Debates paper

Enclaving: Spatial detachment as an aesthetics of imagination in an urban sub-Saharan African context

Morten Nielsen(iD)
National Museum of Denmark, Denmark

Jason Sumich
University of Essex, UK

Bjørn Bertelsen
University of Bergen, Norway

Abstract
While detachment and separation continue to be central to urban development across the globe, in several sub-Saharan African cities they have acquired a particular form of acute social and political efficacy. In many European and American cities, the making of fortified enclosures is considered to be an effect of an endemic fear of societal dissolution, and a growing number of sub-Saharan African cities are, seemingly, affected by a similar socio-political and economic dynamic. However, in sub-Saharan Africa the spatial lines of separation that isolate the affluent few from surrounding urban spaces follow both a much wider and less coordinated meshwork of social divisions and political fissures, and draw on a deeper socio-cultural, economic and historical repertoire. In this article, we trace the contours of enclaving as a critical urban driver, which is rapidly changing the social and physical fabric of cities across the sub-Saharan continent. Rather than considering enclaving simply as a physical manifestation of dominance and privilege, however, we consider it as an 'aesthetics of imagination' that migrates through the cities and thereby weaves together otherwise dissimilar and distinct social practices and spaces, political desires and economic aspirations.

Keywords
aesthetics of imagination, enclaving, Maputo, migrating spaces, Mozambique, sub-Saharan Africa, urban development, urban theory

Corresponding author:
Morten Nielsen, National Museum of Denmark, Ny Vestergade 10, Copenhagen, 1471, Denmark.
Email: morten.nielsen@natmus.dk

摘要

虽然分离和隔离仍然是全球城市发展的核心，但在几个撒哈拉以南非洲城市，它们获得了一种特殊形式的突出的社会和政治功效。在许多欧洲和美国城市，建造加固围栏被认为是对社会解体的地方性恐惧的结果，越来越多的撒哈拉以南非洲城市似乎受到类似的社会政治和经济动态的影响。然而，在撒哈拉以南非洲，将少数富人与周围城市空间隔离开来的空间分界线，既遵循更广泛、更不协调的社会分工和政治裂缝网络，也依托更深层的社会文化、经济和历史因素。在本文中，我们追踪了作为一个关键的城市驱动因素的城市封闭的轮廓，它正在迅速改变整个撒哈拉以南非洲大陆城市的社会和物质结构。然而，我们认为封闭不仅仅是一种支配地位和特权的物理表现，还是一种"想象美学"，它在城市中流动，从而将不同的和独特的社会实践和空间、政治渴望和经济愿望交织在一起。

关键词

想象美学、封闭、马普托、迁移空间、莫桑比克、撒哈拉以南非洲、城市发展、城市理论

Introduction

Something peculiar is happening in cities across sub-Saharan Africa: without political coordination and lacking overall synchronisation of collective and governmental strategies, cities are beginning to move at similar socio-economic velocities as if prompted by the same 'urban engine'. Seemingly disparate modalities of social life reflect analogous urban aesthetics and spatial affects and are increasingly structured around comparable forms of socio-physical detachment and separation. While the sub-Saharan region contains diverse and often contradictory historical genealogies, many urban environments have become an interwoven patchwork of spaces and relations, fissures and tensions, which pulsate with similar or at least analogue rhythms (see also Simone, 2019). This insistent urban drive derives its awkward but persistent regularity by entrenching a delimited set of political, cultural and economic forms of difference around similar forms of spatial aesthetics. At the outset, we define this peculiar urban drive as 'enclaving'.

Enclaving, we will argue, is a generative and transformative cultural orientation regarding the relationship between urban social life and the city's built environment based on a notion of spatial detachment by which social actors engage with and co-produce the urban order.

More than 25 years ago, the American architecture critic Michael Sorkin (1992) described an emerging form of fragmented cityscape, whose anchorage in physical spaces was gradually becoming unmoored. This particular urban form was characterised by 'new modes of segregation', with city management having 'largely ceased its historic role as the integrator of communities in favour of managing selective development and enforcing distinction' (Sorkin, 1992: xiii–xiv). As a neoliberal refraction of the 'postmetropolis' (Soja, 2000), the cityscape, whose dynamics Sorkin was so succinctly capturing, could be found across Euro-America. With a flexible governmental aesthetics of security and minute technologies of surveillance, it was driven by the need to liberate the fortunate few from the

everyday chaos that characterised the lives of the many (Caldeira, 2000; MacKenzie, 1994). According to Harvey (2000: 152), the effect was to:

> … divide up the urban realm into a patchwork quilt of islands of relative affluence struggling to secure themselves in a sea of spreading squalor and decay. The overall effect is division and fragmentation of the metropolitan space, a loss of sociality across diversity, and a localized defensive posture towards the rest of the city that becomes politically fractious if not downright dysfunctional.

Since then, a growing number of Euro-American cities, such as Los Angeles (USA), London (UK) and Berlin (Germany), are being constituted by 'patchwork quilts' of utopian and dystopian spaces. This development seems to eclipse the historical genealogies of local formations of property rights and procedures for accessing land, which Cirolia (2013: 296) has aptly defined as the 'entrenched ... legacies' of their physical locations. Rather than integration within the existing socio-physical fabric, the starting point for acting upon and within the city is isolation from that which is considered socially inferior and therefore also potentially dangerous (see Caldeira, 1996). Furthermore, as Paul L Knox asserts in an incisive critique of what he terms the 'schlock-and-awe urbanism' of the US, an increasingly prominent aspect of this trend is 'the secession of the successful' into master-planned communities with a concomitant retreat into securitised 'lifestyle enclaves' (Knox, 2008: 57–65). There has been, as Davis (1992: 232) also bleakly noted, a 'conscious "hardening" of the city surface' against the poor and dispossessed in the attempt to make public facilities and spaces as uninhabitable as possible, concomitant with the rise of 'defensive architecture' expelling the undesirables from urban spaces (Smith and Walters, 2018). At the same time, the affluent elites have increasingly retreated to fortified enclaves governed by property values where power rests on the capacity to dominate and govern access to space (MacKenzie, 1994: 177).

When considered from a distance, a growing number of urban landscapes across the sub-Saharan African region seem to reverberate with similar tensions of power, utopian drives and architectural affects to those of the Euro-American cities mentioned above. In seeking to fast-forward into a future unhindered by the past, urban developers (architects, corporate conglomerates, planners and real estate agents) and city and national governments have become enthralled by the idea of creating self-sufficient island-like enclosures inside or at the margins of existing sub-Saharan African cities. During recent decades, cities such as Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania), Kinshasa (DR Congo), Pretoria (South Africa) and Nairobi (Kenya) have thus been 'reurbanised' (Murray, 2013) to serve the interests of both local and foreign property-holding elites. In some respects not unlike the situation in urban Europe and the USA, these recent city-making projects are driven by the ambition to create entirely new cities 'out of whole cloth rather than rehabilitating the existing built environment' (Murray, 2013: 1). In doing so, entrepreneurial investors and urban developers bypass the unregulated chaos of existing and poorly functioning urban environments and allow the fortunate few to retreat to insular enclaves with efficient infrastructure, up-to-date services and a comprehensive system of security based on surveillance and restricted access.

However, despite such apparent similarities to Euro-American cities, something else is unfolding in many urban areas across sub-Saharan Africa. For, in Euro-America, the making of fortified enclaves has been predominantly described as a socio-economic effect of what Davis (1998) has called an

endemic 'ecology of fear'. Growing from doubts whether the regulatory systems of the 'old liberal paradigm' are no longer in force, a new 'post-liberal' elite has closed itself off in secluded 'privatopias' (MacKenzie, 1994) – an enclave form that caters to consumerism, residence and/or production (see also Sidaway, 2007). In sub-Saharan Africa, by contrast, the spatial lines of separation that isolate the affluent few from surrounding urban spaces follow a much wider and less coordinated meshwork of social divisions and political fissures and with deeper sociocultural, economic and historical underpinnings. While sub-Saharan African cities are saturated with spatial imageries and aspirations of ever more monumental urban development projects, the volatile relationship between ideal and realisation is maintained by an ill-coordinated arrangement of actors and agendas, whose priorities and strategies only rarely lead to the expected outcome (De Boeck, 2011; Murray, 2017). Spatial imageries of enclave urbanism circulate between different sites and among multiple actors – real estate agents, financial investors, conglomerates of local and foreign construction companies, governmental collaborators – and it is their ongoing contestation and negotiation rather than their eventual but frequently unlikely realisation that give to the city the particular social efficacy, affective allure and aspirational drive that we wish to capture by the notion of 'enclaving'. We will therefore suggest considering enclaving as an 'aesthetics of imagination'; that is, as a conduit for new urban imaginaries based on the idea of the materially segregated spatial unit (see Cinar and Bender, 2007; Nielsen and Pedersen, 2015). Whereas these spatial imageries may be sedimented in the physicality of the city, their social drive arises primarily from the way that they are capable of migrating or circulating across different urban landscapes (Ong, 2011) and thereby stitch together otherwise disparate social practices, localities, political visions and economic aspirations.

In the following, we want to trace the contours of this phenomenon, which is rapidly changing the social and physical fabric of cities across the sub-Saharan region. We begin by charting the historical genealogy of the enclave as physical form and utopian desire that informs discussion of a number of present-day examples. After an empirical interlude, where we provide concrete examples of enclaving from one sub-Saharan African city (Maputo, the capital of Mozambique), we end with an extended discussion of enclaving as both an analytical concept and an empirical phenomenon.

Antecedents: Utopia, separation and contagion

When delving into the conceptual, historical and philosophical genealogy of urban enclaving, one is struck by how notions of the city, utopian as well as non-utopian, relate to the core notion of the *polis*. For, the very notion of the polis depended on the fundamental value of apartness that was elaborated on multiple levels – what Agamben (2015) refers to as the notion of the 'pure city' within Greek classical thought and which, by default, presupposes an outside. Precisely such a separation of a pure inside and impure outside fuelled also the notion of classical utopias. As the famed cartographers Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg demonstrate in 363 beautifully detailed and meticulously rendered images of the world's most renowned cities half a millennium ago, the division between the city and its outside is fundamental to all depictions of a vast array of urban settings (Braun et al., 2015 [1572–1617]). Here we find classic walled cities, cities encompassed by bodies of water and accessible only by bridges, or cities nestled atop mountains. These visions reveal the urban as a universal imaginary and

representative space, presupposing an allocation to the exterior of that which is indigestible for the body of the city: a multilevel instantiation of an *idea and aesthetics of separation* but one where the inside has always had a dynamic relation to the outside (cf. Strathern, 2000). The importance of separation and its necessary outside(s) is driven home precisely by the many and lush illustrations of executions, killings and punishments of adulterers, thieves, pagans, witches etc. at the margins of or outside the city limits, that is, outside the enclave.

Such an encompassment of the polis (or society of the urban) is also the impression conveyed by Balasopoulos' thorough analysis (2013, 2014a, 2014b) of European utopian urban formations, showing that historical notions derive from Platonian discussions of the ideal republic, including neology of the 'New World', coined by Thomas More in 1516.[1] All revolve, according to Balasopoulos, around a philosophical speculation concerning the 'ideal': the ideal commonwealth, the ideal city, the ideal government and, with time, often rendering a distinction between an 'old' (European) and a 'new' (American, Atlantic) world. Furthermore, in these speculations – highly influential for cosmologies of urban life, citizenship and form – utopia was a New Atlantis (Bacon, 2017 [1627]; Price, 2016 [2002]), an Oceana (Harrington, 1887 [1656]), or a theocratic City of the Sun (Campanella, 1981 [1623]). Centuries later, it would become the natural setting of Walden (Thoreau, 1992 [1910]) or, much more influential, the modernist architectural design of Brasília, both exemplifying the imaginative force of urban planning projecting an ideal apart (Holston, 1989) – a perfect polis, a perfect enclave – an argument also made by David Harvey (2010) associating utopia with the urban form. As Maskens and Blanes write (2018: xx) in a recent overview of utopian thought and orientation:

this projection [of imagination] has produced a history of architectural and urban planning successes and failures, revealing both the intellectual ambition towards the possibility of wellbeing or living well, and the inscription, the physical work oriented towards that same ambition.

The impulse to purify, egalitarianise and, perhaps, insularise within the context of a polis/city – thus mobilising the force of (utopian) imagination in order to revolutionise and separate the *urb* from the cosmos and its multitudes – was also given a new impetus with modernist thinkers and architects and their global canvas. As Le Corbusier, an architect of worldwide impact, famously stated in his attack on tradition – that 'stifling accumulation of age-long detritus' – insisting that architectural form should be liberated from the immediate needs of the human:

Society is filled with a violent desire for something which it may obtain or may not. Everything lies in that: everything depends on the effort made and the attention paid to these alarming symptoms.

Architecture or Revolution.

Revolution can be avoided. (Le Corbusier, 1986 [1931]: 288f)

However, as the early European and Western utopian visions of the city also showed, and also those more recently, manoeuvring in an urban space to preclude encountering the other has not always been the desire to generate the enclave form – a mould that is in itself plural, fuzzy and plastic. A case in point here is how what one could call a 'softer form' of distinguishing between inside and outside was integral to a European modernist tradition of architecture, urban planning and a pro-social (and sometimes socialist) vision of society, space and relationality. Concretely, in modernist European architecture this manifested, for

instance, as a tendency to attempt to create living spaces which were miniature (and, thus, idealised and utopian) cities – the enclave structure within the city as an idealised form (DASH, 2011; see also Graham, 2016: 220ff). This particular aesthetic imagination of the enclave, often guided by the idea of modelling the city on the house, varied greatly in size and the spaces that were to be constructed; from large-scale urban development on the city's fringes to inner-city urban renewal of several blocks. For instance, as part of such playful engagement with the fundamentals of the city – infrastructure, domicile, workspace – from the end of the 1950s, Dutch architects like Piet Blom drew heavy inspiration from orientalist views of the Casbah when re-thinking the future urban landscape (Van den Heuvel, 2011). Furthermore, such inspiration from an enclaved and exotic elsewhere – an appropriation and domestication of the orientalist vision of harmonious secluded living – also translated into a large-scale flexible, organic superstructure of the enclave form, the Noah's Ark project: 'It entailed a large-scale urbanisation scheme for the Amsterdam region by way of a vast system of interlocking grid structures of massive, polycentric units each capable of housing 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants' (Van den Heuvel, 2011: 61). And the point is, of course, exactly the *pliability* and *non-fixity* of these structures as these were imagined: the polycentric ideal already indicates that one unit or material form may replace or interlock with the other. This involves not only endless possibilities of replicability and appropriability through spaces but also pathways for the migration of the form through and interconnecting (open-ended or opened) households. An aesthetic of separation as a material form paradoxically, therefore, reverberates through the urban fabric; the material form migrating (or radiating, but unevenly) outwards.

Having traced some aspects of utopian and ideal cities through would-be revolutionary architectural and other interventions, it is worthwhile to briefly look at classical conceptual distinctions within urban studies, in particular that between 'urbanisation' and 'city' and how it relates to enclaving. As Robert Exo Adams (2014) argues, this distinction is not only a claim of differences in built form or spatialities, but also reveals a temporal trajectory which suggests that:

> there was a period of time in which spatial entities called 'cities' existed, grew, shrank, were sacked, constructed from scratch and left in ruins, but never *urbanised* as such; likewise, that there is a time after which cities had been supplanted by an entirely different spatial order which we can call the 'urban'.

Thinking with Adams' analytic optic – which further emphasises that the urban implies a number of political dispositions – presents us with an organism-like urbanisation understood as orientated towards, precisely, the co-production of articulations of *both* interconnectedness *and* separation premised, crucially, on circulation.

Taking in Adams' crucial reading of the global urban, enclaving is the product *not* necessarily of processes of strict separation or fervent purification (as in a Le Corbuserian revolution); instead, what Adams' reading alerts us to is the urban as always already emergent and mobile and, therefore, also an aesthetics circulating across and between spaces. Arguably, such developments have, as we have indicated above and as we will further detail below, assumed particular importance in sub-Saharan Africa where the urban landscape is not a repository of pure, stable and unadulterated *hope* but is replete with mutating, situated and ephemeral forms of *possibility* – a heterotopian space that is impure and multiple, as in De Boeck's and Plissart's (2014 [2004]: xviii) rendition of Kinshasa.

Analysing spaces such as cemeteries, theatres, gardens and museums, De Boeck and Plissart (2014 [2004]: 254) hold that these are heterochronic, that they are nowhere or elsewhere – 'spaces that are marked by specific systems of opening and closing, or that create room for illusion or compensation'. Drawing on Kinshasa's shifting character, De Boeck and Plissart argue these urban spaces are generating fleeting possibilities of political and socio-economic opportunity, rather than offering the shining totality of utopia as a full ideological or cosmological vision. It is also precisely this dynamic of multiplicity, ephemerality and impurity which has been argued by Quayson (2014) for Accra, namely that the relation between the African city and the utopic is irreducible to a notion of pure creation. This setting apart in an impure manner, as Simone (2019) has argued to be the case for global Southern urban areas, opens up for seeing traces of imaginary and material enclaves reverberating across domains – as a form that may or may not come to fruition – rather than having one's analytical gaze fixed solely on material enclosures.

Precisely this setting apart in an impure manner, and its implications for enclaves, is undertaken by Heer (2019) in her recent analysis of the interconnected nature of urbanity in Johannesburg and Maputo. She writes that for both cities, 'walls have come to symbolise the vexed conviviality of urban elites and less affluent groups' (Heer, 2019: 10) and, further, holds that there are many forms of entanglement between the spaces and groups of people that characterise these two cities. A similar argument is made in Morton's (2019) recent thorough analysis of the racialised colonial forms of aesthetics allocated, often violently, to territories and colonial subjects. He shows, however, that contrary to the stasis sought by the colonial masters, aesthetic ideals *did* traverse erstwhile enclaves and domains.

Although not oblivious to the global construction of fortified enclaves (Caldeira, 1999; Schuermans, 2016) and the increasingly militarised and securitised urban orders (Buxton and Hayes, 2016; Glück, 2017; Ssorin-Chaikov, 2018), we agree with both Morton's and Heer's thorough analysis of the cases of Johannesburg and Maputo that there is a particular intensity, motility and incompleteness to the circulation of enclaving as an aesthetics of imagination in the sub-Saharan African region – perhaps also reflective of the particularities of wider southern urbanism (see e.g. Kuldova and Varghese, 2017; Simone and Pieterse, 2017).

Enclaving and contemporary urban models

In many ways, contemporary processes of enclaving, the world over, appear as an ad hoc gesture of despair, the spatial equivalent of closing one's eyes to the problems of urban inequality, as in Schuermans' (2016) analysis. Perhaps that is why the enclave has found few defenders, unlike previous forms of urbanism, which had, for example, Jane Jacobs, Ernest Hemingway, Langston Hughes or Graham Ellis willing to wax lyrical about the scruffy charm and cultural verve of the Left Bank in Paris, Brooklyn or Harlem in New York or District Six in Cape Town, to name but a few. Mike Davis (1992: 228) has described enclaved communities as a new form of class war whose medium is the built environment (see also Murray, 2011, for Johannesburg). While many scholars trace the origins of enclaved communities as part of the more extreme and exclusionary trends in contemporary capitalism, as argued in the last section, it may also be important to recognise, for better or worse, the utopic qualities in the rise of gated communities. For instance, the globe-spanning conformity of design, which has caused such dismay among urban scholars (examples include

Davis, 1992; Low, 2003; Murray, 2011), also betrays elements of utopian ambition. In her masterful survey of utopic urban forms, Ruth Eaton (2002: 16f) found that utopias, '... are presented as absolute solutions, panaceae applicable worldwide and indifferent to factors of local context whether historical, geographical, cultural or other'. Even the more exclusionary aspects once again have elements of utopic thinking. According to Eaton (2002: 17), strict spatial segregation has been a common feature of urban utopias throughout the ages: 'Insular and, indeed, often xenophobic, they are protected symbolically and physically from pernicious outside influences either by natural barriers, such as stretches of water or mountain ranges, or by man-made fortifications or greenbelts.' Much has been written about the rise of gated communities in southern Africa and how this builds on a long legacy of colonial projects for urban segregation and social cleansing (for just some examples, see Bunkenborg et al., 2020; Ferguson, 2005; Morton, 2019; Murray, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017). We will focus on some of these issues more specifically later in the article, but in this section we want to place this development as part of a wider urban transformation, one firmly situated in the local context while, simultaneously, being deeply influenced by global currents.

Although enclaves may well be the material face of our cruel and heartless economic system, they can also be seen as migrating material forms through which to transform the urban fabric that is simultaneously both exclusionary and utopic. As David Harvey (1973: 27) famously observed, the spatial organisation of a city tends to shape the social processes that take place within it. For many urban analysts, enclaved communities are dangerous precisely because they are symptomatic of larger neo-liberal processes by splintering and fragmenting the city, privatising public space and undermining social diversity and meaningful citizenship, as elite segments siphon off scarce resources and retreat behind well-fortified walls (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Davis, 1992; Low, 2003; Murray, 2011). There is much to commend this critique, as it paints a depressingly accurate picture of how life in urban areas is being transformed through neo-liberal practices of governance.

However accurate elements of this critique may be, it is misleading to reduce enclaving to just a salvo of neo-liberalism's global assault rendered in concrete. Pow (2009: 215), drawing on the work of Jacobs, argues that even seemingly global forms of urban design, be they skyscrapers or gated communities, are always situated in their specific context. In Pow's analysis of Singapore, the growing use of enclaved communities by the middle class takes place in a context where the state already presides over the widespread provision of public housing, rather than as a result of weak or excessively permissive planning strategies as usually assumed. The Singaporean state views the provision of enclaved communities as part of its wider overall housing strategy, which is geared more specifically towards reproducing state legitimacy among a middle class, while maintaining an officially mandated ethnic balance. As mentioned earlier, such efforts combine a wide variety of forms and social practices, state-led efforts towards social engineering, real estate speculation, exclusion and the carving out of one's own territory into an overarching urban drive. Although this drive in Asia and beyond is commonly referred to as neo-liberalism, these seemingly 'hybrid' practices of housing provision, which blend capitalist elements alongside different, often more statist political techniques, also appear to be common in the Peoples' Republic of China, where enclaved communities are, perhaps, the dominant urban form. Zhang (2010) demonstrates how the construction, management

and marketing of enclaved communities in the PRC are characterised by hybridity. Not only are many state-owned corporations involved, blurring the lines between capitalist and socialist, but state-owned companies adopt capitalist practices from corporate models in places like Taiwan, Japan and Germany, while private Chinese corporations adopt the organisational structure and ethos of the Chinese communist party (Zhang, 2010).

Additionally, enclaved communities in East Asia tend to take on different social connotations and are often popularly viewed either positively or with ambivalence (Breitung, 2012; Pow, 2009; Wissink et al., 2012; Zhang, 2010). To some degree, this stems from the history of urban design in places like China, where walled compounds have long been the norm, even during the Maoist period. Many analysts who focus on Latin America, South Africa and the United States have decried the ways in which enclaved communities are an attack on social diversity, something they think should characterise urban life, even as urban areas have long been predicated on intense forms of segregation. However, in China, walls and gates are proposed as the solution to the problem of social diversity (Breitung, 2012: 283; see also again Zhang, 2010). For Breitung (2012: 285), security in China is not just being free of crime, but is also predicated on '… clearly marked social structures, stability and homogeneity …'. After the political upheavals and enforced communalism of the Maoist period, enclaved communities are an oasis that keeps the complex, ever-changing and threatening world at bay (Breitung, 2012; Zhang, 2010). Moreover, such a vision is also reflected by a solid support for the building of 'enclaved structures by Chinese urban planners' (Liao et al., 2019). These dynamics provide a modicum of stability even while the materiality of enclaved communities reshapes class relations and creates new forms of exclusion, a politics

of detachment that does not simply reflect society but also transforms it.

In sum, all of the above examples – from early utopian and philosophical speculation through to what could be labelled a time of modernist utopia globally in the 1950s and 1960s, on the one hand, to the multiplex, open-ended assemblage form of the current city – underline that enclaving is a long-standing yet unstable phenomenon of human orientation. This implies that its utopic engine and orientation should *not* be relegated to the margins of the process of generating urban forms – or visions thereof. As this cursory overview of some features of the shifting registers of tropes of separation has shown, the enclave form, hard or soft, material or immaterial, assemblage or pure, is making a permanent yet dynamic impact on various strands of urban history and contemporary urban practice and orientation. As a spatial and material form that migrates across veritable urban orders and the imagination of humans, it is intensely present in the multiscalar and multidomain articulation and generation of urban models and their realities.

An empirical interlude: The reverberations of enclaving in one sub-Saharan African city

As we have previously argued, enclaving is Janus faced. It can be seen as the embodiment of soulless consumerism, as argued by so many urban scholars. However, the endless churning out of a conformist model of urban living also has deep, often generative or even utopic roots. In Thomas More's utopia, urban design was described as a:

> … series of clone-like towns. It is one of the most alarming features of Utopia for it suggests the relentless domination of a single model – the brainchild, in this case, of Utopus – across a territory. It thus appears to vindicate the aspirations to uniform global

domination that is to characterise later utopian schemes. (Eaton, 2002: 67)

The desire for uniformity and the erasure of difference within a set spatial form have been a common feature of both utopic and dystopic thinking. It is a combination of utopic and dystopic aspects, creativity and conformity, aspiration and exclusion, security and fear that has made enclaving such a powerful migratory space and material form. It is powerful enough to reshape the urban environment wherever it is found, while being flexible enough to be shaped by local concerns and cleavages.

Before moving on, we will trace these migrating spaces and material forms to demonstrate how enclaving both *shapes* and is, in turn, *reshaped* in a specific context. Although such a discussion could conceivably take place in any major city in sub-Saharan Africa, we will focus on Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. This is due to the fact that all three authors have long experience working in Maputo and its surrounding areas, and because it is a veritable repository of instances of enclaving understood as an aesthetics of imagination that circulates, unmoored and with the capacity to alter horizons and practices, in very different domains. Let us be specific:

Vignette 1: A war of walls

Maxaquene is a Maputo neighbourhood that is both quite poor and centrally located, now generally viewed as undergoing rampant gentrification. At the physical and visible level, such gentrification involves large tracts of land being transformed into middle-class housing, apartment blocks or gated communities, especially in the areas that are close to the main roadways. So far, this reflects global forms of gentrification (Lees et al., 2016). The immediately tangible and physical effects, however, do not necessarily conform to global templates of gentrification and reveal instead an aesthetic imaginary where the material form takes on particular characteristics. For instance, the mushrooming of small-scale condominiums that perforate the hitherto one-floor (or rarely two-floor) houses that comprise the urban landscape of Maxaquene: now, glass, steel and concrete structures are sprouting up through the red soil, changing the physical outlook of the area as well as, importantly, the cosmologies and horizons of what urban life and the city are (see also Bertelsen et al., 2014). Not only indicating the well-known turn to verticality (see Graham, 2016), the form also breaks with the single-story landscape of tight-knit households that have comprised both colonial and postcolonial urban development in Maputo (see Morton, 2019). For Bertelsen, this re-orientation has therefore become very prominent in recurring conversations he has had with Maxaquene inhabitants about the nature of the neighbourhood, its materialities and urban and domestic space – such as in this conversation in January 2019 with a man whom we may call 'Bernardo'. Born in 1956, Bernardo moved to the then open, largely rural space of Maxaquene in 1971 and worked as a janitor, domestic worker and then a tobacco worker, until losing his last job in 2013. When Bertelsen asked him about changes to his small plot and to Maxaquene, he recollected:

> Before 1982, I lived in a house with my brother. In 1982, I got my own plot of land from Frelimo [the ruling party since independence in 1975]. That time, there was plenty of space and we were few; there was room to grow maize and vegetables also. But then the war [civil war, 1976–1992] hit us all and we had to give up lots of our land. When the war was winding down, in 1989, there was a type of competition; everyone seemed to change their houses, building with cement and

starting erecting walls between neighbours. It was a war of walls and people no longer circulated through the households of others.

Bernardo's recollection is typical in reflecting spatial transformations in tandem with more encompassing political processes – including gentrification. But commenting on today, he emphasises how novel materialities and implicit moral registers of differentiation related to aesthetic forms of enclaving work to reform Maxaquene:

> Now things are changing, with Top Terra Moçambique [a real-estate company] having moved in. They buy all the land and say we do not belong here; that we should move out if we cannot build big. This means all the walls we have constructed now mean nothing. Nothing! They are only there to show borders between people but mean nothing when 'the big people' can look down on us from their condominiums. We have again become small; our space outside cannot be used. We have to leave here soon, we know that.

The entry of large and small agents to buy land and houses and convert these into sellable plots for development has fundamentally transformed the *bairro*, the relation between people, as well as widespread moral understandings and spatial imageries of material forms. Crucially, while flexibility of domestic space and household has been central to the whole trajectory of Maxaquene, as also emphasised by Bernardo, the principle has now been hardened by processes of enclaving. For one, this relates to the temporal horizon where local residents like Bernardo understand that non-fixity now means that the city will be purged of inhabitants like him; Bernardo will probably have to relocate to the margins of Maputo. The future city, one that is enclaved, thereby impinges on and fences in his present. Second, while flexibility historically meant shifting sites and sizes of plots, the erection

of walls dramatically alters relations with your neighbour. The previously social ideal of eye-level sociality reflective of the *bairro*'s one-level housing and low or non-existent perimeter fencing has been exchanged for the aesthetics and realities of condominiums and verticality. Effectively, enclaving in this format perforates social and physical space.

Vignette 2: Fortified towers

In 2019, a real estate agent, Tiago, gave Sumich and his wife a tour of a soon to be completed, mixed-use enclaved tower occupying some of the city's prime central real estate, which combines a hotel with residential apartments. The building was the result of the tortuously intertwined processes of economic accumulation and domestic and international political calculation between various state and non-state actors that are frequently known by the innocuous moniker of 'South–South' relations. One of the major players in Mozambican urban development is ATA Construction, who have already built over 11 major projects including gated communities, schools, malls, hotels, condominiums and mixed-use residences in Maputo and the neighbouring Matola (http://ataconstrucoes.com/). ATA Construction is connected to the Gülen movement from Turkey. After accusing the Gülenists of being behind the attempted coup of 15 July 2016, the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan tried to pressure the Mozambican government to cut all ties with ATA Construction and anyone else that was allied to the Gülen movement. Erdoğan has made similar moves throughout the world, but his efforts in Mozambique failed and were met with a point blank refusal. Mozambicans active in urban planning and development told Sumich that Erdoğan then changed tack and encouraged regime-aligned business interests to invest in urban development in Maputo, demonstrating the

benefits of working with the Turkish state while crowding out rivals.

Political rivalry involving distant power struggles and local diplomatic alignments seems to have provided the initial impetus for investment in a large enclaved complex. While the investors and management of the complex did not broadcast their affiliation, it was not hidden either. This became clear when Sumich asked to use the bathroom and was directed to an office in the back, where one wall was largely covered by a giant portrait of President Erdoğan. Distant political point-scoring was not the only reason for constructing the enclaved complex. For over the past decade, Mozambique, despite a series of political and economic crises, has been gearing up to be a significant exporter of natural resources, primarily liquefied natural gas, and coal. This enclaved complex, as with many others, was designed to accommodate the influx of expatriates drawn to Maputo to work in the natural resource industry, as well as of select members of the Mozambican upper class. Tiago bragged that five ministers already owned apartments there. The strategy of providing enclaved accommodation to different social, occupational or national categories of people is not new. Sumich had just been visiting a friend in a gated community built for Italian cooperants, or politically sympathetic aid workers, during the socialist period. However, the marketing strategy had changed considerably from international solidarity and building socialism to security, exclusion, panoramic views, high-end German appliances and, as we shall see, misleading points of law.

Tiago took Sumich and his wife through two of the apartments. They were surprisingly cramped and not terribly impressive, considering a two-bedroom was going for US$200,000 and a far more spacious, three-bedroom flat for US$360,000 or more. Tiago spent his time repeatedly pointing out the Bosch furnishings, and the sales technique was high pressure, but artfully done. While doing so, Tiago was constantly engaging in phone calls of perhaps dubious provenance with a wide variety of foreigners who were, coincidentally, just about to buy an apartment that Sumich and his wife wanted to look at. Interestingly, Tiago's performance was also interspersed with strategic falsehoods: he claimed that a foreigner could not buy an apartment in an old building as these were state patrimony, but this would not apply to newly built apartments. This is not true. The state owns the land in Mozambique, but this does not apply to apartments, which can be owned by either a Mozambican or a foreigner. Tiago's selective interpretation of Mozambican land laws was soon undercut with a surprising admission, however. When Sumich asked him what the advantage of an apartment was over a house, he bluntly replied 'A house is always better' and immediately proceeded to emphasise what could be offered by the admittedly lesser option of this building, such as the security (a reception desk, CCTV, armed response guards) and the high number of foreigners who would live there along with social notables such as the previously mentioned ministers.

In many ways, the description above seems to fit the standard explanation of enclaving being an 'ecology of fear', and certainly security was the building's primary selling point, along with the exclusiveness of the neighbours. In fact, Tiago openly explained that it would be better to have one's own house with the privacy and autonomy that supposedly comes along with homeownership. Therefore, it was a little surprising that such apartments would be attractive to the upper echelons of Mozambican society, such as government ministers, those who could presumably afford a house. Nor was it ever clear if such august personages ever considered residing

in such a building. Sumich later heard a rumour that they had simply appropriated entire floors as a way of accessing the local market, without ever moving in. However, this very contested desirability illustrates the ways in which migrating social forms both shape a local environment and are integrated into particular circumstances. As with the earlier examples of the People's Republic of China and Singapore, many different political, economic and cultural logics have become uneasily intertwined in this enclaved building. Here, distant political jockeying provides the impetus for updating residential strategies for a new economic market, while offering new avenues of profit for the powerful both near and abroad. Paradoxically, an enclaved complex designed on the principles of panoptical control manages to at least partly serve the interests of multiple privileged actors, while being under the total control of none.

Vignette 3: Future plans

Nielsen recently met up with Manuel Goveia, the head of the Department of Urbanisation at the Maputo Municipality, to discuss the process of making 'partial plans' (*planos parciais*) for those peri-urban areas where many both national and foreign investors want to build *condomínios fechados* (gated communities). As Goveia told Nielsen, in order to be able to have some kind of control over the growing and only partially legal land market, it was crucial to have some form of planning device, and in this regard the partial plans seemed like the best tool in the toolbox. The only problem was, of course, that given the weak administrative capacities on all levels, the necessary urban planning devices were still too few and badly managed. Not without a hint of frustration, Goveia acknowledged that the state and municipality are often completely incapable of controlling the increasing

commoditisation of peri-urban land – irrespective of current land laws stipulating that all land belongs to the state and thus cannot be transacted (República de Moçambique, 2004; Tanner, 2002). 'This is really a shitty situation', Goveia sighed. He took a sip of his beer before continuing: 'We need plans! But plans don't exist!' What Goveia and his colleagues at the municipality needed was a set of planning devices, which would enable them to monitor and control ongoing construction activities, not least those of a growing number of foreign building companies seeking to invest in peri-urban property and land in order to make large-scale enclave developments. I asked Goveia if there was anything to be done about the seemingly chaotic situation. 'Well', Goveia said, looking at Nielsen with a mischievous grin, 'we have actually experimented with a few things, which seem to work. It's what we call "future plans" (*planos do futuro*).' As Goveia then went on to explain in great detail, not unlike the partial plans, a 'future plan' outlines the basic parameters of a predefined urban space, such as those of a quarter (*quarterão*) in a peri-urban neighbourhood.[2] It thus projects the required infrastructural systems (water, sanitation and electricity, road networks and parcelling of individual land plots). In contrast to the partial plan, however, the future plan also includes an elaborate description of the administrative units functioning in the area; for example, police stations, primary schools and health centres. Still, what distinguished the future plan the most was probably the fact that it would never be realised. 'This is not a plan', Goveia assured Nielsen. 'It is something we came up with in order to be able to manage the situation on the outskirts of the city.' Indeed, according to both Goveia and several other architects and land surveyors at the Maputo Municipality, the future plan was a device invented in order to pragmatically attempt to restrict or at least be able to

influence as much as possible the activities of the growing number of construction companies eager to build huge enclave condominiums near the city centre, as discussed in the second vignette. Without urban plans defining the parameters of an area requested by construction companies, it was increasingly difficult for state and municipal officials to monitor and control their activities. However, with a future plan, Goveia and his colleagues could refer to the (imagined) projections and thus prevent or, at least, stall unwanted construction activities – say, by arguing that a certain area could not be parcelled out for a new project given that the future plan indicated that a primary school would be built in the area in question.

On the face of it, the future plan did sound like a workable solution for the immediate problem caused by a lack of administrative resources at all levels. Being somewhat impressed by the ingenuity of the idea, Nielsen therefore asked Goveia whether it had the desired effect of actually curbing investments in peri-urban land. 'Oh noooo!', Goveia laughed and shook his head. 'That is not the intention at all! Don't you get it? We want the *condomínios*! That's the whole point! But we want to be able to drive the car, you know. Who wants to sit in the passenger seat?'

While Nielsen had somewhat naïvely assumed that Goveia was describing an instrument devised entirely with the objective of getting some kind of control over a land market that was rapidly picking up pace, it was also (and perhaps predominantly so) intended as a platform for the officials to be able to continuously negotiate the terms of the investors' presence in the city. In a nutshell, the future plans were money-making machines. For, as Nielsen would soon come to realise, not only were Goveia and his colleagues interested in profiting from the growing number of planned large-scale building

projects, but the enclaved *condomínio* was the ideal form of the city that they were envisioning. As Goveia saw it, at the same time as the many local and foreign construction consortia were building gated communities along the picturesque Costa do Sol area of Maputo, they were also giving new life to a slowly dying city.

In these three examples, enclaving is not solely an economic venture but also a series of more or less coordinated attempts to create some form of order, control and uniformity among what is often viewed by the privileged as the potentially dangerous chaos of the city. While no one can deny that it has unleashed a process of social transformation, the end result remains an open question. In Vignette 1, Bernardo feels trapped in a present that he no longer controls. Although he still lives in the peri-urban neighbourhood that used to offer a necessary spatial flexibility, the transformations brought on by new real-estate companies seem to diminish his physical and social room for manoeuvre. In Vignette 2, on the other hand, local spatial plans and international diplomacy combine in unexpected ways as internal political disputes in Turkey become the catalyst for new forms of spatial segregation that transcend the confines of their own immediate materiality. A similar kind of entrepreneurial pragmatism can be detected in Vignette 3, where the head of the Department of Urbanisation at Maputo Municipality tries to shape the pace of enclave urbanism through the use of fake urban plans; not because he wants to minimise real estate investments but, simply, so that he can 'sit in the driver's seat'.

In sum, what we take from these three vignettes, then, is that the hierarchical space of the enclave considered both as a migrating urban form and an aesthetic of imagination – and above imagined as large-scale real estate investments, as gated communities and as urban development respectively – not

only generates built forms but re-directs different and multilayered flows of desire (see Simone, 2019: 129). While one can interpret this desire or re-orientation outward as either reflecting capitalist forms of expulsion (Sassen, 2014) or, in more local terms, as re-affirmation of dormant yet powerful rural connections (Tvedten, 2018), the centripetal desires reflect an acute sense of verticalised enclaves (both built and imagined) as perforating local worlds and, thus, reconfiguring the distances and divisions of the city through introspection into households (Vignette 1), through capitalisation of political rivalries (Vignette 2) and through management of forces, which refuse to be managed (Vignette 3).

Migration of spaces and material forms in sub-Saharan Africa

James Ferguson (2005, 2006) has described how economic investments in resource extraction across the African continent tend towards being concentrated in secured enclaves, which move capital across national borders without encompassing actual geographical spaces. This enclaved economic model is characterised by mixed and intertwined sovereignty that operates under special legal regimes with highly unequal access to infrastructure, and secured by private security forces for the economy more generally (see also Appel, 2012; Kirshner and Power, 2015). Focusing particularly on the booming oil industry, Ferguson (2005: 380) argues that:

> Usable Africa gets secured enclaves – noncontiguous 'useful' bits that are secured, policed, and, in a minimal sense, governed through private or semiprivate means. These enclaves are increasingly linked up … in transnational networks that link dispersed spaces in a selective, point-to-point fashion.

Without benefiting the wider society, financial investments in the oil sector are concentrated in secured enclaves that are 'ringfenced' against the real or imagined disorganisation of local economies. In contrast to earlier 'socially thick' economic models, a bifurcated model is introduced, which 'hollows out' the state (Clapham, 1996), while the enclave increasingly comes to operate as a private mercantilist entrepôt that has liberated itself from the restrictions of geographical attachment:

> [C]apital 'hops' over 'unusable Africa,' alighting only in mineral-rich enclaves that are starkly disconnected from their national societies. The result is not the formation of standardized national grids, but the emergence of huge areas of the continent that are effectively 'off the grid'. (Ferguson, 2005: 380)

As capital 'hops' over 'unusable Africa', natural resource extraction turns into a particularly efficient form of 'surgical colonialism' (Bergesen, 2008), which 'involves a minimum of local disruption, making the extraction almost surgical in nature'. In this regard, it is the place rather than the people that is useful and so a process of dispossession – say, in the form of land grabs or extensive export of hardwood – might occur without any significant involvement of local populations (Murray Li, 2010; see also Tsing, 2000). Capital is territorialised, to be sure, but within economic zones, which are organised in order to strategically reduce the possibility for mutually beneficial engagements with the local 'outside' to an absolute minimum. Crucially, however, the territorialisation of capital does not imply that enclaving is fixed to a physical territory once and for all. As also convincingly argued by Ferguson, the ringfencing of investments may allow for a dynamic and hyper-flexible migration of spaces and material forms, such as when a

modular form of the segregated enclave is being wedged into different physical localities across a larger region (Bunkenborg et al., 2020).

For Mozambique, for example, Kirshner and Power (2015: 70) argue that mining enclaves in Tete Province are reshaping both economic life and urban planning, recreating deeply exclusionary colonial models of company rule on the one hand, while drawing local elites more tightly into international networks on the other. Thus, Russian speculative capital fuels the construction of private cities in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Zambia; Chinese imperial, extractive and infrastructural expansion animates economies and urban spaces across the continent's cities; and urban real estate development is commonly used as a money-laundering operation for illicit accumulation. It is precisely this chameleon-like nature, we argue, its ability to combine aspirations and profound inequality, predatory neo-colonialism and new forms of social mobility, new public management and socialist authoritarianism, that makes enclaving so flexible yet durable. Often it is this dual nature, both dystopic and aspiration, that makes it so resilient to widespread condemnation.

For the cities in sub-Saharan Africa, we need to cast an equally wide analytical net in order to capture the ramifications of recent economic, social and political developments. For what is unfolding in sub-Saharan cities cannot be discerned by examining only the social effects of new governmental technologies or by tracing the economic repercussions of large-scale speculative investment schemes. Rather, as we have also outlined through our discussion of the three empirical vignettes above, the dynamics, pace and tension points of many urban landscapes are gradually being recalibrated in relation to an aesthetics of imagination, which we define as enclaving.

With its pre-eminent place in the continent's financial infrastructure and the long history of racial segregation, culminating in the apartheid political project, Johannesburg could be taken as the epitome of enclaving in Africa. Martin Murray (2011: 8) has described the ways that the 'introduction of new techniques of spatial management has reshaped the urban landscape in novel and unanticipated ways, supplanting meaningful urban public space with cocooned, privatised surrogates and putting into motion entirely new dynamics of separation, fragmentation and exclusion'. In tracing these processes, Murray documents three major forms of enclaved communities in Johannesburg. The first is what he terms the 'Outcast Ghetto', which encompasses the abandoned and rapidly decaying inner city (Murray, 2011: 148). The inhabitants of such ghettos, such as the infamous Hillbrow, which include the poor, the forgotten, undocumented immigrants and the socially marginalised, come to be the 'territorially stigmatised' other who are indiscriminately labelled as an undesirable, criminal class solely due to where they live as opposed to any action they have ever actually undertaken (Murray, 2011: 153). The second form is the upscale gated communities that have appeared at the edge of the city where affluent whites and increasingly, in the post-apartheid era, well-off blacks have found refuge from the crime and decay of the city proper. The growth of gated communities has accompanied deregulation and the adoption of neo-liberal principles and 'new public management', creating comfortable, secure enclaves and eye-catching amenities for the chosen few, and allowing municipal authorities and developers to claim the coveted title of 'world-class' city amidst a vast sea of deprivation and neglect. Such processes are reaching their apogee with the third type of enclaved community – entirely new, private cities, such as Waterfall City on the outskirts

of Johannesburg (Herbert and Murray, 2015; Murray, 2015). As Murray (2011: 332) convincingly shows, contemporary forms of enclaving in Johannesburg are not simply capitalist means of recreating apartheid though, even if similarities abound. Instead, Johannesburg provides a productive lens through which to view the ways in which the old and the new orders are caught in an uneasy dialectic – becoming, in practice, hopelessly intertwined.

As in the three vignettes above, enclaving finds its most overt physical configuration in the segregated urban enclave, such as the gated community or walled-off tower, but, as we venture to speculate, it might be that enclaving finds its optimal manifestation as a conduit of urban imageries, which – by themselves – are never equal to their own material realisation. Returning to urban management as envisioned by Manuel Goveia, the official at Maputo Municipality described in Vignette 3, and the various rivalries that fuelled the enclaved tower in Vignette 2, these are both examples of ways of engaging with the city without necessarily being able to control the processes of its implementation while the benefits are largely monopolised by the powerful, leaving irregular payoffs and desultory compensation for those most affected.

Conclusion

In contrast to processes of physical segregation in Euro-American cities, what we consider as particularly salient about enclaving in sub-Saharan Africa is precisely the activation and even operationalisation of an aesthetics of imagination that is not tied to an immediate material manifestation (see Nielsen and Pedersen, 2015). So, for instance, Bernardo, the unfortunate Maxaquene resident described in the first vignette, has essentially reimagined the city as an uninhabitable wasteland (*pace* Simone,

2019) because of the massive and violent interventions in the area occurring through acts of enclaving. In fact, what might give to enclaving its social efficacy is precisely the hyper-flexible malleability of a spatial form that does not lose its core qualities. This leads us to suggest that as an aesthetics of imagination, enclaving migrates between and across different physical locations. To be sure, the physical manifestation of enclaving, such as the gated community, is a monumental affirmation of a particular and very visible form of detachment, but it is by way of its nomadic movements across the city that it comes to have deeper and more complex and heterogeneous effects. The three protagonists of the vignettes above are all moving with the ebbs and flows of enclaving as it makes its way across the city's spaces. For Bernardo, Tiago and Goveia, enclaving is not simply an aesthetic figuration or idealisation of the city. Rather, it is the sense of an almost rhythmic pulse that seems to set in motion the spaces in which these people live, and connects different territories, localities and positions without any coherent or easily decipherable systematicity emerging. And that is, paradoxically, one of the key characteristics of what enclaving is. As an aesthetics of imagination, enclaving gives concreteness, solidity and magnitude to the city but in ways that are not necessarily trapped by its physicality.

Urban landscapes in sub-Saharan Africa thereby powerfully and dynamically actualise lines of separation, which stretch out into a wider multilayered meshwork of political divisions, economic fissures and social detachments. While they do offer the possibility of the kinds of 'oppressive private socialism' (Soja, 2000: 315) that have reconfigured the dynamics of many Euro-American cities, that is not the main locus of their operations. Instead, through a wide and ill-coordinated array of spatial technologies, investment strategies, governmental

regulations and intensified movements of persons, things and ideas, certain kinds of divisions come to assert themselves with acute determination and force. It can therefore be expected that the physical manifestation of a separation (say, a wall) will activate different registers of detachment from those that initially prompted the building project itself. Think again of the untenable situation that Bernardo finds himself in. As much as he is worried about the magnitude of the building projects, it is the disruptions to the existing territory – the rescaling of the area (Tsing, 2005) and the consequential loss of visibility, so to speak, that are the main concern here.

With the notion of 'enclaving', then, we wish to trace the particular meshwork of separations, fissures and disconnections of which the detached sub-Saharan African urban enclave is an optimal physical manifestation but one that cannot contain the production of tropes and ideas of segregation deriving from that particular built form. While there is no singular logic to how the many segregated urban spaces are being built in cities across the continent, we argue that they do nevertheless reflect a certain 'aesthetics of imagination', which can be examined empirically and submitted to historical analysis and cross-cultural comparison. And while enclaving does carry grand promises of monumental urbanism, as an aesthetics of imagination it is itself more like a set of 'entangled relations that endow objectives with seemingly stable and linear boundaries' (Roberts, 2017: 595). Indeed, considered as an aesthetics of imagination, enclaving is a loosely structured orientation to urban spaces based on separation, which stretches from subjective and collective forms of social differentiation to overt material manifestations. It is both the enactment of a desire for privilege, the physical or ideational representation of the privilege itself and the tension that exists between the

two. Rather than stemming from specific and clearly defined socio-economic divides, enclaving can be considered as a fluid and transformative form of detachment and separation that generates new forms of urban positions, strategies and ideals. As noted in the second vignette, such strategies can loosely serve a variety of interests, while not being under the total control of any one set of actors. In many instances, enclaving offers itself as guarantor of both spatial and temporal security by physically or imaginatively stabilising the relationship of person and space in the form of a predictable future. As such, enclaving implies not just the spatial representation of an explicit ideal, a status or a sense of belonging but also an active intervention in the ambiguous space between the known and the unknown, the certain and the uncertain.

The existing body of work on enclaving in Euro-America and sub-Saharan Africa has generated crucial insights about the socio-political and economic inequalities that are both caused by and have fed into the making of physical urban divides. Having taken cues from these studies, in this article we have intended to go beyond the localised spatial fixity of enclaving that is an integral part of these analyses. Instead, and based on material from Africa in general and Maputo in particular, as well as relevant studies of historical and contemporary forms of enclaving from Euro-America, we have suggested that it operates most optimally as an aesthetics of imagination, leading to what might best be described as the migration of spaces and material forms.

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ORCID iD

Morten Nielsen https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6165-0360

Notes

1. While we initially limit ourselves here to the trajectory of Western connectivities between utopia and the city, there are, surely, arguments to be made for exploring such dimensions elsewhere – as Zhao (2006) has done for the imperial history of (pre-revolutionary) China, or as has been explored more broadly by, for instance, Seligman (1989).
2. Most urban and peri-urban neighbourhoods in Maputo are divided into quarters usually comprising between 100 and 150 households each.

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