Regenerating Namaacha

History, resiliency, and sustainable urban development of a secondary town in the Maputo Province, Mozambique

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Abstract

The paper presents a study about Namaacha, a small town in the eastern part of the Maputo Province (Mozambique) bordering South Africa and eSwatini, a rich area in terms of natural, built, and cultural heritage, but subjected to a series of socio-economic and environmental fragilities. Research conducted in the framework of the project "Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo!" (Polisocial Award 2018) based at Politecnico di Milano allowed to unfold the urban history of Namaacha, to study past and present planning tools, and to investigate the main challenges and potentialities for social, economic, and territorial development of the town, which regard specifically its agro-ecological and food systems, as well as its built and natural heritage. The paper presents the attempt to reconceptualise and set in synergy existing value assets as resiliency drivers, with the aim of leveraging local development through contextually sensitive planning and governance tools in the shape of guidelines, strategic scenarios, and pilot projects. The case-study aims at testing methodologies to approach – in a context-sensitive, and historically-aware perspective – the sustainable regeneration of built and landscape heritage in fragile socio-economic conditions in the Global South.

Keywords

Mozambique, heritage, urban regeneration, sustainable development

How to cite

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INTRODUCTION

Namaacha is a small town in the eastern part of Maputo Province (Mozambique), whose first modern urban settlement dates to the Portuguese colonial time (around 1850) and originally developed along the road connecting it to Maputo. Thanks to the good climate, its natural amenities, and the proximity to the border, between 1910s and the 1960s Namaacha developed as a tourist destination for Portuguese functionaries and their families. In addition, a series of religious orders and educational institutions were established, together with the renowned sanctuary of *Nossa Senhora de Fátima* (1944) which still retains its importance as a pilgrimage destination. However, after Mozambican independence (1975) the city went through a progressive decline, recently accentuated by the decrease in border commerce and transboundary mobility that moved to other regional border posts.

Namaacha's past, present, and future should be framed in relation to Maputo and its metropolitan dimension to understand its expected urban transformation, in terms of heritage valorisation and potential. Research activities on this have been carried out in the framework of "Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo!" project, a research programme funded by the Politecnico di Milano social responsibility initiative (Polisocial Award) and the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation (AICS, Maputo). The project ran between 2019 and 2020 in partnership with the Eduardo Mondlane University (Maputo, Mozambique) (UEM) and other local and international actors. "Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo!" involved more than twenty academic staff from four different departments at Politecnico di Milano plus colleagues from the Faculty of Architecture and Planning (FAFP) at UEM in the framework of international cooperation and educational initiatives. The cooperation between the Italian and Mozambican teams was crucial for tuning analytical, strategic, and design tools and perspectives to the local context. The project's multidisciplinary extended team involved local and international experts from many different knowledge fields, such as urban planning, architecture, social sciences, water management, climate studies, energy engineering, agronomy, etc. The main aim of the research initiative was, in fact, to propose a multi- and inter-disciplinary approach to address the development of the growing metropolitan and peri-urban environment of Maputo in an integrated way and considering the interdependencies between internal/transnational migrations, demographic transitions, the increasing scarcity of natural resources, climate risks, natural hazards and local economic patterns (formal and informal). Particular attention was devoted to the Water-Energy-Food (WEF) Nexus, considering the potential evolution of the agriculture sector (backbone economy of the region) and in relation to the whole food system and its multiple environmental, economic, social, and cultural implications1.

Namaacha was one of the specific focuses of this research project. The study of the available documents and planning tools, the production of analytic cartography, and the research conducted on-site in cooperation with local authorities and stakeholders², allowed to unfold the main challenges and potentialities for social, economic, and territorial development of Namaacha, which regard specifically its agro-ecological and food systems, as well as its built (colonial) heritage.

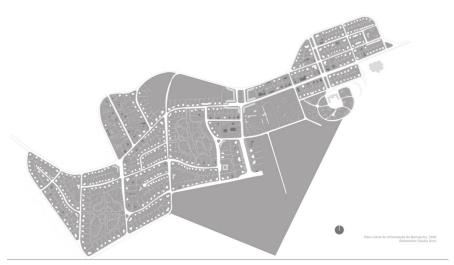


Fig. 1. Namaacha's Plan by Mário de Oliveira, 1948, as redesigned by Diniz (2013).

By reconceptualizing and setting in synergy these value assets as resiliency drivers, the project aimed at leveraging local development and proposed contextually sensitive planning and governance tools in the shape of guidelines, strategic scenarios, and pilot projects for an inclusive and sustainable regeneration of the city. This resulted in the drafting of a local development plan that builds on existing regeneration, entrepreneurial, and educational initiatives, to foster further cooperation projects.

1. NAMAACHA'S URBAN HISTORY

The village of Namaacha has a strategic geographical location. It is nestled on the eastern side of Libombos mountains, about 70-75 km east of the city of Maputo, at an altitude of 500-600 meters with a mild climate. The place takes its name from Lomahacha, the ancient sovereign who ruled the Pequenos Libombos region before the colonial occupation. The kingdom was split into two (Namaacha and Lomaacha) after the treaty of 1869 signed in Pretoria that established Libombos Mountains as Mozambique's border with eSwatini and the Transvaal (South Africa). Thus, once a unique land inhabited by the same ethnic groups, Namaacha's natural landscapes, material culture, built environment and socio-economic system maintain a transboundary dimension. The border made Namaacha play an important role in the transit of people and goods to the neighbouring country and vice versa.

The first modern urban settlement in the area dated to the colonial time and developed along the road to Maputo, according to an orthogonal layout planned to follow the topography of the place. At the beginning of the 1940s, the village had around 1000 inhabitants (30% non-indigenous and 70% indigenous) distributed in scattered houses and relevant facilities were already in place, such as the church, the *Hotel dos Libombos*, a jail, the *Instituto Mousinho de Albuquerque*, and the first

nucleus of the *Instituto João de Deus*. All these buildings still represent a valuable architectural heritage, although part of them is currently under-used or in a state of abandonment³.

A larger plan was designed in 1948 by Mário de Oliveira (in collaboration with João de Aguiar) for the Colonial Urbanisation Office, with the aim of increasing the population to 3000 inhabitants and turning Namaacha into a "relaxation and tourism resort". The architects proposed to extend the original grid nucleus with a garden-city layout interpreting the morphological characteristics of the land, with great relevance to the quality of street design, public spaces, and parks, while land-use zoning was arranged to offer the necessary conditions to achieve convenience, comfort, and hygiene and to allow for the construction of isolated housing of an economic nature. Urban design guidelines completed the plan, with clear indications regarding the height of buildings, the dimensions of streets and squares and the proposed public facilities.

The plan wasn't implemented in its entirety, with the public sphere (main square and parks) completely neglected to favour the development of residential areas. However, Oliveira's cultural reading and urban interpretation of local topography and settlement traces are still part of Namaacha's heritage and urban morphology.

The central zone of the village, the object of the 1948 plan, grew till the 1960s-70s and experienced stagnation in the later period, especially in the post-independence, when the role of Namaacha as a tourism destination and educational-religious centre declined. This has been observed also during the fieldwork missions performed by the "Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo!" team. Yet, the public and private buildings in this area have the best conditions in terms of infrastructure and services.

After independence and up to now, the city grew spontaneously on the outskirts of the colonial town in peripheral neighbourhoods located in areas with steeply sloping areas downstream of the water lines, without any urbanisation plans or land-use allocation. These areas are inhabited by very low-income people, mostly displaced during the Civil War (1977-1992) and job seekers in the village. Houses are of poor construction and do not have basic infrastructure.

The planning tools currently in force in the area depend on the recent Territorial Planning Law (2007) that reorganised Mozambican planning at all scales, promoting the drafting of plans for all districts and cities in Mozambique. According to the law, Namaacha's development is currently ruled by a Land Use District Plans (PDUT) and an Urban Structure Plan (PEU) at the municipal scale⁵. According to this last planning tool, in force since 2013 (PEUVN), and to the conversations we had with local municipal government representatives, Namaacha, is subjected to a series of fragilities related to its socio-territorial structure, and in particular to:

- The poor quality of habitat and fragmentation of the settlements' structure with negative impacts on mobility and accessibility.
- Unstable water supply with consequences on agriculture, which is practised on a subsistence scale due to lack of proper irrigation infrastructures.
- A weak job market that is forcing young people to migrate elsewhere, either within Mozambique (and towards Maputo in particular), and to South Africa or eSwatini in search

of better opportunities.

- The difficult connections within the district and between Namaacha and other main urban centres in the Province, are hindered by few access roads in poor condition or unpaved.
- Uncontrolled fires occur very often due to local customs in preparing land for cultivation and the lack of local fire brigades.
- Unstable power supply and lack of adequate health facilities.

Due to the limited experience of local authorities in producing plans of this nature, the PEU-VN was the result of a collaboration between various public, private, and civil society actors such as the Municipal Council of Vila de Namaacha, the Habitat Development Study Centres at FAPF-UEM and the Andalusian Agency for International Cooperation for Development. The plan highlights the potential of Namaacha in terms of natural resources and vegetation, the presence of waterfalls and the religious heritage to enhance tourism, as well as specialised agricultural development. However, despite including in the planning actions a larger set of landscapes with ecological value, the PEUVN deals with the limits of rational comprehensive land-use indications that don't allow for strategic frameworks to cope with land and resources competition in an integrated way. It is relevant to stress how the expectations for transformation and growth, despite the complex contingencies, overcome the concepts of protection, regeneration and valorisation of existing assets and heritage. Moreover, the lack of trans-scalar (vertical) and cross-border (horizontal) coordination is a critical problem, due to the significant and evident spatial, ecological, and socio-economic correlations setting the metropolitan metabolic flows of Maputo, that intertwine with Namaacha's present and future.

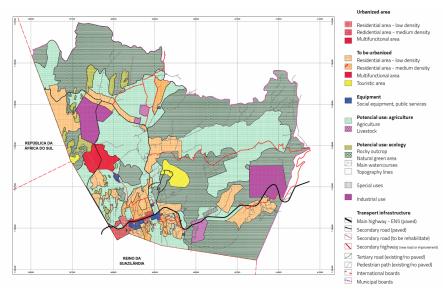


Fig. 2. Namaacha Urban Structure Plan (PEUVN, 2013). Historical settlement in the bottom left corner.

2. A RICH BUILT AND ECOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Namaacha's most relevant resiliency assets, scarcely considered in terms of environmental quality and built/cultural heritage, still have a great value and the potential to support an alternative way to sustainable development.

Built Heritage. In its modern history, Namaacha has been a laboratory for urban design and architecture, with the realisation of high-quality low-rise villas and hotels, as well as religious and educational buildings. Individual houses started to be built in the 1930s and with a peak in the 1950s. Some were for permanent residents, but most of them were for holidays or weekends for wealthy residents of the capital. Religious and educational buildings also started to be built at the end of the 1930s, with the João de Deus Institute as the first Salesian female college opened in Namaacha, followed by the construction of the sanctuary of Our Lady of Fatima and the Mousinho de Albuquerque College in 1944, together with several other buildings for religious orders, Catholic educational institutions, and missions in the same period. The buildings have a mixture of architectural styles that combine colonial, traditional Portuguese, and modernist architecture, resulting in a specific Namaacha's own style expressed by the use of local materials, like the local brown stone cladding parts of the facades, and a characteristic mountainous fashion, with steep roofs that were more aesthetical than functional. After independence, in 1975, the private houses were mostly abandoned and the public buildings nationalised, with only a few of them repurposed and the others left to disrepair. Most of this relevant built heritage is now in critical conditions, being in some cases also occupied by local inhabitants under precarious living conditions. However, the sanctuary is still a relevant pilgrimage destination, and some religious and educational institutions are strengthening their role at the local and provincial level, consolidating the role of the town as a cultural hub. The potential of the abandoned built heritage is high in terms of provision of public services and realisation of attractive tourism facilities.

Ecological Heritage. The geography of the place where Namaacha was settled is rich in terms of ecological assets, thanks to its geology, hydrography, and climate. Water, as a precious resource in Maputo Province, is key for Namaacha's identity. Lebombo Mountains are the source of most of the fresh water running through the province and reaching Maputo, but also supporting the historical Namaacha's mineral water industry, which brings Namaacha's name on the tables of the whole Mozambique. The two mineral water industries in Namaacha are Montemor (founded in 1932) and Agua de Namaacha (in 1940), covering together, in recent years, the 75% of the national water market⁶. The original site of Montemor spring is a relevant heritage site, while the new industries expanded out of the city and represent the most important source of employment in the surroundings. The presence of water as a key element of Namaacha's identity is also linked with the waterfalls (the main natural landmark attracting tourists) and with quality agriculture productions, despite recent droughts compromising them. Namaacha's environment, in fact, is endangered. The nexus relating tree covering, biomass density, biodiversity, and water quantity and quality is well known and Namaacha's landscape is nowadays almost completely deforested and impoverished due to climate change, uncontrolled urbanisation, human behaviours (illegal charcoal production, wildfires, etc.).

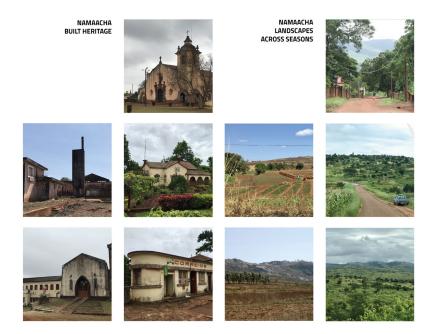


Fig. 3. Namaacha's Built Heritage and Landscapes Survey (2019).

At the beginning of the last century, the Portuguese administration undertook in Namaacha forestation projects for tourism and industrial purposes, continuing until the 1970s, but deforestation has run in the last decades. Only recently, governmental initiatives have been promoted with the aim of assisting local communities to fight deforestation for coal and firewood production or for the construction of houses? Their effect is still limited. The protection and strengthening of local ecological resources and the restoration of lost ones are urgent, both for Namaacha and for the whole Maputo province, both for food and water security.

3. NAMAACHA'S ROLE IN MAPUTO'S METROPOLITAN FRAME-WORK

Investigating Namaacha's current challenges and potentials to exploit existing value assets, the need for a broader, systemic, and trans-scalar research framework emerged. Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo! team elaborated a cartographic narrative which unfolds the role of Namaacha in the linear system connecting it with Maputo and Boane, one of the main municipalities in the Maputo Province. This territorial transect, structured by the National Road 2 (EN2) and the Umbeluzi and Impaputo Rivers, is one of the most important trans-scalar infrastructural systems in place: a historical, economic, cultural and ecological resource of extraordinary value for the whole metropolitan system. The transect, spanning barely 80 km perpendicular to the coast and covering

an altitude difference of around 600 m, crosses several different landscapes with rich topography and geology, such as urbanised areas, suburban informal "sprawl", fertile agricultural lands, beautiful natural landscapes, small villages, and industrial excavation sites. The river has shaped the landscape while different cultures, uses, and ecosystems have gathered around its stream.

In the Urbanisation Masterplan of Lourenço Marques designed in 1969, first and last planning effort to draft regional guidelines for the urban development of the current Maputo's metropolitan system, Namaacha's is clearly identified and confirmed as an area with a sensitive landscape devoted to leisure and tourism economies⁸.

Since 1987, with the Pequenos Libombos Dam and reservoir becoming operational, the ties between the Maputo-Boane-Namaacha (hereafter MaBoNa) Transect and the town have become even stronger. However, more recent changes in transboundary relationship with eSwatini and the socio-economic context's evolution exemplify the need to re-empower metropolitan rural-urban connections. The current challenges related to the water, food and energy systems at the metropolitan scale, in fact, partially depend on the impoverished performances of the MaBoNa landscape infrastructure, combined with the scarcity of investments and the limited capacity of this system to adapt to climate change and contemporary needs, despite its high potential.

Unfolding the spatial correlations of this framework at the local scale, research conducted on-site thanks to the fruitful interaction with local authorities and partners allowed to unfold the weakness of current planning tools and the main potentialities for social, economic, and territorial development of the Namaacha territory, which regard specifically its agro-ecological and food systems, as well as its vocation as a key destination for religious, cultural, and ecological tourism. A deeper analytical study was developed with a focus on those two correlated systems, that were spatialised in specific cartographies serving as a base to develop a potential urban development scenario.

4. UNDERSTANDING LOCAL DEVELOPMENT POTENTIALS: TO-WARDS A SCENARIO FOR NAMAACHA'S FUTURE

Boa_Ma_Nhā, Maputo! team worked on possible complementary strategic planning tools to facilitate horizontal and vertical coordination, with the aim of improving the governance of local development through a more active multi-level dialogue between the actors. This resulted in the outline of a scenario to be intended as a platform of negotiation bringing together endogenous and exogenous energies, resources, skills, and know-hows to overcome the limits and risks of rational-comprehensive (top-down and land-use based) planning approaches. The first draft of this scenario aims at strengthening Namaacha as a centre of quality food production and eco-tourism, whose main frame is represented by an existing 20 km loop of roads starting from the historical town centre and encircling the agricultural and ecological heart of the municipality, a vast food production, naturalistic and leisure zone. The loop connects farms, educational facilities, built and natural heritage spots, crossing rich and beautiful landscapes.

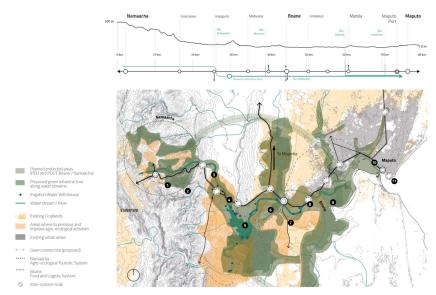


Fig. 4. MaBoNa Transect Scenario. Elaboration by the authors (2020)

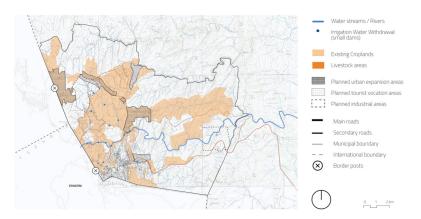


Fig. 5. Land competition in Namaacha: buildable land and agricultural areas. Elaboration by the authors (2020).

Such a clear landscaped-based mental map becoming an operational soft-governance tool supporting knowledge and value chains, could help in supporting policies and projects, also communicating the potential of the place to investors and tourists, as well as to citizens. The scenario aims at promoting active landscape care and protection, contributing to the sustainable socio-economic development of the territory by regenerating existing value assets before implementing new ones.

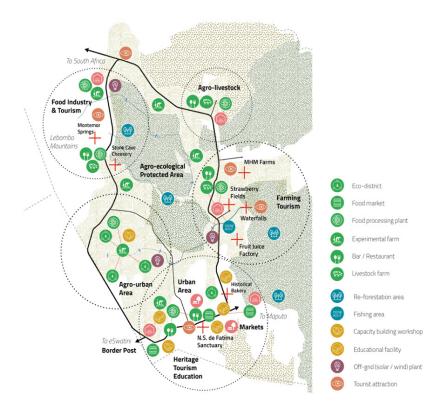


Fig. 6. Namaacha Loop Scenario Vision. Elaboration by the authors (2020)

Agriculture and education: growing the future. Farms and technical agrarian schools are seen as epicentres for the cultivation and transformation of Namaacha's quality products, as well as providers of agro-tourism services and hospitality. Small scale initiatives could progressively trigger larger ones, supporting the development of local entrepreneurship in accordance with local needs and timing. Education and research – as witnessed by a successful ongoing experience of international cooperation supporting the rebirth of the Namaacha Agrarian School – have a key-role in this process and synergies should be promoted between schools and farms to distribute knowledge across the territory, also through learning-by-doing activities and training. Farms and schools will be stimulated through specific guidelines in experimenting integrated WEF-sensitive methodologies and techniques, as well as in diversifying their production and hospitality activities (farming, livestock, dairy and jams/sauces productions, visits, restaurants, cooking schools, etc.)

Natural heritage and beauty. The famous waterfalls, together with the mountainous hidden places and panoramic spots, should be protected and investments must be made in recovering the landscape through sustainable reforestation initiatives and improved water management policies. The quality of water should be one of the Namaacha's main branding assets and the history of Namaacha's mineral water springs should be put in value as cultural and wellness

tourism destination (i.e. museum of water at Montemor springs). Mineral water companies could be crucial partners in supporting Namaacha's local development scenario, both through their direct investments in improving infrastructure and supporting the vision.

Built and cultural heritage. Built heritage should be protected by specific guidelines allowing valorisation and sensitive regeneration. Re-use of the abandoned buildings could offer quality spaces for education, research, or hospitality, supporting a combination of medium and small-scale initiatives. The role of religious and colonial built heritage could also be a matter of a cultural redefinition through projects (i.e. an active museum) and events promoting arts and social engagement as means of re-appropriation. In this perspective, the scenario included a pilot project for the regeneration of the João de Deus Institute as a food research, public services, and tourism hub, in cooperation with the Maputo Diocese and the Namaacha's Municipality⁹.

Soft governance and engagement tools. A dedicated soft governance structure (such as an association, an agency or a consortium of public-private stakeholders) should be created to assist the Municipality in preparing a project and related initiatives. This would allow triggering the process envisioned by the scenario, and manage it in its long-term perspective, supporting sustainable growth-oriented enterprises by setting objectives, sharing best-practices and guidelines, facilitating partnerships, and curating branding and communication initiatives. The agency should be based in Namaacha, possibly in the spaces of a refurbished existing building (i.e., the João de Deus Institute or the Namaacha Club). This initiative should also include a digital counterpart: a public website and a stakeholders' platform to engage local actors, citizens and visitors.

The socio-economic impact of the project will be felt across the agribusiness and tourism sectors through the whole supply and value chains and will particularly benefit the lives of women, youth, the unemployed and the underemployed. Although difficult to quantify, the forecast to multiply demand and production both at the micro and medium entrepreneurship level will most certainly have direct and indirect social and economic effects, with employment creation being the most easily recognised impact. The associate training and experience will create a pool of workers that will be better placed to support other enterprises or to startup new enterprises across the Province and the country, especially allowing young women entrepreneurs to succeed in ways that are not currently available. Mozambican consumers have yet to embrace the "buy-local" concept and one crucial aim of the project is to change this attitude, allowing domestic companies to reach an equal or higher standard than those imported brands, stressing the value of local productions and skills. Moreover, the regeneration of built heritage will support the construction business, also contributing to training skilled workers in terms of sensitive restoration and sustainable and localised building techniques. Taxation gains are another critical area of economic impact, being the governance agency of the project a way to ensure registration and compliance with taxation programs.

The main innovation promoted by the scenario is in the governance process and its relationship with a clear spatialised strategy. Working with the various institutional partners, the project could experiment profitable private-public interactions and partnerships through the

facilitation of experts. The innovative platform of co-design and governance of the project will spread a culture of innovation that will affect the socio-economic environment across scales, processes, and targets.

CONCLUSIONS. HERITAGE AND URBAN REGENERATION IN FRAGILE CONTEXTS

Namaacha's case study is a meaningful example about the expanded notion of heritage in contexts such as the one of reference and more in general in Sub-Saharan African contexts, that should consider post-colonial and transcultural legacies, as well as a combination of built and environmental assets, often not properly valorised or protected. This allows coping with the expected urban sustainable development in terms of building on existing values, that are economic, ecological, social, and cultural. However, this approach of moving towards the future by recognizing the value(s) of the past(s) is still uncommon (or anyway controversial) in the local planning approach, in terms of technical and governance tools, but also considering the political will and civic awareness. The definition of rules and plans to protect local heritage while allowing for its sensitive re-use and re-appropriation is urgent (efforts in this sense in Maputo central areas are facing several challenges). Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo! Research through the unprecedented production of cartographic knowledge, visual documentation, and visioning exercises, but more importantly through the direct interaction with local stakeholders and in collaboration with local partners in the academic and international cooperation field, aimed at sensitizing local institutions in this perspective. It can be considered a first step to unveiling a different way of approaching the strategic planning for the resilient transformation of a secondary town of the Global South, in a transcultural context and through a transdisciplinary perspective. It also represented a methodological test about how to approach - in a context-sensitive and historically-aware perspective - the sustainable regeneration of built and landscape heritage in fragile socio-economic conditions. Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo! Trans-scalar perspective was key in this exploration: valorising local assets in synergic perspective with a metropolitan system allows to address local vulnerabilities by (re)activating value-chains and metabolic flows that have the power to re-signify heritage and trigger new energies, economies, ideas for a better future.

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR(S)

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Alice Buoli is an architect and Ph.D. in Territorial Design and Government. She is currently an assistant professor in Urban Design and Planning and a tutor for the PhD program in Urban Planning, Design and Policy (UPDP) at the Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, Politecnico di Milano. Her academic and professional experience combines urban research within the Euro-Mediterranean context, African urbanism, borderland studies, creative practice research, and editorial and curatorial activities. Over the past years, she was involved in different international projects and institutions.

Laura Montedoro is Full Professor of Urban Design and Urban Planning at Politecnico di Milano. Since 2011, she has been involved in research on urbanisation in the countries of the Global South within the context of international cooperation, with particular attention to the African cities. She is co-director of the "Design for development. Architecture, Urban Planning, and Heritage in the Global South" Master's program and a member of the scientific committee of the PIMI Project – the Master's and Doctoral training project funded by the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation in Maputo and the Faculty of Architecture of Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique.

ENDNOTES

- 1. "Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo!" project is presented in detail in two books that illustrate the studies and findings at the territorial scale and are the main references for this paper: Montedoro Laura, Buoli, Alice, Frigerio, Alessandro. Towards a Metropolitan Vision for the Maputo Province. An agenda for an integrated and sustainable territorial development in the South of Mozambique. Santarcangelo di Romagna: Maggioli, 2020. And: Montedoro Laura, Buoli, Alice, Frigerio, Alessandro (eds). Territorial Development and Water-Energy-Food Nexus in the Global South. A Study for the Maputo Province, Mozambique. Chalm: Springer, 2022.
- 1. During the project the research team performed two fieldwork missions during dry and rainy season, which allowed to observe and document Namaacha's natural and built environment, as well as interact with local authorities, NGOs and agricultural sector. Studies, findings, and proposals about Namaacha are still unpublished and can be referred to Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo! Assessment Report Planning Tools Report Polisocial Development Plan, 2020.
- 2. Historical information about Namaacha is gathered and can be found on House of Maputo. Accessed April 1, 2022. https://housesofmaputo.blogspot.com/
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1. This and other pilot projects are illustrated in Boa_Ma_Nhã, Maputo! *Polisocial Development Plan*. Milan: Politecnico di Milano, 2020c. The scenario for the regeneration of the João de Deus Institute is presented in detail in Hamard, Francesco (2020). "Between past and present. The João De Deus Institute". MA Thesis - School of Architecture, Urban Planning, Engineering and Construction, AUIC. Politecnico di Milano, A.Y. 2019-2020. Supervisor: Laura Montedoro. Co-supervisors: Alessandro Frigerio and Alice Buoli

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Fig. 3 Photo survey by the authors (2019).

Fig. 4 Montedoro Laura, Buoli, Alice, Frigerio, Alessandro. Towards a Metropolitan Vision for the Maputo Province. An agenda for an integrated and sustainable territorial development in the South of Mozambique. Santarcangelo di Romagna: Maggioli, 2020.

Fig. 5 Montedoro Laura, Buoli, Alice, Frigerio, Alessandro. Towards a Metropolitan Vision for the Maputo Province. An agenda for an integrated and sustainable territorial development in the South of Mozambique. Santarcangelo di Romagna: Maggioli, 2020.

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