ANGOLAN CITIES: URBAN (RE)SEGREGATION?

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Colonial Angolan cities were built according to the racial, economic and social stratification of the time. After independence, ideologies of social egalitarianism, together with massive migration towards urban centres, profoundly changed this spatial organisation, creating socially and economically mixed areas in the cities. This spatial blending lasted until very recently, when new, closed districts began to be built and when the old 'rich' *bairros* began to be bought up and renovated by upper-class families. The new urban segregation, which is a tendency documented, for example, in the former apartheid cities or in the cities of other developing countries, is essentially the result of new social and economic differentiations.

The forms that this segregation takes are not necessarily colonial centre/periphery distinctions (although this configuration has been partially readopted) but, as in other developing countries, there is a certain tendency to create new social 'enclaves', closed and guarded residential spaces. As in other African cities, the discourse of violence and the 'fear of crime' are used to legitimate these social, economic, and spatial divisions. To different degrees and taking on different forms, the new socio-spatial organisation of Angolan cities tends to recover old spatial differentiations and to create new ones. This phenomenon is most evident in Luanda, the capital, but even in very small cities like Ondjiva or in medium-sized urban centres like Benguela, Lobito or Lubango, it is possible to affirm that socio-economic stratification is gradually being translated into spatial and residential differentiation. These appropriations of the urban space create and recreate new competing claims while, at the same time, shape new urban sociability.

The most significant debate on the question of the spatial configuration of social relations is, undoubtedly, that which opposes the human ecology interpretation of the Chicago school to a socio-spatial

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perspective (Spinks 2001: 6). If for the former[2] the composition and social organisation of space in distinct zones—which are contiguous, but do not interpenetrate—determine the characteristics of the social groups that occupy them, for the latter, social space and social mechanisms establish reciprocal relations, i.e. space is at the same time a consequence and a cause of social relations (ibid.). According to the ecological school, the inhabitants of cities are various and independent from/to each other in their struggle for a social position and a suitable localisation in the city, which results in an ecological 'segregation', whether voluntary or involuntary (Villaca 2001). The social determination produced by inhabited space, however, has been the object of various criticisms.

Other lines of argumentation, also determinist, support the analysis of urban space in a historical and evolutionary determination of socio-spatial configurations. For evolutionary theories, industrialisation represents the determining factor for the stages of evolution of which urban centres are a part. But these theories have never been able to explain the phenomena in developing countries where weak industrial development has not blocked urban growth. Another type of determinism can also be identified in the analysis of the socio-political structures that inform the rules for socio-spatial segregation. Structuralists believe that the dualistic nature of cities in developing countries is directly related to colonial capitalism (Savage and Warde 1993).

The difficulties of these types of approaches in developing countries are numerous: not only do the rapid and sometimes abrupt transformations of urban configurations question ecological determinism in its strictest sense, but they also prevent the clear delimitation of the stages of development of urban centres. Moreover, socio-political transformations have rapidly and profoundly altered the dual nature imposed by colonialism in countries like Angola; in various urban contexts in the developing countries, we can see the increase in conflicts between social classes and strata, producing new forms of auto-segregation of space, for example by creating enclaves.

In analysing the segregation of space in today's Angolan cities, the argumentation used here takes into account the analysis of other urban contexts in southern countries. Thus it is stated that the intentionally dual structure of colonial urban space in Angola—the wealthy city centre

[2] For example, Park et al. (1925).

as opposed to the poor periphery—created socio-spatial configurations similar to those of other African and South American countries. However, recent processes have been somewhat different: the post-colonial context in Angola caused this socio-spatial dichotomy to disappear, and a mixed and imbricated structure was created.

But recent tendencies with respect to the organisation of spaces—and its correspondence to social organisation—show an almost resilient re-creation of space segregation in dualistic terms: the urbanised centre where the most favoured social strata circulate and live, and the precarious peripheries where the least favoured are located. On the other hand, this rough spatial division has been characterised by the eruption of precarious constructions in the centre while, in the last years, new wealthy, planned and modern sites have been built in the periphery. The abovementioned socio-spatial mixture and the rapid growth of the population has in Angola—as in South America and South Africa—given rise to enclaves of more affluent social strata, supported with a similar discourse of the increase in crime. They translate new social relations, resilient urban social organisation and the pertinence of spatial codes to the understanding of social competition.

Space Segregation in Third World Countries

The high urban concentration in various developing countries is not based on the same economic and institutional bases as that of developed countries (Cheru 2005: 2), which is, according to Cheru, the difference between the concepts of 'urbanisation with development' and 'urbanisation without development'. In the cities of developing countries, increasing differentiation and inequality are expressed in the enormous diversity of access to services by the various inhabitants of the cities: there are considerable distinctions in terms of investment in infrastructures between the poor and degraded districts and the more prosperous zones (ibid.).

This differentiation also generates social polarisation between the rich and the poor, with the result that this social and spatial fragmentation also influences the capacity of African urban centres to grow and compete: there is not the same technological advance or concentration of a qualified workforce as in other modern cities. Consequently, globalisation reinforces the formerly existing processes of urbanisation without development, and inequality and fragmentation tend to worsen (Cheru

2005: 12). This argument is one way of analysing urban transformations in developing countries because it makes it possible to go beyond the impasse of the dualistic theories of socio-spatial configurations, which have been shown to be unsuited to urban contexts where cohabitation, intense sociability and reciprocity between the various strata and social classes have long been a dominant reality.

This perspective was adopted, for example, for urban studies in Brazil, where the productive reorganisation and the adjustment which were implemented to ensure the insertion of the country into the global economy exacerbated the problems of occupation of space, vulnerability and socio-spatial segregation in the cities (Carvalho 2004: 1): "The increase in inequalities and the superposition of deficiencies contributed to the degradation of the models of sociability and the growth of conflict and violence…" (ibid.: 10), between the marginalised peripheries and the centres, while it led—as a reaction to this conflict—to the building of 'fortified enclaves' where the medium and high-income social strata create their exclusive spaces of circulation, consumption and residence, "which enable them to live among peers, insulated and protected from contact with urban poverty, disorder and violence by large walls, a complex surveillance system and a complete set of rules of avoidance, prohibition and exclusion" (ibid.: 11). This socio-spatial recombining—which implies the setting up of enclaves—is somewhat different from the dualisation of urban space that existed before. This reinforces the point that it is necessary to analyse the specificities of urban trajectories. In Brazil, the recent processes of globalisation and social recombining seem to have visibly changed relations between the urban social classes and the values associated with them: the relations of clientelism—and reciprocity—dominant in urban traditional society which ensured relative social peace, were gradually replaced by individualism and a subsequent rise in conflict and violence (Velho 2004), and this phenomenon is particularly apparent in the metropolitan areas of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. In Mexico, the same phenomenon dominates recent processes of socio-spatial recombining: a study based on the analysis of five enclaves in the capital of Mexico showed that the conditions of the emergence of these closed communities also results from a voluntary separation of the wealthy classes from public space through the construction of barriers in order to avoid disorder, the lack of regulation existing in urban space, crime and violence (Giglia 2003: 12). This closure results in closed streets and residential districts, and is based on the demarcation of social differences (ibid.: 12).

Closed communities—spaces of sociability and cohabitation isolated from the remainder of urban spaces—appear in North America, Brazil and South Africa (Spinks 2001: 10) and are based on the discourse of the fear of crime. The social consequences of the creation—by their inhabitants and/or city planning—of these enclaves are the production of unequal development (spatial concentration of opportunities and resources), consolidation of difference and segregation (ibid.: 11). In this regard, space generates social configurations and, at the same time, social structures produce and transform spaces of residence and sociability. This perspective constitutes a fundamental approach to the socio-spatial dynamic beyond the determinisms and rigid models that dominated urban analysis until recent decades.

The specific analysis of space segregation in the cities of developing countries has shown that urban inequalities are anchored in the colonial model and that this model is reproduced by present-day local elites. In South America, this process of reproduction and substitution of old by new elites began, generally speaking, in the 1940s, while in Lusophone Africa it was only in 1975—the year of independence for the Portuguese colonies—that a clear socio-spatial recombining movement started, along with the replacement of the terms of colonial organisation. Even bearing in mind that "the artificialism of dualistic socio-spatial divisions was often more the result of the ideologies which conceived them than a reality in the life of the inhabitants" (Zaluar and Alvito 1998: 16), and also that in Angolan cities the interference between multiple socio-economic realities also existed in terms of the intersection of residential and relational spaces, the bulk-heading of certain social groups and the creation of enclaves appear to be a recurrent phenomenon in the cities of developing countries[3] and shows that the dynamics of social groups have visible implications in the organisation of space.

The processes which started during different times produced, however, identical characteristics in the present time and, among the general factors which are possible to identify in the analysis of the cities of the south, some should be taken particularly into account: the rapid population growth, the prevalence of poverty, weak socio-economic development.

[3] See, for example, Gilberto Velho's reference to Copacabana in Rio de Janeiro, where he points out that interactions between distinct social categories are permanent and intense, even though ambiguous, based on reciprocities and conflict (Velho 1999: 16–17).

In Angola as in other cities of southern Africa, the phenomenon of socio-spatial recomposition, resulting from the recent transformations of power relations, characterises modern urban centres. In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, it is possible to see the occupation of the old white colonial areas by middle-class Africans (Morris 1999: 76), which implies that the process of abolition of the largely segregationist systems like apartheid did not result in the disappearance of social inequality, but the recombination of the strata and social classes based on different criteria from those in place before. Apartheid, which was the factor that had most influence on space in South Africa,[4] has then been replaced by social inequality grounded on socio-economic criteria and reinforced by the discourse of the fear of crime: "post-apartheid fear of crime facilitates a new form of internal residential spatial order remarkably similar to apartheid segregation" (Spinks 2001: 4). The obstacles created by apartheid and inherited by South Africa are reproduced and maintained through this discourse, transforming cities like Cape Town into more polarised and segregated ones than those in the 1980s, by creating closed and protected residential spaces (ibid.: 30).

This analysis of cities in developing countries is centred, therefore, on two significant tendencies: on the one hand, on the forms of recovery of the old spatial separations created by colonialism and the terms by which these recoveries develop; on the other, in the creation of new spaces, closed and fortified, by social groups which have an economic advantage and constitute an increasingly significant minority in relation to the poor inhabitants of the cities of the south, and which, by using the discourse of the growth of crime and violence (a consequence of the growth of poverty and the degradation of living conditions in the urban milieu), take refuge in isolated spaces where they reproduce their advantageous social conditions.

Urban Dynamics in Angola: Centre and Periphery

In post-colonial Angola, socio-spatial inequality has been translated into a clear separation between the 'town of cement' and the peripheral

[4] See Bill Freund (1999) and Owen Crankshaw (1999), who explore these dynamics in detail.

districts which, in Luanda, are called *musseques*,[5] although this name has been adopted in other Angolan cities to describe areas that do not have asphalted streets. The expression has thus acquired an almost national use, even in contexts where Kimbundo is not the dominant language. The expression assumes a "…sociological significance when it is used to indicate the agglomerations of *cubatas* [precarious houses] built in these areas by those expelled from [the centre of] the city by urban development" (Mendes 1988: 233) and which, however, "by semantic extension ended up similarly indicating the periurban zones occupied by the underprivileged population of the capital" (Carvalho 1997: 68).

The process of urbanisation in Angolan cities is very different. In the capital—the oldest city in the country, where from the end of the nineteenth century there was accentuated urban dynamism—the organisation of space according to the colonial model became evident from the very first decades of the following century: "In Luanda, from 1920 on, the city began to make an obvious segregation of spaces, especially with regard to dwellings and services" (Carneiro 1987: 45).

In Ondjiva, the process of urbanisation only began in 1917—after the battles to conquer Baixo Cunene[6]—and, even during the years before independence, the level of settlement in the area and the growth of the city, promoted by the colonial authorities in the logic of territorial conquest, were still very weak. The town of Pereira d'Eça assumed the status of city only after independence, and the area of Baixo Cunene was an integral part of the district of Huíla up until 1971, when it became the capital of the subsequent district of Cunene (Rodrigues 2005). Until 1975, the area and even the town were predominantly rural, except for a small central area occupied by the services and the houses of the colonial civil servants. Before independence, there were five districts in the town—Naipalala, Kachila, Os Castilhos, Okapale and Kafito—but even there, the urban level was still very relative.

In Lubango, which became a city in 1923, with its first Urban Plan in 1957, demographic growth was rapid in the 1960s and 1970s, caused by strong transcontinental immigration, which caused the growth of the

[5] The word *musseque*, from the Kimbundo language, is made up of *mu* (place) and *seke* (sand), indicating "the red sanded areas of the Luanda plateau, different from the fishing villages (…) and from the 'cement city' of the Portuguese…" (Kasack 1996: 66).

[6] Angolan resistance to colonisation lasted longer in the south of the country; the Kwanhama king Mandume and his army were only defeated in 1915 after a massive military effort.

urbanised area. The city was a point of reception for the population coming primarily from Portugal, which was framed by the colonial policies of settlement and development of the area. The strong economic growth of the area during the last decades of the colonial period made the city a centre of development for the whole area, consequently attracting a great number of people of a rural origin who moved into the peripheral zones of the city, creating, as in Luanda, new shanty towns.

In fact, the socio-spatial organisation imposed by colonialism had the same effects in different Angolan cities, albeit on a different scale. Firstly, there were urbanised centres, where services and the administration were located and which were mainly inhabited by the population of European origin, together with spaces of sociability and movement of this same population. Secondly, the native population and the migrants of rural origin lived in the peripheral zones of the cities, where precarious construction was prevalent and where asphalt and public services were absent. Nevertheless, there was a certain specific intersection of residence and circulation spaces because the less favoured population worked and provided services in the central zone. The marginalised peripheries and the centre represented an opposition rooted in and maintained by the colonial power, assuring its reproduction and, at the same time, the dependency of the native population of jobs and commercial opportunities located in the central areas. For the inhabitants of the peripheral neighbourhoods, proximity to the centre and the investment in the intensification of the economic and social relationships with the centre represented an important social investment, as the few options for mobility were highly dependent on integration.

With the independence of Angola and the departure of the Portuguese from the cities, the abandoned buildings were occupied en masse by the inhabitants of the peripheral districts and the new migrants who came to the centre following the civil war between the governing party—the MPLA[7]—and UNITA.[8] These new urban inhabitants were then characterised both by a 'partial' participation in the urban life. The majority of the periurban dwellers were employed in the commercial and industrial sector in the cities, while the majority of the war migrants had no urban experience. The operation of the administrative services, industrial business management and commercial units were transferred

[7] Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.
[8] União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

to Angolans, especially those that already had an urban background. The phenomenon that occurred afterwards, with this recombination of the urban social foundation, can be characterised as a 'rurbanisation of the cities', as deployed by Felipe Amado in the case of Luanda (Amado 1992). In other cities, however, the dynamics following independence were radically different: in Ondjiva, the city had been emptied due to South African occupation and subsequent war. The depopulation of some Angolan cities after independence and the outbreak of civil war was a phenomenon which also characterised this phase in Huambo and Cuíto. Nevertheless, in urban centres like Lubango, Benguela and Lobito—where the war did not reach—the processes were similar to those of Luanda. In 1983, the growth of Lubango became more significant with the migration of the population fleeing the war with South Africa. It started in Cunene (Robson and Roque 2001: 49), and this rapid exodus would lead to the increase in precarious construction in the city and the growth of the peripheral districts. There was an agglomeration of anarchical constructions in the central district dedicated to trade, on waste ground and along the main rivers and at road junctions.

Apart from the rapid growth which, in general terms, led to an exponential increase in precarious *musseque* areas, it is also possible to note the rise of precarious construction—as a consequence of the displaced, less prosperous population—in the central spaces, previously occupied by the wealthier population, the settlers and the African elites. Only very recently has a reconfiguration of a certain organisation of spaces and social groups occurred according to socio-economic realities, even if a certain socio-spatial overlap is still maintained.

Immediately after independence, the social and economic ideologies adopted in the country were based on the idea of social equality and, therefore, the former spatial divisions were to be abolished and all citizens would ideally have access to the city centres, regardless of their economic, social or political background. The Urbanisation Plan of Luanda, in 1995, allowed for the identification of seven groups of sectors according to types of housing (Jenkins et al. 2002): higher quality housing of the population located in the centre of the city; the historic formal centre; the periurban areas which were developed at the beginning of the 1970s (areas of transition); clandestine zones from before 1975; the zones where housing was built on state-owned land; the zones in which the housing units were built by the Cuban cooperation programme; and finally the old and new *musseques*. It should be mentioned, however, that the capacity of the State in the field of

urban planning, intervention and management has always been very limited, both due to the inefficiency of the mechanisms and structures created and to the rapid changing socioeconomic, population and political conditions.

Spatially, the analysis of Angolan cities allows for some systematisation of the various areas in terms of urbanisation, which corresponds—roughly speaking—to a certain type of population that lives there. The proposal of an analysis of the city of Luanda made by Colaço (1992) includes the delimitation of a modern area, a peripheral area of transition and a third green area. According to the degree of development of the areas, it is possible to identify a gradation in Luanda on the basis of the more urbanised centre and finishing in the less urbanised municipalities of Viana and Cacuaco. For Almeida, (1997), the units of analysis of Luanda must be based on the homogeneity of the units of vicinity and not on local administrative divisions. Another perspective, however, systematises better the differences between the various areas of the city, while distinguishing: (i) the formally urbanised city, (ii) the *musseques* closer to the centre, with limited urban services built before 1974, (iii) the *musseques* built after 1974, without urban services, (iv) the *musseques* in the peripheral areas, without urban services (Robson 1997: 27). The most pertinent—and common—distinction is, however, that which opposes the asphalted areas and the *musseques*, which at the same time, synthesizes Luanda's bi-spatial character, the traditional reference to the *baixa* and *musseques* (Carvalho 1997: 71). As for the *musseques* of Luanda, some scientific analysis allows for a reflection on their genesis and evolution (Amaral 1968, Monteiro 1973, Mendes 1988, Kasack 1996, Almeida, 1997), and in all of these studies it is stated that the dynamics of growth which characterises these areas is the result, in recent decades, of the progressive expulsion of African inhabitants from the centre of the city (as a result of the increase in the European population at the time of its greatest influx) as well as of the arrival of migrants from other provinces of the country in search of better living conditions. The prevalent idea is that this growth made spatial management and the planning of construction difficult, and that this difficulty has been accentuated in recent decades, despite recent efforts by the municipal authorities, especially in Luanda.

The analysis of the *musseques* must, however, take into account that each one of them has particular characteristics and that the *musseques* are not a homogeneous unit. In Luanda, for example, there is not just one *musseque* but "…several (…) in Luanda, each with its specificity

which it is necessary to evaluate and take into account" (Carvalho 1997: 134). Similarly, it was difficult until very recently to clearly identify areas and districts in the asphalted core where a certain type of dwelling or economic stratum would be dominant. The distinction between the centre and the *musseques* does not imply the inexistence of intersections and mixed zones, primarily at the borders but also in the centre of the 'asphalt' or in the very middle of the *musseque*. It is possible to find 'small islands' and spaces with characteristics that are differentiated from the surrounding areas, both in the centre and in the periphery.

Ever since the first years of the growth of Luanda, it has not been possible to establish a clear separation between "…the town of cement and *musseques* (…) the white city and the black city (…) given the confusion between finished houses, semi-finished houses and cubatas" (Monteiro 1973: 80). This confusion and interpenetration has lasted until today and there is even a certain "*mussequisation* of the whole city" (Carvalho 1997: 133) and of its green belt whereas, at the same time, it is possible to find, in the peripheral areas, elements characteristic of central areas. In other Angolan cities, the dynamics of growth also cause mixed and overlapping spaces. In Lobito, in the 1940s, clandestine occupation of the old compound of precarious houses left by the English railroad builders meant that by the 1950s—when the district of Compão was the object of urbanisation—a population with fewer economic resources had settled in the central area of the city. The same process took place in the districts of Caponte, Canata, Ngolo and Galo.

In Luanda, "two very old designations suit perfectly the topographical definitions: the upper city (*Cidade Alta*) and the lower city (*Cidade Baixa*)", which corresponded to the plateau area of expansion of the city and to the flat ground which surrounds the bay of Luanda. Both these areas, identified by Amaral, are currently included in the asphalted part of the city.

However, the old spatial separation of the city of Luanda does not correspond to strict and definitely identifiable borders: "…the *musseques* do not only surround the concrete city, they interrupt it, penetrate it" (Messiant 1989: 130). This process, which was ongoing during the years of colonial growth of the city (between the 1930s and 1960s) produced a 'topographic racialisation' (ibid.: 131) in which the distinction between the lower part, the higher part and the *musseques* corresponded to a "…segregation of spaces, especially in terms of housing and services" (Carneiro 1987: 44).

The *musseques* are always regarded as one of the most serious problems which have accompanied the cities' emergence and growth, and they constitute one of the principal features of their history and development: "…today, more than ever, the *musseques* are looked upon especially as the expression of an explosion, a gigantism, an urban macrocephaly which carries in itself the germ of all threats, all violence, all illicit trafficking, all informalities…" (Carvalho 1997: 134).

In the centre of the city, in the asphalted zone, the adaptation of families to the constructions built before independence is also the result of adaptation to living conditions in general and to working conditions and the state of infrastructures. In the centre there has always been very little own-construction or new building. The households of various sizes, the various forms of access to water or energy, the differentiated capacities to improve construction give the dwellings different characteristics. The differences in landscape between the *musseques* and the centre are indicators of the differences that exist between the various degrees of urbanisation. Generally—but not without exceptions—the population that lives in the more central areas has been in the city a long time, whereas the *musseques* and their different periods of creation reflect the arrival, at different times, of the migrants into the city.

In Benguela, the distinction between the peripheral and the asphalted areas also corresponds to a separation that becomes clearer, although not rigidly so, between the various social strata. The old area of the hospital, the area of the Rua de Angola or the Rua Fausto Frazão, which were occupied after independence by all sorts of socioeconomic strata, have gradually become the property of the wealthier families. In the old urban centre, even in the districts of São João and Benfica, inhabited by a population of low/middle income, a strong presence of the higher-income families is becoming evident. Also in Lobito, in the area of the sand-bank (*Restinga*), an up-market area of the city inhabited by the prosperous socio-economic strata, where the housing was once occupied by migrants and/or the displaced, there is a resilient recomposition of the population in the same fashion: "The *Restinga* was once [after independence] very degraded with all these occupations; it was nothing like it was in the colonial times; now, as poorer people are moving away and houses are being recovered, it is again a *chique* place to live in" (Lobito interview, 2005).

In Lubango, in general terms, unconsolidated construction is prevalent in all districts—84.8 percent are made up of anarchical constructions and only 15.2 percent of solid buildings in areas with infrastructures

(GPH—Governo da Província da Huíla 2003). The weight of anarchical constructions is significant in the districts of Mitcha and Nambambe, accounting for 95 percent of the urban area. The districts of Comandante Dack-Doy and Comercial are, of all the others, those which have the least contrasting types of construction—46.2 percent (Comandante Cow-Boy) and 47.5 percent (Comercial) correspond to consolidated buildings. The areas of anarchical construction are restricted in these latter two districts to very concentrated and confined pockets.

In Ondjiva, the return of the displaced population which intensified in 2000, along with the new migrations of the rural population, attracted by the rebuilding of the city and its infrastructures, as well as the intensification of trade across the Namibian border, have led to the reappearance of a city where, in the central areas, the old colonial houses were recovered and reoccupied by civil servants and administrative staff, especially in the *bairros* of Bangula and Pioneiro Zeca. The majority of the inhabitants of the city—including administrative staff—have massively taken refuge in the neighbouring province of Huíla from 1975 on and remained there until the capital of the province was recovered by the Angolan government. The administration of Cunene was for long done in Huíla, until the government considered that it was safe to send back to Ondjiva the administration and the civil servants. The remainder of the incoming population, with fewer economic resources and without access to the houses allotted by the State, settled in the peripheries, forming new districts of precarious constructions or extending those already existing.

In almost all Angolan cities, socio-spatial recomposition is thus the result of a re-localisation of the population according to its economic capacities: the families which occupied the central areas but now have limited resources end up selling the houses to the wealthier families or, for example, foreign firms or NGOs. They move to other neighbourhoods that are further and further away from the centre, according to the various degrees of impoverishment.

Another tendency that is becoming common in Angolan cities, especially in the most populated ones, is the proliferation of closed and protected residential spaces. Luanda, of all the Angolan cities, is the best example of this tendency, with the creation of closed condominiums in the new urban areas like Luanda Sul, and with the re-qualification of some other areas and colonial wealthy neighbourhoods (like Alvalade, Miramar or Cruzeiro) and their increasingly dominant closed nature. This is shown through the increase in the number of houses surrounded

by high walls and palisades and through the number of private security and surveillance services. Although the 'condominium' style can only be found in Luanda, the tendency to increasingly select the access to certain areas and neighbourhoods is quite widespread in other Angolan cities. It is often stated by city dwellers and urban specialists that this phenomenon has its origins in the settlements belonging to foreign firms and/or institutions of varied types like the Cuban cooperation in the early 1980s, the United Nations settlements in the 1990s and the oil and construction companies throughout the last decades, just to name a few. The model seemed to suit the emerging wealthier inhabitants of the city in Luanda and gradually became being applied, to a certain extent, in the 'rebuilt' and 'reoccupied' central districts of the cities.

The precarious nature of living conditions in the urban milieu, associated with poverty and the growth of violence, has led to an increase in elaborate protection systems, and since the independence of the country there has been a growth and vulgarisation of protection systems for houses in general. In practically all houses, grids and barbed wire have been installed, and the enclosing walls are increasingly higher. As families have more economic resources—but also in buildings where the dwellers organise themselves accordingly—as well as in the majority of the buildings of foreign and/or large firms, guard and security services are contracted. The growth in the number of private surveillance and security firms in Luanda—and also in other cities—in recent decades illustrates well this reality and also the weight that the discourse of the increase in crime and violence has taken on in the urban context: "Even knowing that our guards may be the very first to steal from us, we must have at least one guard, preferably wearing a uniform, to keep more dangerous criminals away from the house" (P., Luanda interview, 2005).

Although this increase in crime and violence is evident and factual, it ends up being the only argument used to justify the creation of these enclaves. Socioeconomic differentiation and its translation into spatial segregation is grounded on these more 'concrete' arguments, which shows how roughly social strata are still defined in Angola: "We can no longer live in our older [poor and degraded] neighbourhood because our neighbours would immediately know what we possess at home and would certainly rob us" (P., Luanda interview, 2005).

The creation of enclaves in the form of individual housing or in the form of buildings, and the creation of enclaves in certain areas of the cities, can then be considered an important tendency in the growth of Angolan agglomerations. Some new areas which appear in certain cities

are based on the idea of a certain distance, insulation and protection of its residents, like Luanda Sul, a large urbanisation project in the south of the capital, and in other cities the new modern (and more expensive) districts correctly reflect the social and economic re-composition in progress. It is estimated that 75 percent of the current residents of Luanda Sul belong to a class with high incomes and 22 percent to the middle class (Jenkins et al. 2002: 146). This was not the initial intention of these projects, as the building of housing for poorer displaced families was also envisaged. The tendency towards the creation of enclaves is, therefore, associated with processes of social self-exclusion—associated with physical separation—which will possibly shape the forms of evolution of social relations in Angolan urban spaces. Despite the generalised degraded conditions in all Angolan urban centres, a small number of families take refuge in protected, better organised, cleaner and upper-class areas, in order to "relax, at the end of the day or at the weekend, from the surrounding poverty, degradation and violence" (M., Luanda interview, 2005). With the end of the war and increasing stability in Angola, as well as with the growth of investment, it looks evident that this tendency will become more and more widespread. It reflects urban dwellers' perception of social separation, which is now acquiring a clearer contour, challenging urban planning and urban intervention. The enclaves dwellers' social and economic position gradually contributes to the formation of new social identities, which become more clearly translated in the residential space.

One of the many questions that should be posed before these changing landscapes concerns urban reorganisation in the current post-war context. How can these social dynamics be integrated into the planning and reconstruction of cities in Angola and what is the possible and desirable role of local and national government institutions in this process? Are these processes of social recomposition likely to imprint strong spatial differentiations on the future in Angolan cities or are they just a transitory situation that over the years will be attenuated?

Conclusion

In Angolan cities, colonial socio-spatial configurations created an economically more favoured population corresponding to the urbanised and asphalted areas, whereas the peripheries remain the space where the poorer and excluded sections of the population localise and socialise. The erosion of this dual structure, after independence—more acute in

urban centres like Ondjiva—created a socio-spatial mixture, the effects of which persist even now. However, with the intensification of the market, with the prevalent tendency defining social strata according to economic capacity, a recombination of space with resilient characteristics of Angolan cities has become apparent. The spaces inhabited by the old colonial elites are now occupied by the population with higher economic resources, which contributes to the re-making of social identities and to the construction of new social relationships. Nevertheless, the mixtures produced after independence and the rapid growth of population in some urban centres (in particular in Luanda) have caused the appearance of enclaves, where the affluent social groups live protected and safe behind high walls. As in other cities of the developing countries, where social inequalities have worsened, here also the discourses of fear and violence are the principal arguments used for the proliferation of these enclaves. Urban space is now subject to a type of appropriation based on social differentiation, on economic and social criteria, which (re)create competing claims on space. The new spatial configurations are, however, more complex than the centre/periphery colonial design and therefore require a contextualised approach that integrates the complex relations between social stratification, urban courses, dependences and reciprocities. They also call for a new approach to the urban relationships and conflict, between the urban enclave dwellers and the periphery, focusing on the potentials for urban development and urban policies in such complex and changing contexts.

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