

Hallsworth Conference, with the Global Development Institute, University of Manchester

Scaling up participatory development in towns and cities of the global South

Hanson Room, HBS – Tuesday 11th June 2019

People's History Museum – Wednesday 12th June – Thursday 13th June 2019

Purpose

The Global Development Institute will host a mini-conference to understand the opportunities and constraints on scaling up participation in towns and cities of the global South with a range of academics and practitioners. The purpose is to develop and share experiences of participation that is taking place, analyse outcomes from efforts to date, and develop an understanding about how to shift participatory development from a niche to the mainstream.

There are two linked events. The first, on the 11th June, is an exposure for architecture and planning studies (and others who are interested), in the challenges and practices of design professionals as they engage with issues of informal settlement upgrading and development. The second, 12th – 13th June, considers three key themes that have emerged from a three-year Leverhulme action research network to analyse the scaling up of participatory planning in Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Participants

Professor Diana Mitlin, Dr Leandro Minuchin (University of Manchester)

Philipp Horn (University of Sheffield)

Professor Vanessa Watson (University of Cape Town)

Associate Professor Victoria Beard (Cornell University)

Associate Professor Gabriella Carolini (MIT)

Somsook Boonyabancha (Asian Coalition for Housing Rights)

Kaustuv Bandyopadhyay (PRIA)

Carlos Revilla (Fundación Ciudad, and Instituto de Investigación Acción para el Desarrollo Integral, Bolivia)

George Masimba Nyama (Dialogue on Shelter, Zimbabwe)

Sazini Ndlovu (Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation)

Linda Ndiweni, (National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo)

Suzette van der Walt, Dumisani Mathebula (One to One, South Africa)

Pauline Waigumo Wairimu, Joseph Kimani (Muungano wa Wanavijiji, Kenya)

Jack Makau (SDI Kenya)

Julieta Maino, Julia Bizzarri, Luciana Bertolaccini (Rosario, Argentina)

Sally Cawood, University of Leeds

Vidya Sagar Pancholi, University of Sheffield

Sergio Montero, Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre Desarrollo, Colombia

Beatrice de Carli, University of Sheffield

Alexandre Apsan Frediani, University College London

Scaling up participatory development in towns and cities of the global South

People's History Museum, Left Bank, Spinningfields, Manchester, M3 3ER.

Wednesday 12th June 2019

Format: each session will include:

The structure of the sessions will be:

- 3 presentations of 15 minutes each – 1 presentation from Leverhulme Network partner, 2 from additional invited participants
- 2 – 3 presentations of 5 minutes each – from invited participants.
 - 3 x 15 minute presentations from invited presenters / Inclusive Cities Network. We would like you to share something from your experience that adds to the debate. We are keen to have a challenge and an insight that helps us better understand and/or respond to that challenge. The challenge can be theoretical, conceptual or practical.
 - 2 – 3 short 5 minute presentations from invited participants: We will ask these participants to identify a key challenge or solution that they want to share with the meeting.
 - Facilitated discussion – for about 50 minutes with moderator/facilitator
 - Session notes (the rapporteur gets eight minutes at the end to share key discussion points, and then we have two minutes for immediate responses)

Registration 09.45 – 10.00	Engine Hall, People's History Museum	
10.00 – 11.00	Opening address – Diana Mitlin Introductions	
Break	11.00 – 11.30	
Session 1 11.30 – 13.30	Prioritising Inclusion Presentations: Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation; Dialogue on Shelter (Zimbabwe); NUST, Bulawayo Victoria Beard (The challenges of scaling-up local participation in water provision to the city scale) Kaustuv Bandyopadhyay (Engaged Citizens, Responsive City) Abstract – Sally Cawood (Community Based Organisations (CBOs) in Dhaka's low-income settlements, Bangladesh: Service delivery mechanisms or critical change makers?)	Facilitator/ Moderator: Melanie Lombard Rapporteur: Alfredo Stein
Lunch	13.30 – 14.00	
Session 2 14.00 – 15.00	State Ambition Presentations: University of Johannesburg; One to One, South Africa Somsook Boonyabancha (to come) Gabriella Carolini (The Interactions of Structural and Contextual Influences on Participatory Governance: Insights from Mozambique, Mexico, and Chile) Abstract – Vidya Sagar Pancholi (Contentious politics within the BSUP scheme implementation and	Facilitator/ Moderator: Glyn Williams Rapporteur: Diana Mitlin

	substantive participation: a case of two slum settlements in the periphery of Mumbai, India)	
Break	15.00 – 15.30	
Session 2, cont. 15.30 – 16.30	State Ambition, cont.	
17.00	End of Day 1, departure of participants	

Thursday 13th June 2019

9.45 – 10.00	Arrival and coffee	
Session 3 10.00 – 11.00	Devolution and Subsidiarity Presentations: Muungano wa Wanavijiji, Kenya; SDI Kenya Rosario, Argentina: (Radical ways of co-producing inclusive cities. The case of the party-movement, Ciudad Futura, and its plan “Barrio- Ciudad) Abstract – Sergio Montero (Tracing Policy Immobilities through A Posteriori Comparisons: What ‘Best Practices’ Leave Behind)	Facilitator/ Moderator: Leandro Minuchin Rapporteur: Ezana Weldeghebrael
Break	11.00 – 11.30	
Session 3 cont. 11.30 – 12.45	Devolution and Subsidiarity cont.	
Lunch	12.45 – 13.15	
Session 4 13.15 – 15.15	From Master Planning to City-Wide Collaborative Development Presentations: Vanessa Watson (Planning blockages to up-scaled participatory urban development in the global south) Carlos Revilla (Popular Education and Human Rights Advocacy: Strengthening the participation of marginalized citizens in Bolivian cities) Teams from South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe Abstract - Beatrice de Carli and Alex Frediani (Participatory design for city-scale co-production: Reflections from the ASF-UK Change by Design experiences in Quito, Cape Town and Freetown.)	Facilitator/ Moderator: Niki Banks Rapporteur: Philipp horn
Break	15.15 – 15.45	
15.45 – 16.45	Conclusions: related activities and commitments	Philipp, Leandro and Diana
17.00	Conference End	

Scaling up participatory development

In towns and cities of the global South

Why?

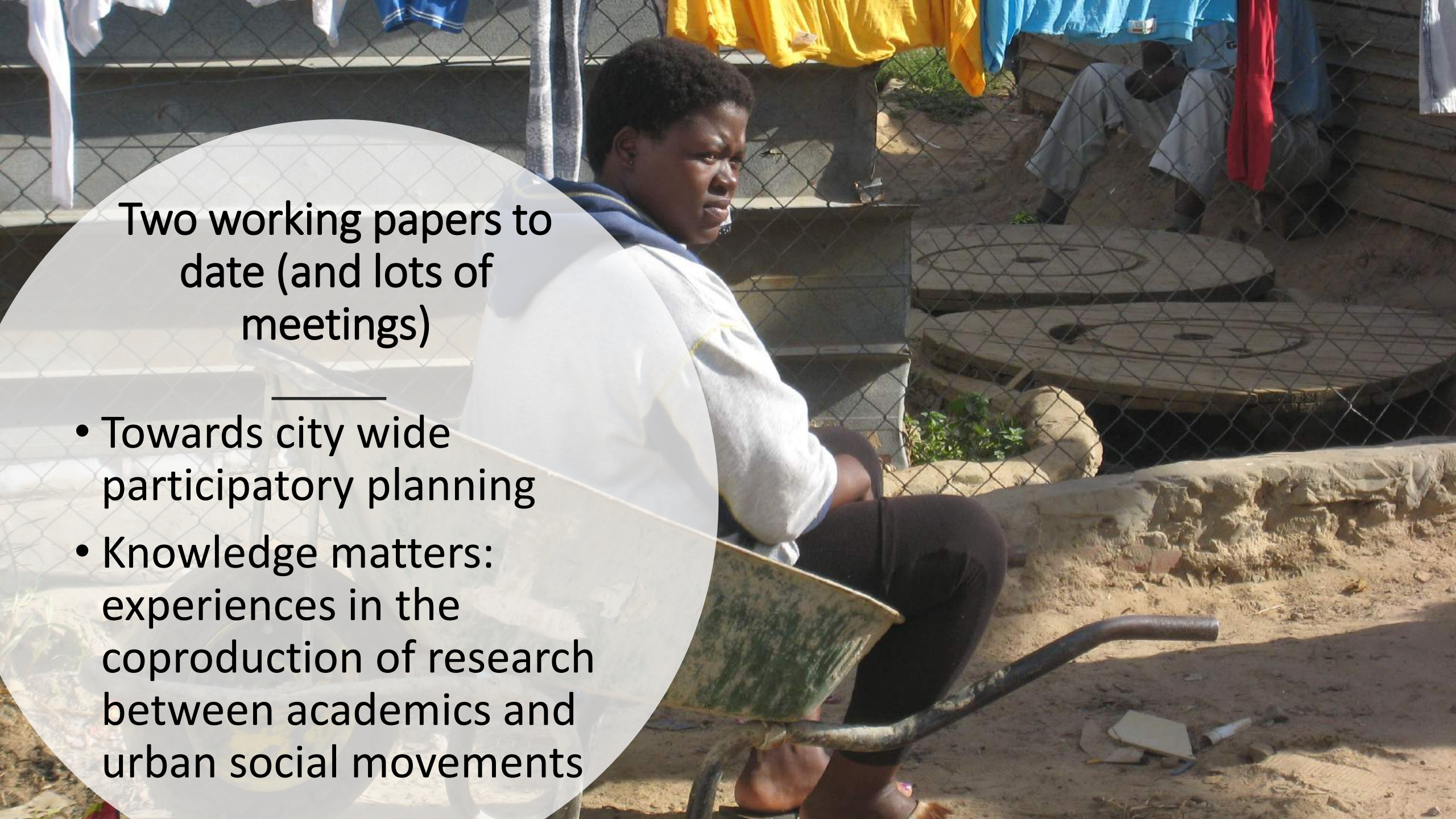
- Communities want to be involved
- Long-standing recognition of importance
- But remains a niche activity
- Thinking about scaling



Part of a process

- Longstanding engagement with these issues
- Leverhulme network on scaling up participatory development (Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe)
- Now extending the debate – looking for your insights
- Contribute to final year network activities



A woman with short dark hair, wearing a white long-sleeved shirt and dark pants, is sitting on a green metal wheelbarrow. She is looking off to the side with a serious expression. In the background, there is a chain-link fence with various items of clothing hanging on it, including a yellow shirt, a blue shirt, and a red shirt. The ground is dirt and there are some concrete structures in the background.

Two working papers to
date (and lots of
meetings)

- Towards city wide participatory planning
- Knowledge matters: experiences in the coproduction of research between academics and urban social movements

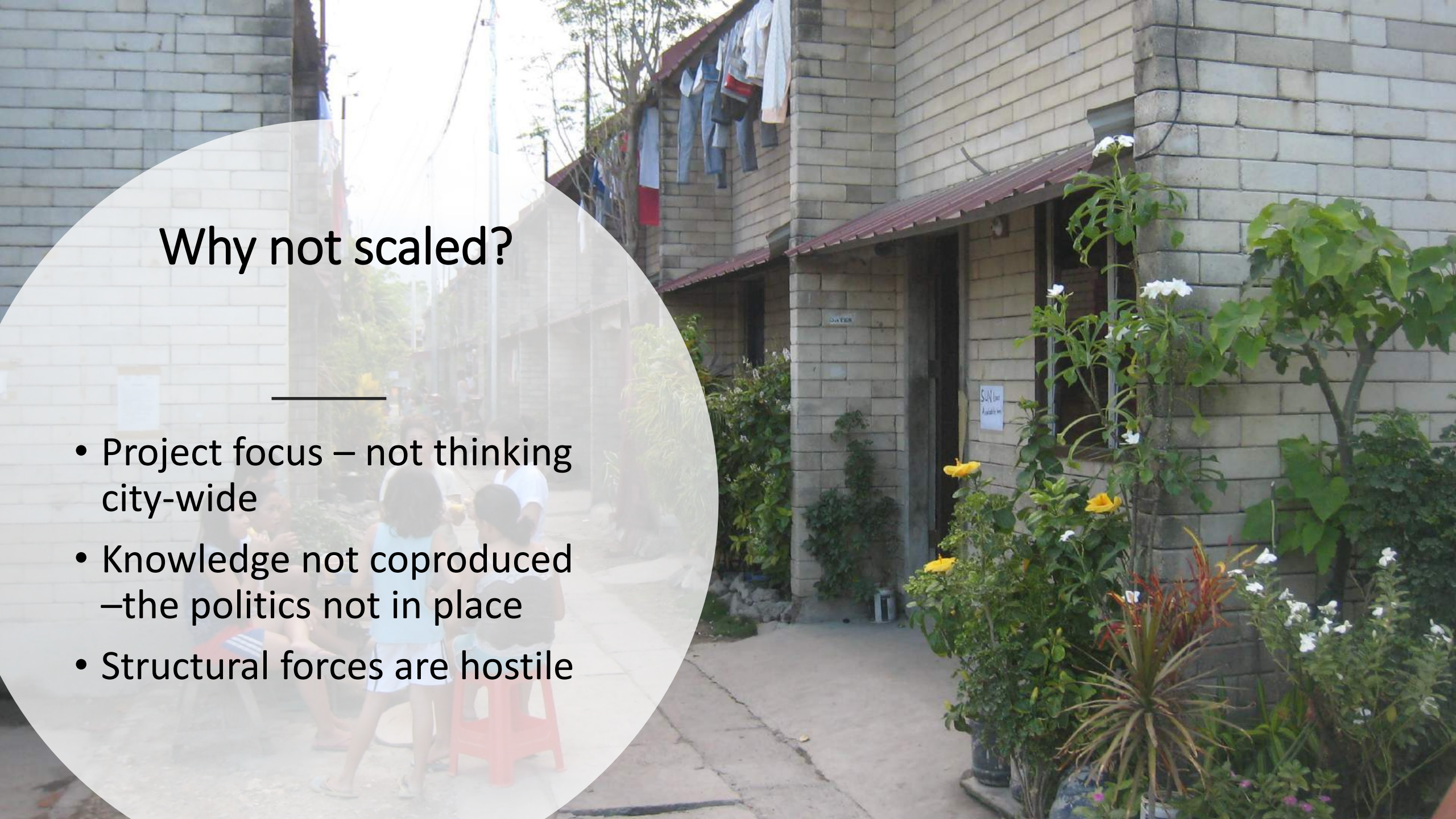
Dimensions of scaling

- OUT: Spreading across the settlement
- ACROSS: Moving to new sectors
- DOWN: Deepening the quality of service and planning provision
- BEYOND: to new neighbourhoods – to city wide



Why not scaled?

- Project focus – not thinking city-wide
- Knowledge not coproduced –the politics not in place
- Structural forces are hostile





Strategies for scaling

- Strategic community networking
- Deepen coproduction with local govt. supported by non-state agency alliances
- New professionalism – driven from practice, and frustration with practice
- Curriculum change – the power of communities



Structure of the sessions

- Prioritising inclusion
- State Ambition
- Devolution and subsidiarity
- From To citywide collaborative development



What next....

- Journal publication
- Blogs
- Continuing engagement

The Challenges of Scaling-up Local Participation in Water Provision to the City Scale

Victoria A. Beard
Department of City and Regional Planning
Cornell University
Fellow, World Resources Institute

Jakarta Is Sinking So Fast, It Could End Up Underwater

“That’s because, after decades of reckless growth and negligent leadership, crises have lined up here like dominoes.

Jakartan developers and others illegally dig untold numbers of wells because water is piped to less than half the population at what published reports say are extortionate costs by private companies awarded government concessions.

The aquifers aren’t being replenished, despite heavy rains and the abundance of rivers, because more than 97 percent of Jakarta is now smothered by concrete and asphalt....

There is always tension between immediate needs and long-term plans....”



Source: Michael Kimmelman and photographs by Josh Haner, December 21, 2017, *New York Times*.

Cape Town Pushes Back 'Day Zero' as Residents Conserve Water



Cape Town residents collecting water from a spring. The city's reservoirs remain at just 24 percent of capacity, and falling. Joao Silva/The New York Times

Source: Richard Pérez-Peña, February 18, 2018, *New York Times*.

Zimbabwe Declares Cholera Emergency as Disease Spreads in Capital



Health workers in Harare, Zimbabwe, caring for patients with cholera symptoms on Tuesday. More than 2,000 have been sickened in the past week alone. Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi/Associated Press

Source: Jeffery Moyo and Richard Pérez-Peña, September 11, 2018, *New York Times*.

The Challenge for Cities

- 2.5 billion people are moving to cities in a little more than 3 decades, and most of this urban growth will occur in Asia and Africa
- In the cities poised to grow approximately 70 percent of residents lack one or more core urban service
- When people lack core urban services they provide for themselves and this results in overuse, congestion, and inefficiencies
- The decisions that cities make today have the potential to lock in patterns of social, environmental, economic implications that can last for the rest of the century

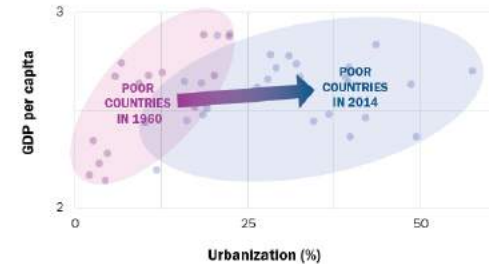
Four Ways that Cities are Different

FOUR FINDINGS

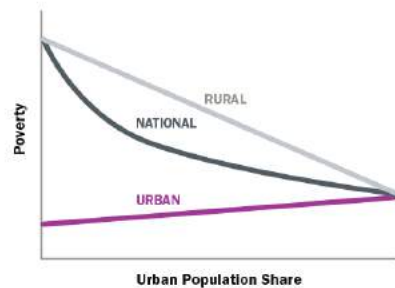
1. Largest Rates of Urbanization in Sub-saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia in Cities Currently 1-5 M in Size



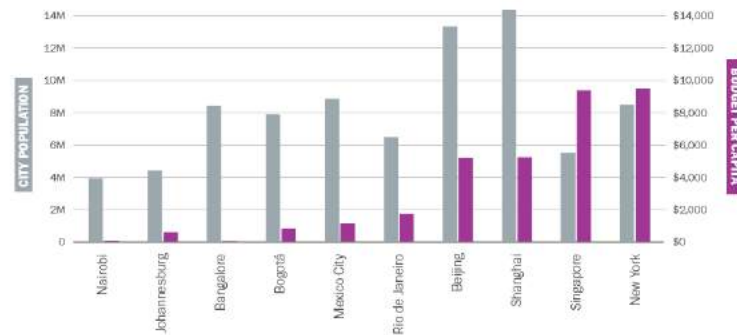
2. Urbanization Will Not Necessarily be Accompanied by Economic Growth Everywhere



3. The Share of the Poor Living in Urban Areas is On the Rise Worldwide



4. Cities With the Greatest Challenges Have the Fewest Resources Per Capita

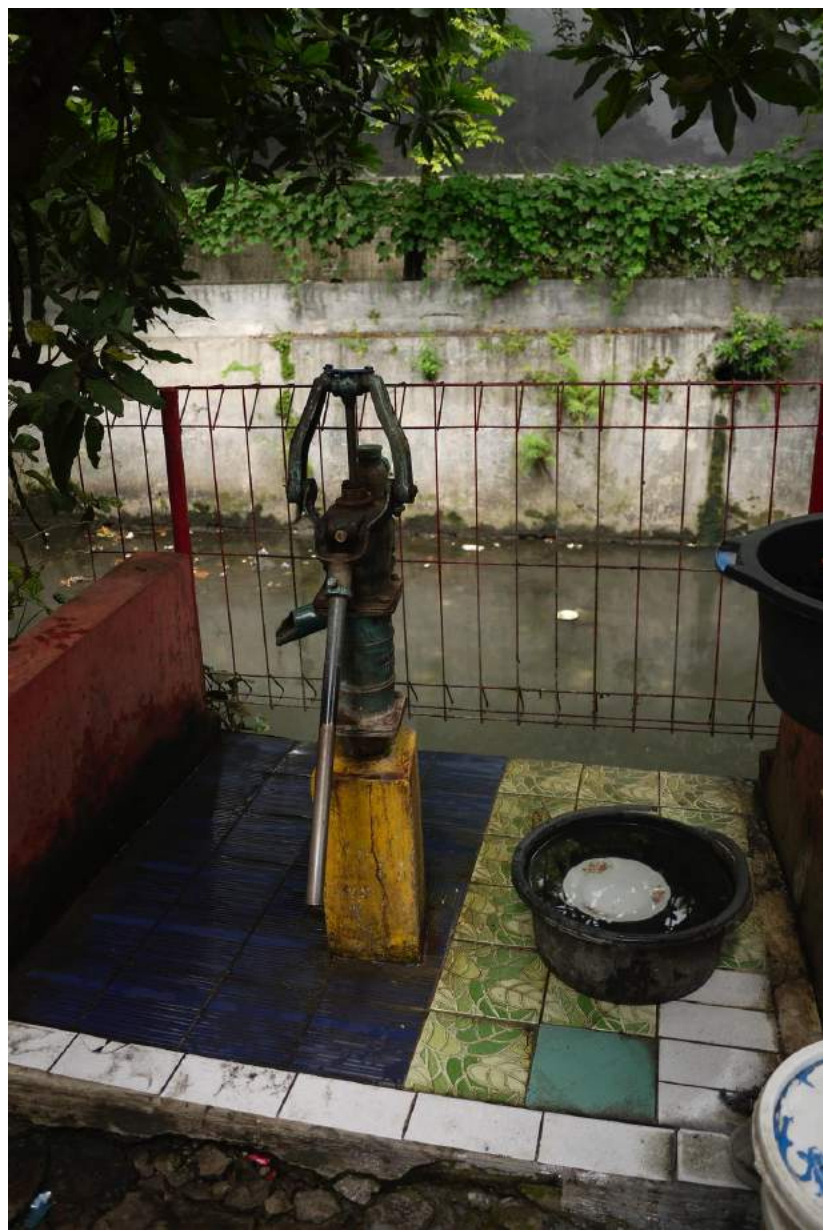


Source: Beard, et al. 2016. *Towards a More Equal City: Framing the Challenges and Opportunities*. Working Paper. Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute.









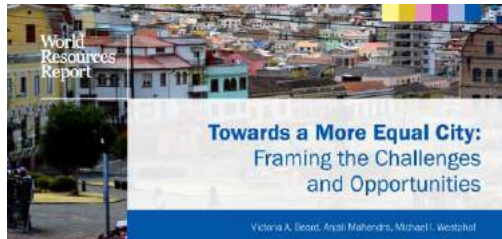




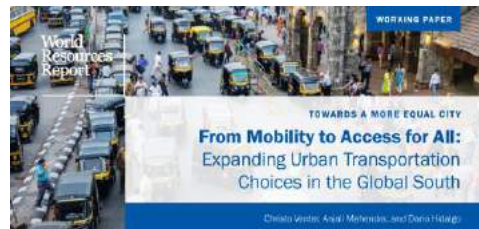
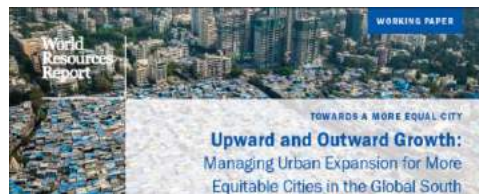
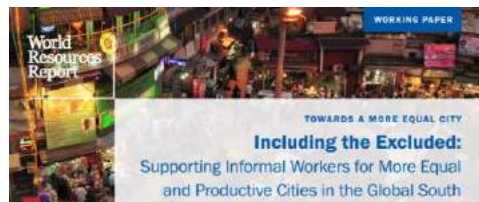
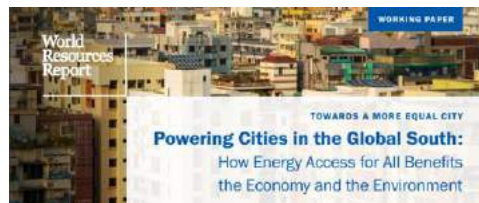
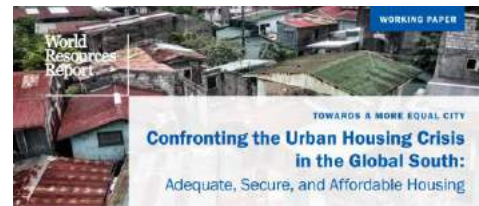




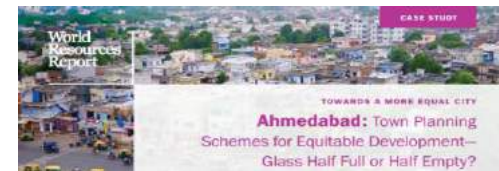
World Resources Report: *Towards a More Equal City*



THEMATIC PAPER



CITY CASE STUDIES



EQUITABLE ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION

World
Resources
Report

TOWARDS A MORE EQUAL CITY

Data collected in 15 cities:

Bengaluru, India
Colombo, Sri Lanka
Dhaka, Bangladesh
Karachi, Pakistan
Mumbai, India

Caracas, Venezuela
Cochabamba, Bolivia
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Sao Paulo, Brazil
Santiago de Cali,
Colombia

Kampala, Uganda
Lagos, Nigeria
Maputo, Mozambique
Mzuzu, Malawi
Nairobi, Kenya



Key Findings from Water and Sanitation Research in 15 cities

- Equitable access to safe, reliable, and affordable water is a human right. Urban water provision will become increasingly difficult due to climate change and population growth.
- Widely used global data underestimate the urban water crisis, which contributes to ineffective planning and management.
- New analysis of 15 cities show that piped water is the least expensive option for most households, yet almost half lack access. In 12 out of 15 cities analyzed, households connected to the municipal piped system received water intermittently.
- Households without access to municipal water, “self-provide” or purchase water from private sources, which costs up to 52 times as much as piped utility water.

Key Findings from Water and Sanitation Research in 15 cities

- Decades of attempts to increase the private sector's role in water provision and corporatize water utilities have not improved access, especially for the urban under-served.
- Cities and water utilities should work together to extend the formal piped network, address intermittent water service, and make water more affordable.
- City governments should work with NGOs, community organizations, and federations that are currently meeting these needs to improve to provide access to low-income groups.
- Participatory, *in situ*, upgrading of informal settlements is one of the most effective initiatives for improving low-income households' access to urban water and sanitation services.

Community-Based Planning and Water Services

- Residents rely on diverse, numerous, and overlapping water networks to meet their basic human needs.
- The source of water structures the community's relationship to the state— are they dependent on a local source, private vendors, public water system?
- Users devise management systems, rules, and regulations for sustainable managing water resources (Ostrom 1990, Agrawal 2001, Wade 1998).
- Physical characteristics of water creates problems of managing it at the community-scale.

Challenges Specific to Water

- Successful management of water resources at the community scale does not protect from threats generated at broader scales and the behavior of actors spread over much larger geographic areas.
- Urban development in distant recharge areas, the use of impervious materials, choices regarding the design of storm water infrastructure, and the use and management of forests.
- The behavior of users closer to the community also affect water resources; for example, households and commercial activities, adjacent to and upstream from communities.
- The rate at which users inside as well as outside the community extract ground water from the aquifer.
- Communities that manage the distribution of publicly supplied water or private supplied water, face different challenges related to their lack of control over price, regularity, and quality.

Co-Production and Water Services

- Distinguishing co-production from other forms of participatory development
- Watson (2014) identifies areas of difference between co-production collaborative planning.
- Mitlin (2008) differentiates between the instrumental elements of co-production and the potential for more substantive change.
- SDI and ACHR provide examples of community-based organizations, engaging in co-production affecting service delivery, urban policy at the city-wide and national scales.
- Improved access to quality services is a means to empower the urban underserved and the poor.
- What does this mean for the community that is not well organized?
- What about a community that is well organized, but not well connected to city-level power structures and broader federations?

Challenges Specific to Water

- Multi-scalar nature water resource management
- “Depoliticization” shifting responsibility to private economic actors and households
- It has the potential to reinforce existing patterns of inequality and increase fragmentation at the city-scale

From skepticism

- Might participatory development at its best be a local process? Do we seek to scale participation, or do we seek to scale the outcomes of a local participatory process?
- How will more descriptions of these experiences and new observations be used to improve cities and the lives of the urban poor and underserved?
- Even when we understand the limitations of some of these approaches, how will more articulations and more context specific examples translate to better outcomes for the urban poor?
- I remaining unconvinced that community-based planning or co-production are effective mechanisms for ensuring equitable access to safe, reliable and affordable water in the long-term in cities.

To hope

- Informed, organized, and engaged communities need to push city governments to be more responsive to the needs of the urban underserved and the urban poor.
- The value of co-production in this context is improving the relationship between users/citizens, and providers/cities—ensuring that cities are responsible to all the people who live in them.
- One significant oversight I noted in the co-production literature that warrants attention: the focus on the relationship between communities (or their representative civil society organizations) and the state.
- There was insufficient attention played to the role of the market, capitalist economic system that underlies the shaping of cities, service provision, resource use, and governance.

Mexico City, Parched and Sinking, Faces a Water Crisis

[Leer en español](#)

“Mexico City now imports as much as 40 percent of its water from remote sources — then squanders more than 40 percent of what runs through its 8,000 miles of pipes because of leaks and pilfering.

This is not to mention that pumping all this water more than a mile up into the mountains consumes roughly as much energy as ... a population akin to Philadelphia’s....

Mexico City’s water crisis today comes partly from the fact that so much of this porous land — including large stretches of what Mexico City has supposedly set aside for agriculture and preservation, called “conservation land” — has been developed.



Source: Michael Kimmelman and photographs by Josh Haner, February 17, 2017, *New York Times*.



Scaling Up Participation ENGAGED CITIZENS, RESPONSIVE CITY



Knowledge. Voice. Democracy.

PRIA

Dr. Kaustuv Kanti Bandyopadhyay

Director

Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), India

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK FOR ALL

CONTEXT – PARTICIPATION IN URBAN INDIA

74th CAA, 1993 (Part IX-A) mandates formation of Ward Committees for cities with more than 300,000 population

JNNURM, 2005 made provision for Citizen Participation Law to institutionalize participation

Recent national urban flagship programmes promise citizen engagement but without any institutional mechanisms

Most of these 'institutional spaces' for participation do now work for the urban poor

CONTEXT – INDIA'S FLAGSHIP URBAN PROGRAMMES

Swachh Bharat Mission-Urban/Clean India Mission (SBM-U)



Elimination of open defecation



Eradication of Manual Scavenging



Behavioural change for healthy sanitation practices

ECRC – THEORY OF CHANGE



ECRC – APPROACHES

ORGANISATION BUILDING

- Settlement Improvement Committees in informal settlements

COLLECTIVE AWARENESS

- Community-led data collection, analysis, & problem identification

COLLECTIVE DIALOGUES

- Finding solutions – with citizens at settlement, ward, city, state, & national levels

CAMPAIGNS

- Building consensus, trigger behaviour change, & building pressure for change

RESPONSIVE

- Accepting community knowledge & solutions by the city authorities, state, & national governments

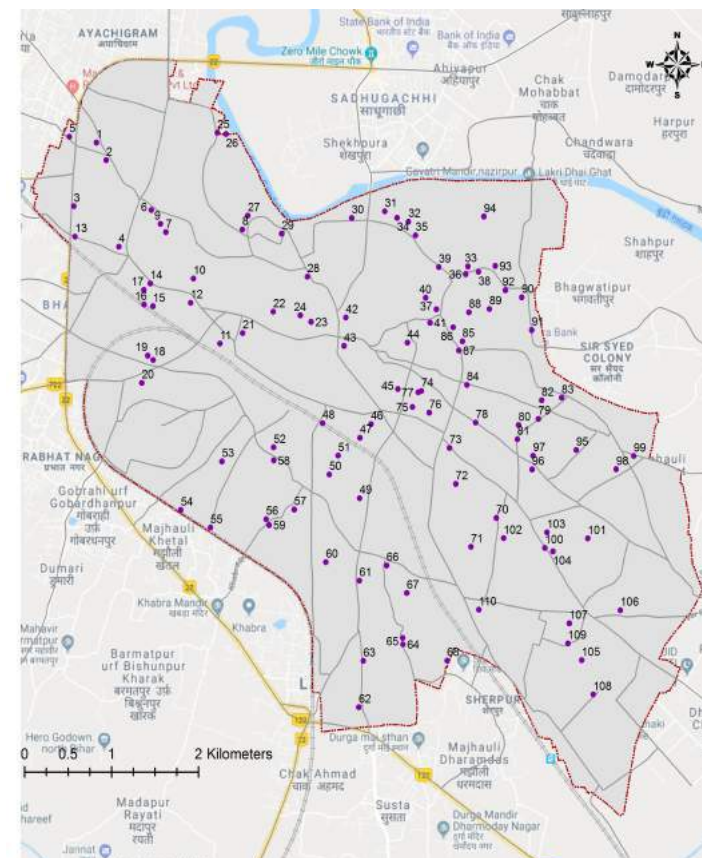
ENABLING ACTIONS FOR INCLUSIVE SANITATION SERVICES

City-wide identification and mapping of informal settlements

- ❁ Where do urban poor live in the city?
- ❁ How many slums/informal settlements are there in the city?

Joint exploration with the Ward Councillors, Local Urban Poor, and ECRC Team

City	Govt. Record	Reality
Ajmer	83	125
Jhansi	No Slum	75
Muzaffarpur	105	105



ENABLING ACTIONS

Facilitating Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA)

- Transect Walk with the community members
- Timeline tool to reconstruct the history of settlement
- Social & Resource Mapping for identifying institutions, services, & infrastructures available



ENABLING ACTIONS

Forming and strengthening Settlement Improvement Committees (SICs) in each informal settlement & formation of city level forum

Why do “we” need an organisation?

Interactions with communities to deal with accumulated mistrust & despair

Identifying & prioritising issues and strategies to address them in short-term

Formation of SICs with women and youth leadership

ENABLING ACTIONS

Comprehensive assessment of sanitation services in informal settlements through Participatory Settlement Enumeration (PSE)

- Youth from the community were trained in mobile based surveys
- Listing of all households in a systematic manner
- Covering all households in a settlement
- Sharing of findings with the community members in open forum & preparing proposals
- Sharing of findings & proposals with the Ward Councillors & Municipal Officials



ENABLING ACTIONS

City-wide assessment of sanitation services including the status of public and community toilets

- SIC members, community youth, & students from local colleges were trained & engaged
- Sharing of findings with Resident Welfare Associations & other stakeholders
- Identifying key areas of improvements – neighbourhood and city levels
- Dialogue with Ward Councillors & other municipal officials



ENABLING ACTIONS

City-wide campaigns focusing on service gaps, service improvement plans, and behaviour changes

- Led by SIC & RWA members involving youth from the communities & city authorities
- Celebrations of various important days – IWD, WTD, WED, IYD, etc.
- A coalition of the urban poor, middle class, and other stakeholders emerged as City Development Forum
- 90% of the proposals from SICs & RWAs has received positive response from the city authorities



SOME CHANGES – ACCESS TO ENTITLEMENTS

	Services	HH/ individuals without services	HH/Individuals received services with SIC intervention	% Change
1	Toilet (IHHL)	5,799	1,929	33%
2	SWM (waste disposal facility)	10,447	7,075	68%
3	Community toilet	106	23	22%
4	Aadhaar card	22,970	7,437	32%
5	Voter card	16,491	4,930	30%
6	Land tenure	7,961	82	0.01%

POSITIVE OUTCOMES

Organised citizens with critical awareness

Increased generation of demands to access public services

A culture of dialogue between organised citizens & city authorities

People, Space, Institutions – thinking strategically

Increased responsiveness & accountability from city authorities

SCALING UP EFFORTS

- * Replication of best practices, e.g., City Development Forum
- * Convergence of SICs in SBM (U), NULM & other programmes
- * Constitution of ward level Swachhta Committees with multi-stakeholder involvement and their capacity building to sustain the achievements of SBM (U), AMRUT, NULM etc.
- * Leveraging voluntary resources from the city – working with other stakeholders
- * Capacity building of CSOs working in urban areas
- * Facilitation role of local civil society, local academic institutions, media etc. is crucial to this scale up process

CBOs in Dhaka's Low-Income Settlements: Service Delivery Mechanisms or Critical Change Makers?



**Scaling-up Participatory Development Conference
12th June 2019**

Dr Sally Cawood, Research Fellow, University of Leeds/Sheffield, UK
(S.F.Cawood@leeds.ac.uk)

Accessing Services in Dhaka's LISs



Two Dominant Delivery Models:

- 'NGO-Initiated' CBOs e.g. user and central CBOs
 - Female leadership, democratic elections, short-term, practical
- 'Leader-Initiated' CBOs e.g. cooperatives, informal committees
 - Male leadership, selection, mid-longer term, strategic

BOSC,
NDBUS,
NBUS

*The **same interconnected individuals** involved in all CBO types*

*Underlying housing, land tenure, financial, social and political
insecurities **not addressed (at scale)***

Barriers to Scaling-Up



Urban governance context **mediates forms of collective action emerging** at the settlement level, the type and terms of participation and outcomes for, and beyond, service delivery.

Three spheres of urban governance:



Patron-Centric State

Risk-Averse and Market-Oriented Development Sector

Clientelistic Society



Ways Forward?



- Claims-Led Collective Action
- National Federations and Regional Alliances
- Multi-Purpose Cooperatives*

Work within and/or challenge existing structures of inequality?

Thank you.
Any Questions?



Scaling up participatory development in towns and cities of the global South conference

Summary of session 1 Prioritising Inclusion

Diana Mitlin mentioned different dimensions of scaling up participation:

- a) **Out:** spreading participation across the settlement:
- b) **Across:** moving to new sectors (i.e., from water to housing recognising that integral development is needed)
- c) **Down:** deepening the quality of services and planning provision of services (incrementally and then moving to a substantive number of people)
- d) **Beyond:** from new neighbourhoods to city wide (consciousness that in order to bring change we need to take into consideration the city level)

She also referred to some of the reasons why participation has not scaled:

- a) **Project focus:** not thinking city-wide, difficult to go beyond the project
- b) **Knowledge not coproduced:** the politics not in place. Requires communities to be organised, if redistribution will take place. Alliances are needed
- c) **Structural forces are hostile:** refusal of local authorities, commodification is a structural constraint to scaling (basic infrastructure and land is critical) what the city should look like: modernisation, is both in global North as in the global South

She identified a series of strategies for scaling up:

- a) **Strategic community networking:**
- b) **Deepen coproduction** with local government supported by non-state agency alliances
- c) **New professionalism** driven from practice and frustration with practice
- d) **Curriculum change:** the power of communities. Although professionals engage, this is not a sufficient condition, is a necessary condition. If trained, professionals can align with organised communities and with officials. This is a long term strategy

Cases of SDI Bulawayo, Zimbabwe; a study on scaling up water and sanitation provision in 15 cities in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the India ECRC experience in sanitation; and the lessons from three citywide urban poor federations Dhaka on sanitation were presented. Explicitly or implicitly each case related to the dimensions of scaling up; the strategies they are developing to scale up; and the challenges they face.

Key messages emerging from the case studies and the debate that followed:

1. The importance of the concept of coproduction not only to understand which stakeholders are involved in scaling up participation, but also in the planning and implementation of solutions that will tangible change the living conditions of the communities.
2. The tensions between the goal of achieving material improvements in specific settlements (i.e., access to land, housing, water, and sanitation) and the broader aim of promoting structural social changes.
3. The importance of using appropriated participatory methods and tools as critical means to engage communities at different levels in which scaling up may take place (out, across, down and beyond). This was highlighted in the:
 - a. Enumeration and mapping exercises in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe in which slum dwellers, professionals and planners participated;

- b. The Participatory Urban Appraisals (PUA) used in India for the introduction of sanitation in three cities.
- 4. The challenges of scaling up participation given the complexities associated with the introduction of sanitation services in densely populated informal settlements, which require diverse type of spatial, social, technical and financial solutions, and these solutions cannot be solely a matter of the relations of the state and the communities. If the analysis does not take into consideration the market/capitalist system in which these relations take place, it is difficult to understand why solutions are not achieved.
- 5. The three citywide urban poor federations operating in Dhaka show that despite progress in service delivery, groups face numerous barriers to sustainability and scaling-up, including; complex land tenure arrangements; the dominant role of NGOs in service mediation; political fragmentation and the reduction of (democratic) political space. Greater attention to broader shifts in urban governance that enable or constrain certain forms of collective action in low-income contexts, and for recognition of alternative modes of organising (via cooperatives), that can create new spaces of engagement with the state are important to be explored.
- 6. The challenge of generalising and finding what is specific to certain context. For example, to what extent colonial contexts have influenced the way the cities are shaped and are these legacies constraining the processes of scaling up.