

# LUSOPHONING

## SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDIES

Workshop, Copenhagen, 10-11 December 2018

### Abstracts



## KEYNOTE

Jon SCHUBERT

*Brunel University London*

### **Angola, Mozambique, and its Southern African neighbours: the pleasures and perils of comparison**

This keynote presentation gives an — admittedly subjective — overview of recent scholarship on Angola and Mozambique. Through this, the paper examines the potential for regional comparative work and the ways in which interdisciplinary scholarship in and on Lusophone Southern Africa may fruitfully engage with research carried out in the Anglophone neighbouring countries of the sub-region, and seeks to map out potential avenues for future research along the broad thematic axes of the workshop.

**Jon Schubert** is a political and economic anthropologist working on political authority, transnational capitalism, infrastructures, and the affects of violence in Angola and Mozambique. He is the author of *Working the System: A Political Ethnography of the New Angola* (Cornell University Press 2017), and currently a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at Brunel University London

## BOOK LAUNCH

Jason SUMICH

*University of Essex*

### ***The Middle Class in Mozambique: The State and the Politics of Transformation in Africa***

In recent years, the growth of a middle class has been a key feature of the 'Africa Rising' narrative. Here, Sumich explores the formation of this middle class in Mozambique, answering questions about the basis of the class system and the social order that gives rise to it. Drawing extensively on his fieldwork, Sumich argues that power and status in dominant party states like Mozambique derives more from the ability to access resources, rather than from direct control of the means of production. By considering the role of the state, he shows how the Mozambican middle class can both be bound to a system they benefit from and alienated from it at the same time, as well as exploring the ways in which the middle classes attempt to reproduce their positions of privilege and highlighting the deep uncertain future that they face.

**Jason Sumich** is Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, University of Essex. He is a political anthropologist who works on issues of class formation, the state, hegemony, citizenship, and the politics of enclaving in Southern Africa, primarily Mozambique. He holds a PhD from the London School of Economics (2006) and an MA from the University of Cape Town (2001). His current research explores new forms of urban governance and control as a member of the project 'Enclaving: Patterns of Global Futures in Three African Cities', funded by the Research Council of Norway.

## PANEL PRESENTERS

Bjørn Enge BERTELSEN  
*University of Bergen*

### **The non-technocratic nature of security: Architecture, circulation and generative desires in urban Maputo**

Fluid and open, multiple and collaborative. Such terms are frequently invoked to describe African modalities of sovereignty, policing and, crucially, urban security. Engaging such descriptions and based on Maputo material, in this paper I will indicate how one might usefully envisage security beyond an effective control guaranteed by state agents and commercial guards— oftentimes unhelpful technocratic visions propagated by representatives and discourses of the security-development nexus. Instead, and in beginning to sketch a map of security beyond (visions in) such domains, I will draw on cosmologies and experiences of urban architecture, imageries of circulation and loci, as well as dynamics generative of non-/para-state modulations of security. In doing so I hope to 1) contribute to moving away from a state-centric and universalizing view of security as riddled by lack and inadequacy, 2) to sketch a more humane, plural notion of security uncontained by neither formal urban cadastralization nor neoliberal ideologies of capital-dependent provision and, finally, 3) to identify Lusophone African traces and trajectories across various domains that impinge on security's non-technocratic nature as this is experienced in Maputo. An aim is thereby to use an ethnographically informed analysis to re-think what an approach to critical security studies would entail, if viewed from Mozambique.

**Bjørn Enge Bertelsen** is a professor in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway. His research includes urban Africa, political anthropology, and egalitarianism. Recent publications include the monograph *Violent Becomings: State Formation, Sociality, and Power in Mozambique* (2016) and the edited works *Crisis of the State: War and Social Upheaval* (with Bruce Kapferer, 2009); *Navigating Colonial Orders: Norwegian Entrepreneurship in Africa and Oceania, ca. 1850 to 1950* (with Kirsten Kjerland, 2015); *Violent Reverberations: Global Modalities of Trauma* (with Vigdis Broch-Due, 2016); *Critical Anthropological Engagements in Human Alterity and Difference* (with Synnøve Bendixsen, 2016) and *Mozambique on the Move: Challenges and Reflections* (with Sheila P. Khan and Paula Meneses, 2019).

Lars BUUR  
*Roskilde University*

### **The Politics of Natural Resource Investments in Mozambique**

Large-scale investments in natural resources can help transform African economies by accelerating economic growth, creating jobs and strengthening the links between local economies and the global economy. However, they often end up violating the rights of local populations and leave them with few benefits, which in turn may lead to social protests and political instability, potentially causing investments to be delayed or abandoned. In this presentation, I present key findings from the Hierarchies Research programme related to what characterises large-scale investments in natural resources that are implemented without infringing the rights of local populations. The analysis we develop focuses on the triangular relationships between investors, local populations and ruling elites. We argue that, when the more or less simultaneous outcomes of these conflictual relationships involve 'reciprocal exchange deals' between investors and local

populations, 'compatible interests' between ruling elites and investors, and 'mutual recognition' between local populations and ruling elites, then the chances of investments being implemented without rights being infringed are at their highest. Examples from large-scale natural resource investments in Mozambique will be used to illustrate analytical pointers.

**Lars Buur** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences and Business, Roskilde University

Ricardo Soares DE OLIVEIRA  
*University of Oxford*

### **The politics of Angolan banking through boom and bust**

From a negligible size at the turn of the century, Angolan banking had grown into Africa's third largest sector by the time of the drop in oil prices in 2014. Its growth amidst regulatory opaqueness was harnessed to the interests of the country's oligarchy, in a pattern of dense interweaving between, state, state-owned enterprises, the ruling party and "private" (though politically connected) ownership. The sector's modern structures and internationalised character, far from supporting broad-based credit provision and aiding the country's economic diversification, resulted instead in massive capital flight into the international financial system. Faced with a precipitous downturn since 2014 and a new administration under President Lourenco since 2017, Angola's authorities now claim to want a deep reform of the banking sector and its repurposing for developmental goals. This presentation charts the trajectory of Angolan banking in its political context and outlines the challenges posed by its size and dysfunctional regulation as well as the elite interests lined up against significant reform.

**Ricardo Soares de Oliveira** is Professor of the International Politics of Africa, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, a fellow of St Peter's College, Oxford, and an Associated Senior Researcher at the Christian Michelsen Institute, Bergen. He is the author of *Oil and Politics in the Gulf of Guinea* (2007) and *Magnificent and Beggar Land: Angola Since the Civil War* (2015) and the co-editor of *China Returns to Africa* (2008).

Lucia KULA  
*University of London*

### **Beyond Colonial Borders: Identity and Belonging in Post-Colonial Angola**

This projects pivots around an interdisciplinary study to examine border spaces and the changing forms of identity and belonging in post-colonial spaces. Highlighting the importance of an African feminist approach that holds gender, displacement and socio-economic narratives in mind, a critical examination of vulnerability and the intersections of (im)mobility and gendered theories on migration is used to interrogate identity politics within Angola's borders. Post-colonial principles of identity and cross-border movements as a "multidimensional continuum" of migratory movements is used to conceptualise the complexity of the relationship between the (il)legality of the documented/ undocumented, belonging and identity. Understanding the intersections of gender and the (im)mobility of displacement within the context of conflict, violence and post-conflict societies demands for an analysis to understand identity, community building, belonging and how this interacts with the law. How relevant is current interdisciplinary discourse on migration and identity politics within the context of lusophone Africa, more specifically Angola? With this paper the aim is to explore the mechanisms of (migration) laws,

cross-border movements and post-colonial critique to migratory movements in the creation of liquid borders and liminal spaces of belonging.

**Lucia Kula** is a PhD researcher at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK.

Anna MAZZOLINI  
*Aarhus University*

### **Housing policies and the spatial politics of aesthetics, aspiration and social relations. Neoliberal housing at macro and micro levels in Mozambique**

Analyses of housing policies in the Global South focus mainly on actors and practices at the macro-level (state, investors, and others shaping the housing market) and through mono-disciplinary perspectives (economic, spatial, etc.). By contrast, the consequences especially of neoliberal housing policies and practices on the ground and at the micro-level are not widely investigated. Such trends and their effects in Mozambique over the past two decades have contributed to a vicious circle of housing unaffordability, speculation in land prices, absence of rental market and obsession for formal titles as the only panacea for urban inclusion. Not only does this miss the target of low-income groups but it ensures the “institutionalisation” of a planning trend made up of unregulated, ad-hoc solutions jeopardising the more inclusive policy roots that the country still holds. This paper draws on ongoing ethnographic research in Maputo, which, linking spatial and architectural features with new social and urban aspirations, is concerned with how policy trends reshape sets of values, aesthetic/ housing preferences, and relational ties among residents. It explores how the recent period of ‘neoliberalisation’ of land and housing provision in Mozambique has influenced the everyday practices of local housing construction and space production, and which new social values and aspirations are reflected in such practices. In particular, it looks at the influences of housing policies *at an invisible level*: through practices of aspiration, imitation and reshaping of micro-politics and the reshaping of housing/living spaces. These practices are those which principally produce the city form.

**Anna Mazzolini** is a Post-Doc Researcher within the research programme ‘Middle Class Urbanism: An interdisciplinary study of the physical reordering of urban sub-Saharan Africa’, at Aarhus University, Denmark, and is also a Housing Expert

Morten NIELSEN  
*National Museum of Denmark*

### **“Ideological Resonance”: The unlikely marriage between collapsed socialism and speculative capitalism in contemporary urban Mozambique**

In recent years, Mozambique has experienced a massive upsurge in large-scale urban infrastructure and housing projects. Financed through a hodgepodge of state-private agreements and orchestrated by a motley crowd of national and foreign consortia and political entrepreneurs, these investment projects carve into the urban fabric new aesthetic tensions and spatial rhythms for the city to narrative itself. For example, bordering the recently built ring road that partially encircles the national capital, a new neighborhood is rapidly emerging. Although very few of the high-end houses that constitute the neighborhood are occupied, the area has become Maputo’s financial pulse. It indicates the syncopated rhythm and always varying speed at which the city’s speculative investment topography is being reconfigured. But why does speculative capitalism

thrive so profitably in contemporary urban Mozambique? Obviously, the immediate and not entirely inaccurate answer is to be found in the institutional and financial weaknesses of the worn-out nation-state. In this paper, however, I will suggest that the current building boom needs to be understood also in relation to its ideological underpinnings. For it seems to me that Mozambique's political cosmology, structured around the legacy of collapsed socialism, is one that is surprisingly fitting for expansive speculative capitalism. With this paper, then, I wish to promote the notion of 'ideological resonance' as a way of capturing the dynamics of contemporary urban Mozambique.

**Morten Nielsen** has a PhD in social anthropology and is a senior researcher at the National Museum of Denmark and head of the interdisciplinary research project 'Middle Class Urbanism: An interdisciplinary study of the physical reordering of urban sub-Saharan Africa'. Based on his fieldwork in Mozambique, Scotland, and USA, he has published on issues such as urban citizenship, time and temporality, comedy, human creativity, urban aesthetics, materiality, infrastructure, and political cosmologies. Recent publications include articles in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *Social Analysis*, and *Social Anthropology*.

Justin PEARCE  
*University of Cambridge*

### **Wartime cleavage, peace settlements and post-war politics: Angola and Mozambique compared**

If there is anything to be gained from specifically considering "Lusophone" southern Africa this must be on the basis of contingent experiences common to Angola and Mozambique but which are not shared more widely within southern Africa. This paper compares the tactics and social relations of UNITA and Renamo, both former armed movements and respectively the main opposition parties in Angola and Mozambique. The trajectories of both movements are to be found in a common experience of Portuguese colonisation, belated anticolonial activity and a fractured nationalist movement. Upon independence these fractures combined with Cold War enmities to produce civil war. In both countries close identification between ruling party and state limits the possibilities for opposition activity. I examine three points where Renamo and UNITA diverge. First, the outcome of the two wars restricted the possibilities for the post-war party: military stalemate in Mozambique, contrasting with an Angolan government victory that allowed it to dictate the terms of the settlement. Within these parameters, two factors endogenous to the opposition movements themselves determine how they engage in politics: first, the nature of the relationship between the rebel movement and the population under its control and second, the skills and organisational habits developed during wartime that have shaped the party's programme in peacetime.

**Justin Pearce** is a lecturer in African politics at the University of Cambridge.

Amaro Segundo RICARDO  
*Universidade Katyavala Bwila, Angola*

### **Cluster analysis of policies and practices in the governing of Angola's counties**

Factors such as resource constraints, conflicting objectives between various interest groups and uncertainties about project priorities and resource availability have clearly conditioned decisions

concerning large-scale investment and territory management projects in Angola. In other words, unfortunately, there is no shortage of references to policy measures whose results and usefulness have not been short-lived. The difficulties that the country has been experiencing due to the economic and financial crisis have encouraged the emergence of new models of management and administration of all national territory. Thus, the author believes that, among others, a more consistent paradigm for the organization of population aggregates is one of the ways to pursue the equity and sustainability of public investment policies. This paper tries to explain the reasons for such policy failures, systematizing the information about the Angolan municipal system judged to be dispersed. It proposes a comprehensive multivariate cluster model for population aggregates, aimed at contributing to improve such policies.

**Amaro Ricardo** is a PhD researcher at the Instituto Superior Politécnico – Universidade Katyavala Bwila, Benguela, Angola, and an experienced civil servant in local government in Angola.

Carmeliza Soares da Costa ROSÁRIO  
*University of Bergen*

### ***The King is Dead, Long Live the Queen* – continuities and discontinuities of female authority within erstwhile traditionally male roles in Mozambique**

This paper discusses how people have made sense and coped with change imposed by the different state regimes under which they lived, through the life history of one such female leader in Zambezia, the daughter of a chief from the colonial *Regulado* system. I argue that regime disruptions are never total and, thus, carry within them both aspects of discontinuity but also crucial aspects of continuity. In the case of this daughter—who was entitled *Rainha* (Queen)—the discontinuity regards her taking up the position of *mwene* (clan/area leader to the *Régulo*), traditionally held by men, in spite of her gender. The continuity stems from the fact that women leaders have long been part of the local socio-political heritage. Through revisiting moments of disruption to local political organisation in Mozambique, the paper seeks to understand the possible implication of the resurgence of women in traditional leadership roles, from the perspective of their subjects. The disrupting moments include the introduction of the *regulado* system by the Portuguese in mid-19th century, as a way to co-opt native leaderships and institute a form of indirect rule over the indigenous population (Pelissier 2004), where ruling families retained formal power, under the colonial state's influence. Women were found unfit to rule by the colonial state. Husbands and sons-in-law were chosen to take their place.

The post-independence Socialist regime led by FRELIMO, sought to eliminate colonial political structures, among which the *Regulado* system (Geffray 1990, Bowen 2000, Bertelsen 2016). The internal war that followed independence, partly externally funded, capitalised on popular dissatisfaction with the forced elimination of traditional leaderships roles and other customary practices. Following the peace accords in 1992, the renewed FRELIMO led regime gradually re-introduced a remodelled *Regulado* system, still ensuring full state control over traditional leaderships. Women leaders are increasingly being appointed to the traditional leadership echelons. This fits both the post-independence women's emancipation rhetoric, as much as the current gender equality agendas. It remains to be seen, whether this is taken by the common citizen as a disruption in the socio-political order, or whether women in traditional leadership positions fit better in a new emancipatory and equality logic, or elect to relate to previous socio-political meanings.

**Carmeliza Rosário** is a Social and Development Anthropologist, focusing on poverty and social development in Mozambique. As part of her doctoral studies she is conducting research on the

memory of women of power and authority in Zambezia. Her current interest is the politics of knowledge production on Mozambique.

Blair RUTHERFORD  
*Carlton University, Ottawa*

### **The (im)propriety of property and persons in “natural resources governance”: Reflections on gendered borderlands of gold mining in Manica district, Mozambique**

Whereas policies, scholarship, and laws that discuss, promote and/or enact “natural resources governance” often rely on normative appraisals clearly outlining “proper” forms of property and persons (as well as transactions), the sociocultural and geographical landscapes of mining are inherently shifting. In Mozambique, much international and national focus has been on large-scale extractives of minerals and gas. Yet, “artisanal mining” has been a priority of both local governments and many communities in Manica district. Drawing on ethnographic research, this talk examines some of the shifting entanglements between gendered artisanal mining livelihoods, authority relations, and “natural resources governance” imaginaries pertaining to women's mining livelihood practices. In particular, I critically explore the simultaneously hard and porous boundaries of property inherent in mining licenses and of those performatively constituting relationships between gendered persons. This Mozambican research speaks to the conceptual richness of borderlands, of the layered, articulating and disarticulating practices, assemblages, desires and “dull compulsions” that converge in enforced boundaries between different territorialized entities. I seek to extend the important contributions of the scholarship on the borderlands between Manica district and Zimbabwe in terms of labour migration to also examine the gendered borderlands between small-scale mining and artisanal mining and their configurations of governance.

**Bair Rutherford** is a Professor of Anthropology at Carlton University, Ottawa, Canada

Lisa ÅKESSON  
*University of Gothenburg*

### **In the long shadow of lusotropicalism: Portuguese migrants in Luanda**

Lusophone postcolonial scholars have described Portugal as a colonial empire characterized by incompetence, miscegenation and *cafrealização*. During the dictatorial Salazar regime, this historical stigma was turned into something positive, a marker of openness, mixture and non-racism. The colonial lusotropical ideology turned hybridity into a Portuguese pride. Among the Portuguese migrants I met in Luanda, this pride was still discernible in a postlusotropicalist discourse. Portuguese interviewees gave voice to an idealized belief in a better kind of colonialism characterized by mixture and absence of racism. In a similar vein, they tended to describe themselves as harbouring an innate disposition to mixture and non-racism. Accordingly, many Portuguese expressed postlusotropical ideals, although these seemed to exist in a strange isolation from the same people's discourse on actually collaborating with Angolans on a daily basis at workplaces. Actually, Portuguese informants quite regularly talked both about a smooth mixture and the impossibilities of working together with Angolans. Needless to say, images of harmonious mixture and non-racism were not presented by Angolan informants. Yet they could also talk about similarities between themselves and the Portuguese, but then mostly in negative terms. It was clear that for them the hybridity entailed a loss, whereas for the Portuguese it was



connected to a glorious history of conquests. In conclusion, understandings connected to the presumed specificities of Portuguese colonialism continue to colour postcolonial encounters between ex-colonizers and ex-colonized in Luanda.

**Lisa Åkesson** is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg