subject. Entangled comparative ethnography does not bring about logical conclusions on abstract relations between cases and variables, but rather produces ethnographic texts with multiple, ever-shifting cases, and hence narratives about urbanity based on a diversity of urban experiences.

Urban entanglements have a *spatial* dimension, they involve urban dwellers who consider each other as *different*, and these urban dwellers *shape* urban entanglements. In order to ethnographically grasp and analyse such urban entanglements, there is a need for three further, interrelated concepts: space, milieus and agency.

Space

Massey points out that the way we formulate the concept of space radically shapes our understanding of the social world (Callard 2011: 299). Harvey introduces a typology of conceptions of space which is useful here. *Relative space* refers to the spatial relationship between objects and the relative nature of a location (Harvey 2006: 121-122). *Relational space* refers to the space created by relationships between objects or actors. *Absolute space* is a fixed geographical space, a "thing in itself" or "discrete and bounded phenomena" (ibid: 133). In everyday life, as well as in urban studies, there is a tendency to understand cities and neighbourhoods as absolute spaces, as wholes with clear boundaries like walls. Absolute space has also been called the "container model of space": the modern notion of space as a naturally existing *container* which comprises objects and people (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 289). Such a container model of space, which is often present in writing about segregation and what I call *mosaic thinking*, obscures rather than illuminates interdependencies and entanglements across spatial and social boundaries.

Cities of entanglements is based on a relational and relative understanding of space, grounded in Lefebvre's spatial theory. The philosopher and sociologist Henry Lefebvre laid the groundwork for the shift from a container model to the social production of space with his theory *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre's understanding of space as always in production (or construction) introduces a diachronic perspective, looking at the becoming and the historicity of space (Lefebvre 1996 [1974]: 37). This is well suited to the study of cities where contemporary social practices evolve within a context that has undergone profound transformations (see above). Following Lefebvre, social space is constructed, negotiated and experienced in the situations of everyday life through the interplay of three dimensions, namely, through (1) the material, (2) the conceived and (3) the lived space.

Material space is that dimension of space that can be perceived by the senses, so it can be seen, heard, smelled, touched or tasted. The material comes into existence only through perception, which varies socially and individually (ibid: 113). Maputo Shopping Centre as a material space is perceived differently by a middle-aged member of the Indian elite who has travelled extensively abroad than by a child who has grown up playing on the sandy paths of Polana Caniço. Material space becomes produced through what Lefebvre calls *spatial practice*, namely, through daily routine and infrastructural routes and networks which link spaces (ibid: 38). Key for the constitution of urban material spaces are hence the urban dwellers' trajectories of everyday life which emerge when urban dwellers move through the city to work, socialise, eat and pray (Magnani 1996: 21). In this understanding, a deserted, empty city would cease to exist as a space: no actor would be there to perceive it, no actor would connect it to other objects and spaces through their movements. Hence: "There is no such thing, in a social sense, as an empty space" (Tonkiss 2005: 3). Spatial practices make the city more than simply an aggregate of different urban spaces or a 'mosaic' of separate moral worlds (Park 1915: 608). Rather, spatial practices entail an understanding of space and cities as relational, open and connected (Callard 2011: 302, Massey 2005).

Conceived space refers to the conceptual construction of space achieved through mental activity. It is a mental achievement to treat individual elements as a whole (Schmid 2006: 169). When people communicate about such spaces, based on a "system of verbal, therefore intellectually worked out signs", Lefebvre refers to it as a *representation of space* (Lefebvre 1996 [1974]: 39), by which he also means ideology and knowledge about space (ibid: 45). For Lefebvre, this logico-epistemological space is the dominant space in any society and has a substantial role in the production of space (ibid: 38-9, 42). It is intrinsically linked to power. For example, it is through conceived space that governments 'see' their population, shape spatial reality and draw territorial boundaries between insiders and outsiders (Brighenti 2006, Scott 1999). Based on coherence and logic, in conceived space the complexity of life is reduced to abstract categories. In title deeds, zoning and cadastral maps, abstract properties of spaces are measured using a unified metric system (Schmid 2005: 101-102).

Lefebvre formulated conceived space based on the Western experience of "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre 1996 [1974]: 38). In African cities, though, as well as in many other cities, there are various non-western, non-scientific forms of knowledge production about space which need to be taken into account.

Urban dwellers' representations of space tend to emerge out of their lived experience of spaces, yet they may appropriate and adapt the political discourses, categories and processes imposed by states to represent or legitimate their interests and ideas (see also Scott 1999). They create themselves room to manoeuvre within and around imposed categories (Certeau 1984).

Lived space refers to how space is lived and experienced in everyday life, rather than conceptualised (Schmid 2006: 169). This dimension of space, which Lefebvre also calls symbolic space or space of representation, is "space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of the 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists, writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe" (Lefebvre 1996 [1974]: 39). In contrast to representations of space, spaces of representation do not need to follow rules of consistency or cohesiveness, as they are fluid and dynamic (ibid: 41-42). This is also the reason why lived space cannot be fully dominated by conceived space and is therefore also the space of resistance and subversion (ibid: 33). While spatial practices point towards mobility and the network character of urban life, lived space and place making draw awareness to the way urban dwellers develop memories, meanings and attachments to particular places (Bank 2011: 15). The layers of use and meaning of lived spaces can be multiple, complex and diverse for the different groups that inhabit them (see for example Staudacher 2019). These three dimensions, the perceived, conceived and lived space, should not be taken as three distinct types of space, but rather as three dimensions which together come to constitute space (Schmid 2005: 309). With such a model, one can approach the spaces that shape and become shaped by urban entanglements in complex, multifaceted ways.

Urban Milieus

If entanglements are the encounters and relations between people who define themselves as different, how do we ethnographically assess these differences? In order to bring diversity and difference into the comparative ethnography of the urban, I use the phenomenological concept of urban milieus. I understand social milieus based on Hradil as groups of like-minded people who have similar values, similar ways of life, similar relationships to others and similar mentalities (Hradil 1999: 420). In the shared lifeworld of the city, different milieus come to interact, overlap and come to exist in relation to one other (Dürr 2004: 137), they become entangled. Urban milieus do not come first and then the entanglements between them; entanglements also bring into being the urban milieus.

Phenomenology understands everyday life as consisting of situations in which social actors engage with one another. In these situations, typicality of action and meaning emerge. Based on Förster, I understand milieu as the sphere of the lifeworld in which such typicalities are shared with others and are regarded as normal by everyone (Förster 1997: 158).[19] For the ethnographic analysis this means that actors whose typical ways of acting and interpreting the world are not normal to each other belong

19 Normality is not the same as familiarity in phenomenology. According to Schütz, a new situation is unfamiliar if the actor does not know how to interpret and act in a situation because she has never experienced it before (and hence possesses no appropriate scheme for interpretation and action) (Schütz and Luckmann 1973: 151). Normality, on the other hand, is when the practices of another person are familiar to the actor (she knows them) as well as normal (she also acts this way). Domestic

to differing milieus. For the constitution of milieus and differences, the habitual side of agency (see below) is crucial, as in Bourdieu's habitus concept (Bourdieu 1977 [1972]). Actors recursively implement structures through the performance of dispositions of acting, perceiving, feeling and judging, which are constituted by past experiences and inscribed in the body (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 978, Schwingel 1995: 60). Milieu membership shapes the typical interests and goals of actors, as well as typical problems (Förster 1997: 158). For example, residents from milieus living in Polana Caniço and Sommerschield II, and residents from milieus in Linbro Park and Alexandra, may all have certain security problems in their lives, but the types of crime they consider a problem may differ considerably, and this can be a cause of contention in encounters, with relations of power influencing whose problem definition becomes socially more relevant.

In contrast to other approaches to social differentiation, the milieu concept assumes that the 'objective' conditions of life (income, living environment etc.) do not totally determine the 'subjective' views, practices and lifestyles of a milieu (Abels 2009: 326, Hradil 1999: 431). Rather, people with very similar education, work and income can develop quite distinct ways of life. The concept is therefore especially promising for the analysis of social differentiation in African societies where unidimensional perspectives focusing, for example, solely on income fail (Kroeker, O'Kane and Scharrer 2018, Neubert 2005a).[20] The phenomenological milieu perspective I adopt here focuses on small-scale milieus, and not statistically defined large groups as done in quantitative milieu studies. The ethnographic milieu analysis generalises through ethnography 'from the bottom up': from individual actors to characteristics they share with others.

Paying attention to urban milieus makes us aware that the way people experience the urban, their possibilities of action and their ways of relating to others differs widely across them. This raises a very important, yet often neglected question in comparative urbanism (Gough 2013). *Whose* city are we writing about? *Whose* urban lives we focus on greatly affects the nature of the comparisons (ibid: 877). Understanding urban difference through social milieus is a useful path towards becoming more aware about *whose* city we are writing about.

workers, for example, have intimate knowledge about the everyday routines of the family they work for (familiarity), yet they do not share the same routine (normality).

20 African cities are marked by an increasing inequality and differentiation of lifestyles, but there is a lack of empirical and conceptual work on social differentiation which goes beyond uni-dimensional perspectives. Research often focused on socio-cultural differentiation with 'ethnicity' as a key concept or it focused on socioeconomic differentiation (key concepts 'poverty' and 'livelihood') in the context of poverty reduction and development (Neubert 2005b). The concepts of 'milieu' and 'lifestyle' are able to bring these two dimensions together and are hence very promising as analytical frameworks to study social differentiation in Africa (Neubert 2005a). The concept of milieu and its related concept of lifestyle have become prominent in German sociology since about the 1980s (Hradil 1999: 42). They can be regarded as replacements for the classical approaches to social stratification, which analysed the vertical structure of society along economic lines, such as class theories by Marx and Weber (Abels 2009: 266ff.). For the use of milieu analysis in anthropology see also Bauer (2007) and Kaiser-Grolimund (2017).

Agency

The aim of urban anthropology should not only be to describe differences between urban milieus, as this would create a static picture of urban lifeworlds. Gupta and Ferguson propose a bigger task for an anthropology in the contemporary world. The task is to explore "*the processes of production of difference* in a world of culturally, socially, and economically interconnected and interdependent spaces" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 14, italics added). One of the biggest fallacies of research on urban differences would be to take differences as fixed attributes or static forces (Bridge and Watson 2013a: 502). As academics we need to be careful not to exaggerate differences, nor to exoticise or to construct milieus as overly bounded and independent from each other.

Agency is an important concept for drawing attention to the urban dweller's capacity to shape and change urban differences, spaces and urban entanglements. The analytical category agency focuses on the social actor's capabilities of sustaining and altering structural contexts. Agency can then be defined "as the temporarily constructed engagement by actors of different social environments which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement structure their lifeworld in interactive responses to the problems posed by the historical situation they have to cope with" (Förster and Koechlin 2011: 7, based on Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Actors do not act in situations from a *tabula rasa* but bring with them a stock of knowledge of pre-existing patterns or schemas of actions, of experiences and of meanings (ibid: 971). Through the process of typification, actors recognise sameness or difference in an emerging situation by comparing it with situations in the past. Depending on their agentic orientation toward the past, present or future, they may then repeat, adjust or reconfigure them to the contingencies of the emerging situation (ibid: 971). In everyday encounters between members of different milieus it is through their agency that urban dwellers can shape and change their ways of interrelatedness and, hence, urban society. Because of actors' agency, entanglements are at the same time fluid, shifting and contingent as well as shaped by patterns from the past.

Outline of the Book

How do people live together in cities shaped by inequality? This question guided the fieldwork based on which this book was written. Between 2010 and 2012, I conducted fourteen months of fieldwork in Johannesburg and Maputo. During the seven months of fieldwork in each city, I conducted – with the support of three research assistants – over 140 interviews, and documented over 400 instances of participation, observation and informal conversations in English and Portuguese.[21] I explored neighbourhoods, everyday trajectories and sites of encounters in the two cities. My fieldwork was hence guided by three foci which I explored in a circular manner. Firstly, I was interested in how everyday lives evolve in the four neighbourhoods, and I explored them in

21 I distinguish participation from observation as two distinct methods, in line with Förster (2001). In participation, many actions take place in an interwoven manner, like talking, doing things, and also seeing. It is not possible, though, to observe and participate at the same time, as they are based on two different modes of experience. While observation is based on distance, participation is based on direct engagement with the world (Förster 2001: 468-9).

ways similar to classical neighbourhood studies as a form of entry into urban life. I mapped spaces, organisations and urban milieus in the neighbourhoods, participated in everyday life and conducted ethnographic interviews. Secondly, I wanted to understand the everyday trajectories of urban dwellers which mostly evolved on paths and routes through the city, linking their neighbourhoods with workplaces, spaces of consumption and of worship somewhere else in the city. I therefore 'followed' (Marcus 1995) urban dwellers through the city, by accompanying them in 'go-alongs' (Kusenbach 2003), by having them draw their spatial routines on a map, and by interviewing them about their trajectories. I also conducted interviews with photo elicitation (Collier 1957, Harper 2002), which means that I showed photographs of specific urban spaces to evoke narratives, and I asked urban dwellers to keep self-administered diaries of everyday routines (Zimmerman and Wieder 1977). Thirdly, I explored spaces of encounters, meaning the sites and themes where the lives of my informants from the adjacent neighbourhoods became entangled. Here I used the same methods, triangulating observation, participation and ethnographic interviews. I approached these spaces of encounter as well as the other two steps with a methodology developed at the Institute of Social Anthropology at Basel University called the *Emic Evaluation Approach*. This approach consists of a triangulation of three different perspectives, namely, the mapping of actors and spaces, social discourse analysis and practice analysis (Förster et al. 2011, Heer 2011, for more details see the postscript).

The ethnography starts in *chapter two* with what seems at first a classical neighbourhood study. The chapter analyses urban conviviality in the densely populated township of Alexandra, stigmatised as a place of poverty and crime. It shows that the township has been constituted in the past and continues to be constituted by struggles around insider and outsider divisions, mostly centred on questions of access to urban land. Exploring the spaces of everyday life like homes, yards, night spaces and spaces of civic life, it becomes clear that the spatial boundaries of the township shape life powerfully, yet urban dwellers nevertheless create connections across milieus and to the rest of the city. The chapter criticises narratives of cities as a mosaic of separate worlds, and shows that Alexandra township, popularly imagined as segregated and uniformly poor, is in reality a deeply differentiated and connected urban setting.

Chapter three focuses on the intimate entanglements between domestic workers and their suburban employers in Linbro Park. The domestic worker–employer relationship constitutes a habitual, quotidian and invisible urban entanglement, connecting lifeworlds and spaces in intimate and lasting ways. The chapter shows that in post-apartheid Linbro Park, relations between employers and workers still resemble relations of domination and resistance (Scott 1990). Yet the chapter also shows how affection plays an important role in these relations, pointing to the ambivalences, tensions and contradictions in intimate entanglements. The chapter criticises the bias in urban studies towards public spaces and the neglect of encounters in private spaces.

Chapter four looks at the agency of white property owners in Linbro Park who are confronted with municipal plans to construct public housing for Alexandra's poor in their neighbourhood. What is at stake here is a potential redistribution of land in what used to be a deeply segregated urban area. The chapter focuses on the practices of a social group that engages in a politics of loss, opposing change because they may lose a part of their privilege in the changing city. The politics of loss is part of the current boundary re-articulation processes, both real and imagined, between suburb and

township. In the chapter, neighbourhood change emerges as the result of multiple actors trying to shape urban space and conviviality according to their own images and visions. By opposing high densities in urban plans, by hoping to sell land to private developers to avoid expropriation and by trying to install a City Improvement District (CID), the affluent property owners aspire to save their 'country living in the city' lifestyle.

Chapter five looks at the agency of elite urbanites living in Sommerschield II and the agency of Polana Caniço's' residents, by exploring the *politics of proximity* emerging at the transforming boundaries of *Cidade* and *Caniço* in Maputo. The chapter focuses, on the one hand, on attempts by urban elites to manage the proximity to their poorer neighbours through a road closure which Polana Caniço's residents destroyed overnight. On the other hand, the chapter writes about the larger gentrification processes shaping this urban area, in the course of which many of Polana Caniço's residents decided to sell their land and move to the outskirts of the city. Entangled neighbourhoods exemplify the continuing relevance of colonial dichotomies, yet they are also the sites for their transformation. The chapter ends with a comparative section bringing together some of the insights from the preceding chapters and outlining four axes of urban differences (among them established–newcomer boundaries and distinctions around property ownership), which are important in these neighbourhoods and which should receive more attention in urban research.

Chapter six discusses forms of sociality across class and ethnic boundaries which emerge within shared religious spaces in Maputo and Johannesburg. It shows that religion and spirituality are central yet often neglected aspects of urbanity. Religious practices and spaces influence the way urban dwellers use and experience the city and how they become entangled with others. The chapter shows that in both Maputo and Johannesburg, religiously embedded charity is an important form of creating entanglements. The paternal bonds created through alms giving and alms receiving are forms of sociation that integrate socially and spatially diverging milieus not despite but because of inequality. The chapter also explores fleeting encounters at a suburban church and a neighbourhood prayer place, analysing the relations between believers emerging through co-presence in religious spaces. While religion provides discourses of equality which urban dwellers utilise to make claims, everyday interactions are still shaped by the memory of colonial and apartheid racial separation which become easily reactivated in moments of competition and conflict.

Chapter seven shows that shopping malls are important spaces of public life in African cities which need to be understood in their own right, rather than being perceived as inferior in comparison to what some see as 'proper' public spaces. The chapters criticise narratives which portray malls as fortified enclaves that exclude the 'African' urbanity. Using Foucault's concept of *heterotopia* (Foucault 1986 [1967]) the ethnography approaches the Maputo Shopping Centre and the Greenstone Shopping Centre comparatively with regard to spatial practices by users, competing representations of the malls, encounters in malls and the relationship between the mall and other urban settings. Malls as entangled spaces of heterotopia are not uniform, bounded spaces, but rather have multiple layer of meanings produced by actors with diverging powers; from everyday users, environmental activists and property investors to mall managers. Surprisingly, shopping activities not only emphasise inequality between affluent and poor mallgoers, but also bring about instances of togetherness across multiple social

boundaries. The Maputo Shopping Centre emerges as a *heterotopic mirror*, making the urban dwellers more aware of where their place in society is, yet at the same time also inspiring them to imagine a different life. Greenstone Mall, in contrast, works as a *heterotopia of compensation*, a place that compensates for the perceived dangerousness of suburban street life and the hardship of shack living.

The *closing remarks* suggest that we can think of the entanglements in Maputo and Johannesburg as *blind fields* (Lefebvre 2003 [1970]). Urban entanglements contradict the ideology of separateness that the previous epoch – apartheid and colonialism – entrenched. Still today, they may be *blind fields*, things we don't see because they lie outside our perspective, outside what is epistemologically imaginable to us, and outside that which the past epoch *wanted* us to see. The fact that entanglements remain often unseen and invisible is, therefore, not only a question of a *wrong lens* for looking at the urban, but is also about power and ideology. Powerful actors like urban elites may *refuse* to see and recognise entanglements. In this ethnography, it is then especially members of poor milieus, from Alexandra and Polana Caniço, who make claims to recognise the connectedness and mutual responsibility across social and spatial divides, while members of elite milieus tend to turn a blind eye to this. Seeing Maputo and Johannesburg less as *divided cities* or *cities of walls* and more as *cities of entanglements* is, therefore, also a change from not only looking at the two cities from the perspective of urban elites who desire to withdraw themselves from connectedness, towards looking at Maputo and Johannesburg from the perspective of the urban poor for whom connectedness is an indisputable urban reality, and a basic condition for being able to survive socially and economically in the cities marked by inequalities. What we need, hence, is an ethics and politics of interrelation. How we deal with and shape our entanglements is the key ethical and political question of urban futures.

The *postscript* takes a reflexive stance toward the research process that led to this book and makes methodological comments about comparative ethnography and comparative urbanism. The postscript criticises the fact that comparative urbanism emphasises theory building through comparison, yet lacks an engagement with the hands-on aspects of doing comparative qualitative urban research. The postscript introduces the disciplinary history of comparison in anthropology, outlines the *biography* of the units of comparison and the analytical framework of this book, and draws attention to the importance of the researcher as an *entangled comparer*. Positionality, reflexivity, the web of relationships in the fields and specificities of the urban context shape the research process and knowledge production through comparative ethnography in important ways, making it not only a way of *thinking cities through elsewhere* (Robinson 2016b) but also a way of *experiencing cities through elsewhere*.

By means of comparison, this ethnography aims to move beyond the confines of the scholarship of South African and Lusophone urban studies, which have both long treated the respective cities as exceptional. In this way, we can move beyond provincialism and develop a new form of urban studies which takes into account the diversity of urban experiences (Lancione and McFarlane 2016, Robinson 2006a, Söderström 2014). This book distances itself clearly from an understanding of comparison that reduces entire cities and the complexities of urban practices to fixed variables, or which explains differences and similarities through simple relations of causality. Rather, this research is comparative in the sense that it explores the urban with two cities, four neighbourhoods and manifold urban milieus in mind. In addition, this

ethnography should not be misunderstood as being split into two parts according to geography; rather, the fundamental concepts developed in one chapter feed into the others and vice versa. *Cities of entanglements*, hence, hopes to invite the reader to look at Johannesburg and Maputo, as well as cities in general, in new ways.

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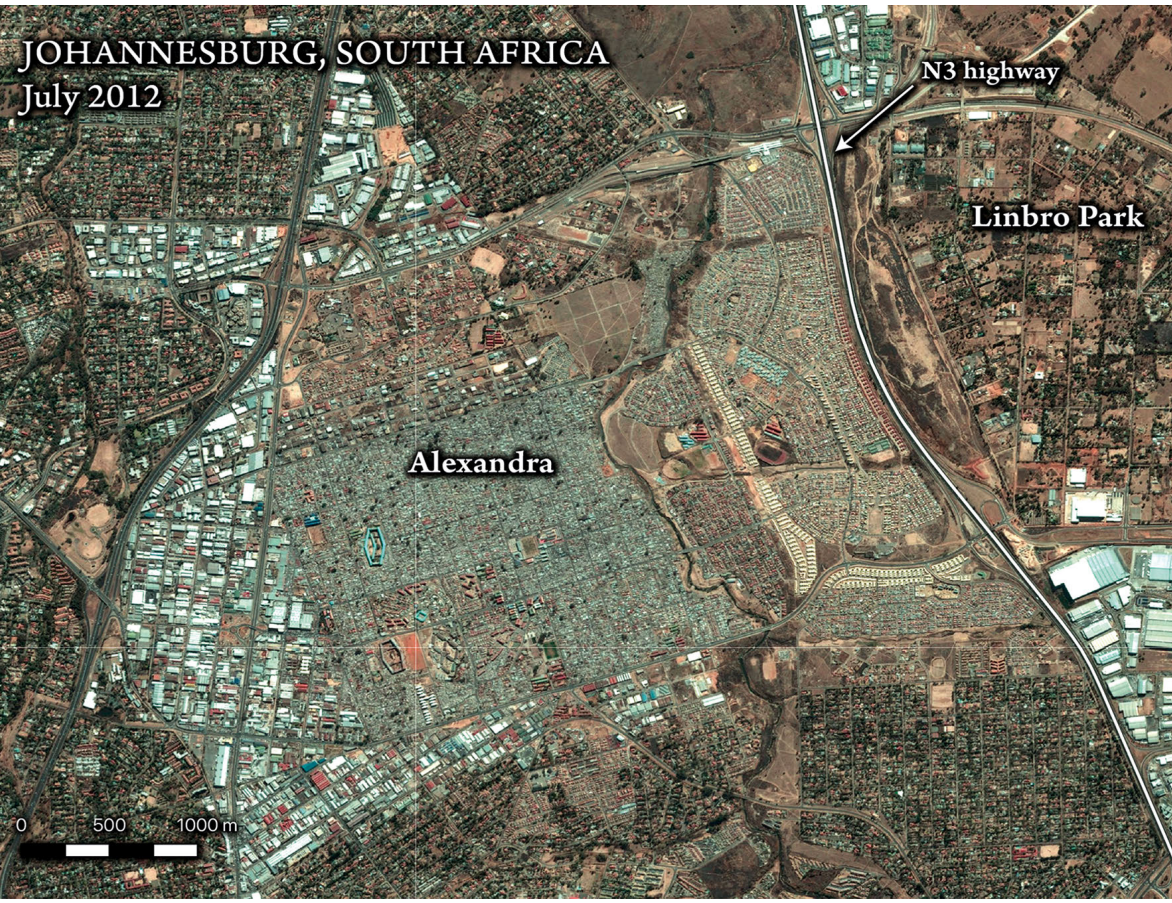

Google Maps 2012, amended by the author

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